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FROM

Executor of J. E. Cabot.

THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS;

WITH

AN ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes silcantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit.—TACITUS, *Annales*, iii. 65.

A NEW EDITION WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS.

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DEDICATION.

TO

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

SIR,

You will be surprised to see your name at the head of this address; but I flatter myself that the liberty which I take, in violation of all preliminary forms, will not require an apology. As soon as I had finished a long and laborious work, with the ambition of adding to English literature (what seemed to be much wanted) a translation of a great historian, it was natural that I should look round for a person of genius and learning, from whose candour I can promise myself a just, but mild, decision. This, Sir, was the practice in ancient times, when the republic of letters was considered as an honourable community, and the several members addressed their works to one another with a spirit of freedom and integrity, till the manners underwent a change, and, adulation diffusing its baneful influence, dedication became another word for servile flattery.

It is not my intention to conform to the modern practice; but, though I know what a small, if any, portion of ancient genius has fallen to my lot, I claim the privilege of imitating the disinterested manners of a liberal age. I beg leave to dedicate my labours to the person whose talents I have long admired; to the man whom I saw many years ago coming forth from the school of Quintilian, impressed with the great principle of that consummate master, *ne futurum quidem oratorem, nisi bonum virum.* In the part which you have acted on the great stage of public business, the effect of that principle has been seen and acknowledged; but in no instance with such distinguished lustre, as when we saw you, on a late occasion, with a patriot spirit, standing forth *the champion of Truth*, of your country, and the British constitution.

——— Per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.

The regicides of France had the vanity to offer their new lights and wild metaphysics to a people who have understood and cherished civil liberty from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the present hour; but your penêtrating eye pervaded the whole, and, in one book, demonstrated, that so far from being objects of imitation, the new politicians of France were no better than ARCHITECTS OF RUIN. The *Friends of the People* in that country have been for years employed in proving, by all their acts and decrees, the truth of your reasoning; they have been, I may say, writing Notes on your book, and the Commentary has been fatally too often written in blood.

It is now acknowledged, Sir, that your early vigilance, your zeal and ardour, have hindered this country from being made a theatre of rapine, blood, and massacre. To whom can Tacitus, the great statesman of his time, be so properly addressed, as to him whose writings have saved his country? Scenes of horror, like those which you have described, were acted at Rome, and Tacitus has painted them in colours equal to your own. He has shown a frantic people, under the prætorian bands, and the German legions, fighting for anarchy, not for civil government.

Though it is not for me to tell you, Sir, what is to be found in Tacitus, I beg leave to observe, that in these volumes there are three tracts of great importance. In the Manners of the Germans, we have the origin of that constitution which you have so ably defended: in the Life of Agricola, we see that holy flame of liberty which has been for ages the glory of Englishmen, and the wonder of foreign nations. The Dialogue concerning Oratory is, perhaps, one of the most beautiful pieces that have come down to us from antiquity. Those three tracts have been always admired, and have now, in a great measure, occasioned this address; for, to speak my mind with freedom, if I knew a man in the kingdom who understands those subjects better than yourself, I should have spared you the trouble of this Dedication.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

SIR,

Your most faithful

And most humble servant,

ARTHUR MURPHY.

HAMMERSMITH TERRACE
May 6th, 1793.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LIFE AND GENIUS OF TACITUS.

The author, whose works are now offered to the public, has gained, by the suffrages of posterity, the highest rank among the historians of Greece and Rome. A profound judge of men, and a severe censor of the manners, he has delineated, with the pencil of a master, the characters and the very inward frame of the vile and profligate: while the good and upright receive, in his immortal page, the recompense due to their virtue. It is true that, while he extends the fame of others, he exalts his own name, and enjoys the triumph; but it is to be regretted that no memoirs of his life are extant. He knew the value of that private history which presents the select lives of eminent men; and, in the life of Agricola, has left a perfect model of biography: a mode of writing which, he says, was cultivated with zeal and diligence, in the time of the old republic; but, under the emperors, fell into disuse. The good and virtuous were suffered to pass out of the world, without an historian to record their names. The age was grown inattentive to its own concerns; and that cold indifference has withheld from us, what now would be highly gratifying to the learned world, an intimate and familiar acquaintance with a great and celebrated writer. All that can be done at present, is to collect the materials that lie dispersed in fragments, and give a sketch of the prominent features, since it were vain to attempt an exact portrait of him, who cannot now sit for his picture.

Caius Cornelius Tacitus was born towards the beginning of Nero's reign. The exact year cannot be ascertained, but there are circumstances that lead to a reasonable conclusion. Pliny the younger informs us, that he and Tacitus were nearly of the same age, and that, when he was growing up to manhood, his friend was flourishing among the foremost orators of the bar.[1] Pliny's age can be stated with certainty. He says, in his account of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which happened in November A. U. C. 832, of the Christian era 79, that he was then in his eighteenth year.[2] Tacitus, at that time high in reputation, was at least four or five years older than Pliny, and most probably was born in the year of Rome 809 or 810, about the sixth year of Nero's reign. The place of his nativity is no where mentioned. It seems generally agreed, that he was the son of Cornelius Tacitus, a procurator appointed by the prince to manage the imperial revenue, and govern a province in Belgic Gaul. The person so employed was, by virtue of his office, of equestrian rank; and, if he was our historian's father, it may be said of him, that it was his lot to give to the world two remarkable prodigies; one, in the genius of a great historian; the other, in a son, of whom we are told by Pliny the elder,[3] that in the space of three years he grew three cubits, or six feet nine inches, able to walk, but in a slow heavy pace, and dull of apprehension almost to stupidity.

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1 Ætate propemodum æquales. Equidem adolescentulus, cum jam tu fama gloriaque florens; te sequi, tibi longo, sed proximus, intervallo et esse, et haberi concupiscebam. Lib. vii. epist. 20.

2 Ageham enim duodevicesimum annum. Lib. vi. epist. 20.

3 In tria cubita triennio adolevisse, incessu tardum, censu hebetem, et absumptum contractione membrorum subita. Ipsi non pridem vindimus eadem omnia in filio Cornelii Taciti, equitis Romani, Belgicæ Galliæ rationes procuranti. Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. vii. s. 12.

He died of sudden spasms and violent contractions of the nervous system. Lipsius and others considered our author as the procurator in Belgia, and the father of that monstrous phenomenon: but the conjecture was ill founded, and has been fully refuted by Bayle.[1]

The place where our author received his education cannot now be known. Massilia (now Marseilles) was, at that time, the seat of literature and polished manners. Agricola was trained up in that university; but there is no reason to think that Tacitus formed and enlarged his mind at the same place, since, when he relates the fact of his father-in-law,[2] he is silent about himself. If he was educated at Rome, we may be sure that it was after a method very different from the fashion then in vogue. The infant, according to the practice of the age, was committed to the menial servants, who were generally Greeks,[3] and consigned, as soon as he grew up, to the tuition of flimsy professors, who called themselves RHETORICIANS, and pretended to teach the rules of Attic eloquence. But Greece was fallen into a state of degeneracy. The sublime of Demosthenes was out of date. Point, antithesis, and brilliant conceit, were the delight of vain preceptors, who filled the city of Rome, and held schools of declamation, by Cicero called *ludus impudentiæ*. The manners were corrupted at the fountain-head; virtue was undermined by the professors of morals: the doctrine of Epicurus spread the mischief wider, and the proud philosophy of the stoics was not able to repair the breach.

Tacitus, it is evident, did not imbibe the smallest tincture of that frivolous science, and that vicious eloquence, that debased the Roman genius. He, most probably, had the good fortune to be formed upon the plan adopted in the time of the republic,[4] and, with the help of a sound scheme of home-discipline, and the best domestic example, he grew up, in a course of virtue, to that vigour of mind which gives such animation to his writings. The early bent of his own natural genius was such, that he may be said to have been self-educated; *ex se natus*, as Tiberius said of one of his favourite orators. It is reasonable to suppose that he attended the lectures of Quintilian, who, in opposition to the sophists of Greece, taught, for more than twenty years, the rules of that manly eloquence which is so nobly displayed in his institutes. Some of the critics have applied to our author, the passage in which Quintilian, after enumerating the writers who flourished in that period, says, "There is another person[5] who gives additional lustre to the age; a man who will deserve the admiration of posterity. I do not mention him at present; his name will be known hereafter." If this passage relates to Tacitus, the prediction has been fully verified. When Quintilian published his great work, in the reign of Domitian, Tacitus had not then written his Annals, or his History. Those immortal compositions were published in the time of Trajan. It does not often happen that the sentiments of an historian are in unison with his own private character. Sallust has employed the colours of eloquence, to paint the vices of the times which he describes; but his own morals were not free from reproach. It is otherwise with Tacitus. He pronounces sentence against bad men and evil deeds, with the firmness of an upright judge, who practised the virtue which he commends. Pure and disinterested, he wrote and acted with the same spirit, and was, for that reason, the chosen companion and bosom friend of the younger Pliny.[6]

The infancy of Tacitus kept him untainted by the vices of Nero's court. He was about twelve years old when that emperor finished his career of guilt and folly; and in the tempestuous times that followed, he was still secured by his tender years. Vespasian restored the public tranquillity, revived the liberal arts, and gave encouragement to men of genius. In the first eight years of that emperor, Tacitus was at leisure to enlarge his mind, and cultivate the studies proper to form an orator and a Roman citizen. The circle of arts and sciences was narrow in comparison with the wide range of modern times. Eloquence and the sword were the means by which a Roman aspired to the honours of the state. Quintilian describes the efficient qualities of an orator, and those, he says, consisted in a thorough knowledge of the whole system of ethics, some skill in natural philosophy, and a competent knowledge of history, united to a perfect acquaintance with the rules of logic. He cautions his pupil "not to bewilder himself in the

1 Bayle's Dictionary, article TACITUS.
2 Life of Agricola, s. 4.
3 See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 29.
4 See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 28

5 Superest adhuc, et exornat ætatis nostræ gloriam, vir sæculorum memoria dignus, qui olim nominabitur, nunc intelligitur. Quint. lib. x. cap. 1.
6 Cornelium Tacitum (scis quem virum) arcta familiaritate complexus est. Lib. iv. epist. 15.

maze of metaphysics, and the chimerical visions of abstract speculation, which are too remote from the duties of civil life. What philosopher has ever been an able judge, an eminent orator, or a skilful statesman? The orator, whom I would form, should be a Roman of enlarged understanding, a man of experience in public affairs, not absorbed in subtle disquisition, but exercised in the commerce of the world. Let the lover of theory and visionary schemes enjoy his retreat in the schools of different sects: and let the useful advocate learn his art from those who alone can teach it, the active, the useful, and the industrious."[7] That Tacitus agreed with the doctrine of Quintilian, is evident in the passage where he says of Agricola, that the commander of armies was, in the course of his education, in danger of being lost to the public, in consequence of an early bias to the refined systems of philosophy, till, upon mature consideration, he had the good sense to wean himself from the vain pursuit of ingenious, but unavailing science.[8]

Our author's first ambition was to distinguish himself at the bar. In the year of Rome 828, the sixth of Vespasian, being then about eighteen, he attended the eminent men of the day, in their inquiry concerning the causes of corrupt eloquence. It is here assumed, that he was the author of that elegant tract, for the reasons given in the introduction to the notes on it.[9] Agricola was joint consul with Domitian, A. U. C. 830, for the latter part of the year. His name does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*, because that honour was reserved for the consuls, who entered on their office on the kalends of January, and gave their name to the whole year. Tacitus, though not more than twenty, had given such an earnest of his future fame, that Agricola chose him for his son-in-law. Thus distinguished, our author began the career of civil preferment. Vespasian had a just discernment of men, and was the friend of rising merit. Rome, at length, was governed by a prince, who had the good sense and virtue to consider himself as the chief magistrate, whose duty it was to redress all grievances, restore good order, and give energy to the laws. In such times the early genius of our author attracted the notice of the emperor. The foundation of his fortune was laid by Vespasian.[10] Tacitus does not tell the particulars, but it is probable that he began with the functions of the *Vigintivirate*; a body of twenty men commissioned to execute an inferior jurisdiction for the better regulation of the city. That office, according to the system established by Augustus, was a preliminary step to the gradations of the magistracy. The senate had power to dispense with it in particular cases; and accordingly, we find Tiberius applying to the fathers[11] for that indulgence in favour of Drusus, the son of Germanicus. It is probable that Tacitus became one of the *Vigintivirate*, and consequently that the road to honours was laid open to him. The death of Vespasian, which happened A. U. C. 832, did not stop him in his progress. Titus was the friend of virtue. The office of quæstor, which might be entered upon at the age of twenty-four complete, was, in the regular course, the next public honour; and it qualified the person who discharged it, for a seat in the senate at five-and-twenty. Titus reigned little more than two years. Domitian succeeded to the imperial dignity. Suspicious, dark, and sullen, he made the policy of Tiberius the model of his government; and being by nature fierce, vindictive, impetuous, and sanguinary, he copied the headlong fury of Nero, and made cruelty systematic. Possessed of an understanding quick and penetrating, he could distinguish the eminent qualities of illustrious men, whom he dreaded and hated. He saw public virtue, and he destroyed it. And yet, in that disastrous period, Tacitus rose to preferment. It would be difficult to account for the success of a man who, in the whole tenor of his conduct, preserved an unblemished character, if he himself had not furnished a solution of the problem. Agricola, he tells us, had the address to restrain the headlong violence of Domitian, by his prudence, and the virtues of moderation; never

7 Hæc exhortatio mea non eo pertinet, ut esse oratorem philosophum velim, quando non alia vitæ secta longius a civilibus officiis, atque ab omni munere oratoris recessit. Nam quis philosophorum aut in judiciis frequens, aut clarus concionibus fuit? Quis denique in ipsa, quam maxime plerique eorum vitandam præcipiunt, reipublicæ administratione versatus est? atque ego illum, quem instituo, Romanum quemdam velim esse sapientem, qui non secretis disputationibus, sed rerum experimentis atque operibus vere civilem virum exhibeat. Sed quia deserta ab iis, qui se ad eloquentiam contulerunt, studia sapientiæ, non jam in actu suo, atque in hac fori luce versantur, sed in porticus et gymnasia primum, mox in conventus scholarum recesserunt, id quod est oratori necessarium, nec a dicendi præceptoribus traditur, ab iis petere nimirum necesse est, apud quos remansit. Quint. lib. xii. cap. 2.

8 See the Life of Agricola, s. 4.

9 Dialogue concerning Oratory, p. 629.

10 History i. s. 1.

11 Annals, iii. s. 29.

choosing to imitate the zeal of those, who, by their intemperance, provoked their fate, and rushed on sure destruction, without rendering any kind of service to their country. The conduct of Agricola plainly showed that great men may exist in safety, under the worst and most barbarous tyranny.[1] We may be sure that he, who commends the mild disposition of his father-in-law, had the prudence to observe the same line of conduct. Instead of giving umbrage to the prince, and provoking the tools of power, he was content to display his eloquence at the bar. He pursued his plan of study, and, in the meantime, beheld the miseries of his country with anguish of heart and suppressed indignation. Domitian, we are told,[2] in order to throw a veil over the passions that lay lurking in his heart, and gathered rancour for a future day, had pretended, in the shade of literary ease, to dedicate all his time to the muses. Tacitus had a talent for poetry, as appears in a letter to his friend Pliny.[3] His verses, most probably, served to ingratiate him with the emperor; and, if he was the author of a collection of apothegms, called *Facetiarum Libri*, that very amusement was the truest wisdom at a time when such trifles were the safest employment. Pliny the naturalist published a Treatise of Grammar in the reign of Nero, when every other mode of composition might provoke the sudden fury of an unrelenting tyrant; and that wise example Tacitus might think proper to adopt. Domitian, it is certain, advanced our author's fortune. It is no where mentioned that Tacitus discharged the offices of tribune and ædile; but it may be presumed that he passed through those stations to the higher dignity of prætor, and member of the *quindecemviral college*, which he enjoyed at the secular games A. U. C. 841, the seventh of Domitian.[4]

In the course of the following year, our author and his wife left the city of Rome, and absented themselves more than four years. Some writers, wishing to exalt the virtue of Tacitus, and aggravate the injustice of Domitian, will have it that Tacitus was sent into banishment. This, however, is mere conjecture, without a shadow of probability to support it. Tacitus makes no complaint against Domitian; he mentions no personal injury; he received marks of favour, and he acknowledges the obligation. It may, therefore, with good reason be inferred, that prudential considerations induced our author to retire from a city, where an insatiate tyrant began to throw off all reserve, and wage open war against all who were distinguished by their talents and their virtue. Pliny, the consul, was in the same situation, and has explained the motives of his conduct. He says of himself, "If I appeared in the reign of a disguised, a politic, and insidious prince, to go forward in the career of honours, it was at a time when the tyrant had not unmasked himself. As soon as he showed himself the avowed enemy of every virtue, I gave a check to ambition, and, though I saw the shortest way to the highest dignities, the longest appeared to me the best. I remained, during those scenes of public misery, in the number of those who beheld the desolation of their country with silent sorrow. For what I then suffered, it is now an ample recompense, that in these days of felicity, I am allowed to rank with the good and virtuous."[5] In this passage we read the situation and conduct of Tacitus: he, like his friend Pliny, rose to eminence under Domitian; and when he saw that iniquity and base compliances were the most compendious means, like his friend he sounded his retreat, resolved, at a distance from Rome, to seek a shelter from danger, and wait for better times.

He had been four years absent from Rome, when he received the news of Agricola's death.[6] That commander had carried his victorious arms from the southern provinces of Britain to the Grampian Hills in Caledonia, and reduced the whole country as far as the Firth of Tay; but such a rapid course of brilliant success alarmed the jealousy of an emperor, who dreaded nothing so much as a great military character. Agricola was recalled A. U. C. 838. He entered Rome in a private manner, and

1 Posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse. Life of Agricola, s. 42.

2 History, iv. s. 86.

3 The letter in question is, in many editions, improperly ascribed to Pliny. It is manifestly an answer to what Pliny said to Tacitus, lib. i. epist. 6. *Experieris non Dianam magis montibus, quam Minervam inerrare.* The answer says, *Aprorum tanta penuria est, ut Minervæ et Dianæ, quas ais pariter colendas, conveniri non possit.* Lib. ix. epist. 10.

4 Annals, xi. s. 11.

5 Si cursu quodam provectus ab illo insidiosissimo principe, antequam profiteretur odium bonorum; postquam professus est, substiti; quum viderem quæ ad honores compendia paterent, longius iter malui: si malis temporibus inter mæstos et paventes, bonis inter securos gaudentesque numeror. Panog. Traj. s. 65.

6 Nobis tam longæ absentiæ conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Vita Agric. s. 45.

was received by Domitian with cold civility and dissembled rancour. He lived a few years longer in a modest retreat, and the exercise of domestic virtue, endeavouring to shade the lustre of his vast renown. He died on the 23d day of August, in the year of Rome 846, of the Christian era 93. A report prevailed, that a dose of poison, administered by the emperor's order, put an end to his days. Tacitus mentions the suspicion, but does not forget that calumny is often busy with false suggestions. Grief is credulous, and, on that occasion, might have been hurried away by the current of popular opinion; but Tacitus was generous enough to acknowledge, with candour, that the story rested on no kind of proof.[7] He returned to Rome soon after the death of his father-in-law, and from that time saw the beginning of the most dreadful era, in which Domitian broke out with unbridled fury, and made the city of Rome a theatre of blood and horror. Pliny describes the tyrant in his close retreat brooding over mischief, like a savage beast in his den, and never issuing from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude round him. He adds a sentiment truly noble in the mouth of a Heathen, and, in fact, worthy of a Christian philosopher. Domitian, he says, secluded himself within the walls of his palace; but he carried with him the malice of his heart, his plans of future massacre, and the presence of an avenging God.[8]

The most illustrious citizens were put to death without mercy. They were destroyed by poison, or the assassin's dagger. In some instances, the tyrant wished to give the colour of justice to the most horrible murders, and for that purpose ordered accusations, in due form of law, to be exhibited at the tribunal of the fathers. In all these cases, he invested the senate-house with an armed force and extorted a condemnation of the most upright citizens. Senators were thrown into dungeons; rocks and barren islands were crowded with illustrious exiles, who were, in a short time, murdered by the centurions and their hired assassins. Wealth and merit were capital crimes; the race of informers enriched themselves with the spoils of ruined families; slaves were admitted to give evidence against their masters; freedmen were suborned against their patrons, and numbers perished by the treachery of their friends.[9]

A conspiracy, at length, was formed in the palace by the domestic servants. Domitian fell under repeated wounds on the 18th of September A. U. C. 849, of the Christian era 96, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Nerva succeeded to the empire, and carried with him to that eminence virtues unknown to his predecessors, who had been, as Pliny observes, masters of the Roman citizens, and slaves to their own freedmen.[10] Nerva found means to reconcile two things, which had been thought incompatible; civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince.[11] The emperor was no longer superior to the law; he was subject to it.[12] Nerva, in the year of Rome 850, was joint consul with Verginius Rufus; both venerable old men, who exhibited to the people the august spectacle of distinguished virtue advanced to a post of dignity. Nerva had been with difficulty persuaded to accept the imperial sway; and Rufus, when it was pressed upon him by the legions in Germany, had the glory of refusing it upon the noblest principle, because he wished to see the military subordinate to the legislative authority of the senate.[13]

Verginius died before the end of the year, at the age of eighty-three, having seen in the course of a long life, eleven emperors, and survived them all, notwithstanding the virtues that adorned his character. He lived to see himself extolled by poets, and celebrated by historians, anticipating the praise of posterity, and enjoying his posthumous fame.[14] Tacitus was created consul for the remainder of the year, and for that reason, his name is not to be found in the list of consuls. In honour of Verginius, the senate decreed that the rights of sepulture should be performed at the public expense. Tacitus delivered the funeral oration from the rostrum. The applause of such an orator, Pliny says, was sufficient to crown

7 Augebat miserationem constans rumor, "Veneno interceptum." Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim. Vita Agric. s. 43.

8 Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem, nec unquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret. Ille tamen quibus se parietibus et muris salutem suam tueri videbatur, dolum secum, et insidias, et ultorem Deum inclusit. Paneg. Traj. s. 49.

9 Hist. book i. s. 2.

10 Plerique principes, cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi. Paneg. Traj. s. 88.

11 Res olim dissociabiles; libertatem ac principatum. Vita Agric. s. 3.

12 Non est princeps super leges, sed leges super principem. Paneg. Traj. s. 65.

13 See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

14 Legit scripta de se carmina; legit historias, et posteritati suæ interfuit. Pliny, lib. ii epist. 1.

the glory of a well-spent life.[1] Nerva died on the 27th of January A. U. C. 851, having, about three months before, adopted Trajan for his successor. In that short interval the critics have agreed to place the publication of the Life of Agricola; and their reason is because Tacitus mentions NERVA CÆSAR, but does not style him DIVUS, the deified Nerva, which, they say, would have been the case if the emperor was then deceased; but they forgot that, in the same tract, our author tells us how ardently Agricola wished to see the elevation of Trajan to the seat of empire;[2] and that wish would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It seems therefore probable, that the Life of Agricola was published in the reign of Trajan. The Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, it is generally agreed, made its appearance in the year of Rome 851. The new emperor, whose adoption and succession had been confirmed by a decree of the senate, was at the head of the legions in Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Nerva, and his own accession to the empire. Being of a warlike disposition, he was not in haste to leave the army, but remained there during the entire year. In such a juncture, a picture of German manners could not fail to excite the curiosity of the public. The second consulship of Trajan is mentioned in the tract,[3] and that was A. U. C. 851, in conjunction with NERVA, who died before the end of January. It is therefore certain that the description of Germany saw the light in the course of that year. The dialogue concerning Oratory was an earlier production, and probably was published in the reign of Titus or Domitian, who are both celebrated in that very piece, for their talents, and their love of polite literature.

The friendship that subsisted between our author and the younger Pliny, is well known. It was founded on the consonance of their studies and their virtues. When Pliny says that a good and virtuous prince can never be sincerely loved, unless we show our detestation of the tyrants that preceded him,[4] we may be sure that Tacitus was of the same opinion. They were both convinced that a striking picture of former tyranny ought to be placed in contrast to the felicity of the times that succeeded. Pliny acted up to his own idea in the panegyric of Trajan, where we find a vein of satire on Domitian running through the whole piece. It appears, in his Letters, that he had some thoughts of writing History on the same principle. To give perpetuity to real merit, and not suffer the men, who deserved to live in the memory of ages, to sink into oblivion, appeared to him to be an honourable employment, and the surest way to transmit his own name to posterity;[5] but he had not resolution to undertake that arduous task. Tacitus had more vigour of mind; he thought more intensely, and with deeper penetration than his friend. We find that he had formed, at an early period, the plan of his History, and resolved to execute it, in order to show the horrors of slavery, and the debasement of the Roman people through the whole of Domitian's reign.[6]

He did not, however, though employed in a great and important work, renounce his practice in the forum. It is true, as stated in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, that the eloquence of the old republic was no longer to be found under the emperors; but still greater opportunities occurred, and the powers of oratory were called forth on subjects worthy of Cicero and Hortensius. The governors of provinces produced many a VERRES, and the plundered natives had frequent causes of complaint. Senators of the first eminence were harassed by the crew of informers; and their fortunes, their rank and dignity, their families, and all that was dear to them, depended on the issue of the cause. The orator, on such occasions, felt himself roused and animated: he could thunder and lighten in his discourse; open every source of the pathetic; draw the tear of compassion; and mould his audience according to his will and pleasure. This was the case in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, and stood impeached before the senate at the suit of the province. Pliny relates the whole transaction. Priscus presented a memorial, praying to be tried by a commission of select judges. Tacitus and Pliny, by the special appointment of the fathers, were advocates on the part of the

1 Laudatus est a Cornelio Tacito; nam hic supremus felicitati ejus cumulus accessit; laudator eloquentissimus. Lib. ii. epist. 1.

2 Durare in hac beatissimi sæculi luce, ac principem Trajanum videre augurio votisque ominabatur. Vita Agric. s. 44.

3 Manners of the Germans, s. 37.

4 Neque enim satis amarint bonos principes, qui malos satis non oderint. Paneg. Traj. s. 53.

5 Pulchrum imprimis videtur, non pati occidere quibus æternitas debetur, aliorumque tamam cum sua extendere. Lib. v. epist. 8.

6 See Life of Agricola, s. 3.

Africans. They thought it their duty to inform the house, that the crimes alleged against Priscus were of too atrocious a nature to fall within the cognizance of an inferior court. Fronto Catius stood up in his favour, and displayed all the force of pathetic eloquence. The villains, to whom it was alleged that Priscus had sold the lives of innocent men, were tried and convicted. The charge against the proconsul was heard at an adjourned meeting, the most august that had ever been seen, the emperor (for he was then consul) presiding in person. Pliny spoke almost five hours successively. Claudius Marcellinus, and Salvius Liberalis exerted themselves for their client. Tacitus replied with great eloquence, and a certain dignity, which distinguished all his speeches.[7] It was something very noble, says Pliny, and worthy of ancient Rome, to see the senate deliberating three days together. The result was, that Priscus was sentenced to pay 700,000 sesterces, the amount of the bribes he had received, and to be banished Italy. The senate concluded the business, with a declaration that Tacitus and Pliny executed the trust reposed in them to the entire satisfaction of the house.

The cause was tried A. U. C. 853, in the third of Trajan's reign. From that time Tacitus dedicated himself altogether to his History. Pliny informs us, that our author was frequented by a number of visitors, who admired his genius, and for that reason went in crowds to his levee.[8] From that conflux of men of letters, Tacitus could not fail to gain the best information. Pliny sent him a full detail of all the circumstances of the death of his uncle, the elder Pliny, who lost his life in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius,[9] in order that an exact relation of that event might be transmitted to posterity. Pliny says, "If my uncle is mentioned in your immortal work, his name will live for ever in the records of fame." He says in another letter, "I presage that your History will be immortal. I ingenuously own, therefore, that I wish to find a place in it. If we are generally careful to have our faces taken by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our actions may be celebrated by an author of your distinguished character?" With that view he draws up an account of his conduct in the prosecution of Bebius Massa; and after stating the particulars, he concludes, "Whatever my merit may be in this business, it is in your power to heighten and spread the lustre of it; though I am far from desiring you would in the least exceed the bounds of reality. History ought to be guided by strict truth, and worthy actions require nothing more."[10]

Trajan reigned nineteen years. He died suddenly in Cilicia A. U. C. 870, A. D. 117. The exact time when our author published his History is uncertain, but it was in some period of Trajan's reign. He was resolved to send his work into the world in that happy age when he could think with freedom, and what he thought he could publish in perfect security.[11] He began from the accession of Galba A. U. C. 822, and followed down the thread of his narrative to the death of Domitian in the year 849; the whole comprising a period of seven-and-twenty years, full of important events, and sudden revolutions, in which the prætorian bands, the armies in Germany, and the legions of Syria, claimed a right to raise whom they thought proper to the imperial seat, without any regard for the authority of the senate. Such was the subject Tacitus had before him. The summary view, which he has given of those disastrous times, is the most awful picture of civil commotion, and the wild distraction of a frantic people.[12] Vossius says, the whole work consisted of no less than thirty books; but, to the great loss of the literary world, we have only four books, and the beginning of the fifth. In what remains, we have little after the accession of Vespasian. The reign of Titus, the delight of human-kind, is totally lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of the historian's pen.

The History being finished, Tacitus did not think that he had completed his tablature of slavery. He went back to Tiberius who left a model of tyranny for his successors. This second work included a period of four-and-fifty years, from the year 767, to the death of Nero in 821. The part of the History which has come down to us, does not include two entire years. During that time the whole empire was convulsed, and the author had to arrange the opera-

7 Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime, et, quod eximium orationi ejus inest, σεμνῶς. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 11.

8 Copia studiosorum, quæ ad te admiratione ingenii tui convenit. Lib. iv. epist. 13.

9 Lib. iv. epist. 16.

10 Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit. Lib. vii. epist. 33.

11 Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet. Hist. i. s. 1.

12 See History, i. s. 2.

tions of armies in Germany, Batavia, Gaul, Italy, and Judæa, all in motion almost at the same time. This was not the case in the Annals. The Roman world was in profound tranquillity, and the history of domestic transactions was to supply Tacitus with materials. The author has given us, with his usual brevity, the true character of this part of his work: "The detail,"[1] he says, "into which he was obliged to enter, while it gave lessons of prudence, was in danger of being dry and unentertaining. In other histories, the operation of armies, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and expand the imagination. We have nothing before us but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial, ending always in the same tragic catastrophe. Events like these will give to the work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent satiety." But the genius of Tacitus surmounted every difficulty. He was able to keep attention awake, to please the imagination, and enlighten the understanding. The style of the Annals differs from that of the History, which required stately periods, pomp of expression, and harmonious sentences. The Annals are written in a strain more subdued and temperate: every phrase is a maxim: the narrative goes on with rapidity; the author is sparing of words, and prodigal of sentiment: the characters are drawn with a profound knowledge of human nature, and when we see them figuring on the stage of public business, we perceive the internal spring of their actions; we see their motives at work, and of course are prepared to judge of their conduct.

The Annals, as well as the History, have suffered by the barbarous rage, and more barbarous ignorance of the tribes that overturned the Roman empire. Part of the fifth book, containing three years of Tiberius, the entire four years of Caligula, the six first of Claudius, and the two last of Nero have perished in the wreck of literature. We find that Tacitus intended, if his life and health continued, to review the reign of Augustus,[2] in order to detect the arts by which the old constitution was overturned to make way for the government of a single ruler. This, in the hands of such a writer, would have been a curious portion of history; but it is probable that he did not live to carry his design into execution. The time of his death is not mentioned by any ancient author. It seems, however, highly probable that he died in the reign of Trajan, and we may reasonably conclude that he survived his friend Pliny. Those two writers were the ornaments of the age; both men of genius; both encouragers of literature; the friends of liberty and virtue. The esteem and affection, with which Pliny thought of our author, is evident in several of his letters, but nowhere more than in the following passage: "I never was touched with a more sensible pleasure, than by an account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me that, at the last Circensian games, he sat next to a stranger, who, after much discourse on various subjects of learning, asked him if he was an Italian, or a provincial? Tacitus replied, Your acquaintance with literature must have informed you who I am. Ay! said the man; pray then is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with? I cannot express how highly I am pleased that our names are not so much the proper appellations of men, as a kind of distinction for learning itself."[3] Had Pliny been the survivor, he, who lamented the loss of all his friends, would not have failed to pay the last tribute to the memory of Tacitus.

The commentators assume it as a certain fact, that our author must have left issue; and their reason is, because they find that M. Claudius Tacitus, who was created emperor A. U. C. 1028, A. D. 275, deduced his pedigree from the great historian.[4] That excellent prince was only shown to the world. He was snatched away by a fit of illness at the end of six months, having crowded into that short reign a number of virtues. Vopiscus tells us, that he ordered the image of Tacitus, and a complete collection of his works, to be placed in the public archives, with a special direction that twelve copies should be made every year,[5] at the public expense. But when the mutilated state in which our author has come down to

1 See Annals, iv. s. 33.

2 Cætera illius ætatis memorabo, si effectis in quæ tendi, plures ad curas vitam produxero. Annals, lib. iii. s. 24.

3 Nunquam majorem cepi voluptatem, quam nuper ex sermone Cornelii Taciti. Narrabat sedisse se cum quodam Circensibus proximis; hunc post varios eruditosque sermones requisisse, *Italicus es, an provincialis?* Se respondisse, *Nosti me equidem ex studiis.* Ad hoc illum: *Tacitus es, an Plinius?* Exprimere non possum. quam sit jucundum mihi, quod nomina nostra quasi literarum propria, non hominum, litteris reddun tur. Lib. ix. epist. 23.

4 Vopiscus, Vita Taciti,

5 Vopiscus, Vita Taciti.

posterity, is considered, there is reason to believe that the orders of the prince were never executed.

No stone, and no sepulchral inscription, has been found to tell where the remains of our author were deposited; but he whose works are a lasting memorial, *monumentum ære perennius*, did not stand in need of perishable materials. All the powers that form and constitute a true genius, were his in an eminent degree. He had besides a thorough knowledge of all the modes of government then known in the world; he was versed in civil affairs; he knew the policy of statesmen, and he read men as well as books. With a mind thus prepared, he undertook to write the History of his own times. Before he entered on his task, it is evident that he had well considered the nature and importance of it. He agreed with Cicero, who says, "It is the first law of history that the writer should neither dare to advance what is false, nor to suppress what is true; that he should relate the facts with strict impartiality, free from ill-will or favour; that his narrative should distinguish the order of time, and, when necessary, give the description of places; that he should unfold the statesman's motives, and in his account of the transactions and the events, interpose his own judgment; and should not only relate what was done, but how it was done; and what share chance, or rashness, or prudence had in the issue; that he should give the characters of the leading men, their weight and influence, their passions, their principles, and their conduct through life."[6] There can be no doubt but this was our author's model, since we find him in different parts of his work, laying down those very rules. But there was still a superior rule which Tacitus prescribed to himself, and which has been followed by few historians. He says expressly, "that it is incumbent on the writer to rejudge the actions of men, to the end that the good and worthy may meet with the reward due to eminent virtue, and that pernicious citizens may be deterred by the condemnation that waits on evil deeds at the tribunal of posterity. In this consists the chief part of the historian's duty."[7]

With this sublime idea, this grand moral principle, our author entered on his office, and no wonder that he has deserved to be styled the great historian of antiquity. To the generous and noble principle that guided his pen throughout his work, he united a fund of knowledge, and the colours of eloquence. Every short description is a pictrue in miniature: we see the person acting, speaking, or suffering: our passions are kept in a tumult of emotion; they succeed each other in quick vicissitude; they mix and blend in various combinations; we glow with indignation, we melt into tears. What a picture have we of Tiberius, the close, disguised, systematic tyrant! the slave in the isle of Caprea to his unnatural vices, and, amidst his pleasures, a prey to his own guilty conscience! We behold his inward torture, the *laniatus pectoris!* In what an amiable light is Germanicus represented! How noble his speech to the seditious soldiers! What landscape painter can equal the description of the field covered with the limbs of the legions slaughtered under Varus? And when at last we see Germanicus on his death-bed in Syria, can a more interesting and pathetic scene be presented to our imagination? When his wife, Agrippina, at the port of Brundusium, issues forth from the ship, leading her children, with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes fixed on that melancholy object, amidst the mournful, and, it may be said, the eloquent silence of spectators crowded on the walls, on tops of houses, and on the coast, can the terrible graces of that whole description be sufficiently admired? Messalina is represented in the truest colours; odious for her vices, detested for her crimes, yet, by the magic pencil of Tacitus, made in the end an object of compassion. When we see her in the gardens of Lucullus, stretched on the ground, with her mother weeping over her; when we hear that mother exhorting her to end her misery; when we see the daughter with a feeble arm aiming a poniard at her breast, yet irresolute, hesitating, unable to execute her purpose; and at last, with the assistance of the tribune, dying in the arms of her afflicted mother; we yield to the sensations of humanity; we pity the unhappy victim, and almost forgive her crimes. In the account of

6 Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis. Rerum ratio ordinem temporum desiderat, regionum descriptionem; vult etiam, quoniam in rebus magnis memoriaque dignis consilia primum, deinde acta, postea eventus expectantur, et de consiliis significari quid scriptor putet, et in rebus gestis declarari non solum quid actum, aut dictum sit, sed etiam quomodo; et cum de eventu dicatur, ut causæ explicentur omnes, vel casus, vel sapientiæ, vel temeritatis; hominumque ipsorum non solum res gestæ, sed etiam qui fama ac nomine excellant, de cujusque vita, atque natura. De Orat. lib. ii. s. 62 and 63.

7 See the quotation in the title-page.

Agrippina, the mother of Nero, conducted from a shipwreck to her own villa, and, after all the uproar of crowds and mariners on the sea-coast, terrified by the mournful silence all around her, we have a picture of distress that keeps the heart in agitation; and it may be asked, in the whole compass of history, is there any thing so truly affecting as her two last words, *Ventrem feri?*[1] The mother of Nero says to the centurion, Plunge your sword in my womb! An ingenious French critic has selected the passages in Homer that present subjects for the canvass of the artist; but it may safely be said, that a more interesting collection may be found in Tacitus. The wife of Arminius coming forth from the castle, where she was besieged with Segestes her father, presents a subject worthy of the finest painter. We see her before us, breathing the spirit of her husband, determined, silent, not a tear falling, with her eyes fixed on her womb, then pregnant with an infant to be born in slavery.[2] To mention all the instances of a similar nature, were an endless task; for, in fact, the Annals may be called an historical picture gallery. It is by that magic power that Tacitus has been able to animate the dry regularity of the chronologic order, and to spread a charm through the whole, that awakens curiosity, and enchains attention. How different from the gazette style of Suetonius, who relates his facts in a calm unimpassioned tone, unmoved by the distress of injured virtue, and never rising to indignation. Tacitus, on the contrary, sits in judgment on the prince, the senate, the consuls, and the people; and he finds eloquence to affect the heart, and through the imagination to inform the understanding. The History of Tacitus is philosophy teaching by examples.

It may be expected, that some notice should be taken of the objections which have been urged by the various writers, who have thought proper to place themselves in the chair of criticism. It has been truly said, that the people never leave any man, however great his merit, without a rival; *populus neminem sine æmulo sinit*. The same has happened in the republic of letters. Parties and factions prevail; the critics take the lead, and under their banners all are listed; some for Thucydides, some for Sallust, others for Livy and Polybius; all inflamed with animosity, and none attending to the specific qualities that distinguish the respective authors. The first charge exhibited against Tacitus is, that he has written bad Latin. This shall be answered by a writer who was master of as much elegance as can be attained in a dead language. "Who," says Muretus, "are we moderns, even if all, who have acquired great skill in the Latin language, were assembled in a body; who are we that presume to pronounce against an author, who when the Roman language still flourished in all its splendour (and it flourished to the time of Hadrian,) was deemed the most eloquent orator of his time? When we reflect on the number of ancient authors whose works have been destroyed, which of us can pretend to say that the words which appear new in Tacitus, were not known and used by the ancients? And yet, at the distance of ages, when the productions of genius have been well nigh extinguished, we of this day take upon us, in a decisive tone, to condemn the most celebrated writers, whose cooks and mule-drivers understood the Latin language, and spoke it, better than the most confident scholar of the present age."[3] If it be said that the quarrel is not with single words, but with phrases not to be found in other Latin authors; the charge may be admitted. Our author has frequent Grecisms, and the expression is not only florid, but often poetical. This, we know, was the *new way of writing* introduced by Seneca;[4] and though Tacitus saw the false glitter and affected ornaments of that popular writer, and knew how to give to his own style more strength and gravity, it cannot be denied that he often aims at a more splendid diction than either Livy or Sallust.

The love of brevity which distinguishes Tacitus from all other writers, was probably the consequence of his early admiration of Seneca; and, perhaps, was carried farther by that constant habit of close thinking, which could seize

1 Annals, xiv. s. 8.

2 Inerant feminæ nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segestis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce supplex, compressis intra sinum manibus, gravidum uterum intuens.—Annals, i. s. 57.

3 Qui nos sumus, si omnes in unum conferantur, quicunque hac tempestate Latine loqui videmur, ut de scriptore sapientissimo, nato iis temporibus, quibus adhuc Romana lingua florebat (plane enim floruit usque ad Hadrianum,) habito disertissimo ætatis suæ, sinistre judicare audeamus? Quis hodie affirmare audeat, cum tanta veterum scriptorum facta jactura sit, ea, quæ apud Tacitum nova videntur, non apud veteres quoque in usu fuisse? In tanta veterum scriptorum dispersione, tam longo temporum intervallo, tanta Latini sermonis oblivione, optimæ notæ scriptores damnare non veremur, quorum coqui et muliones multo melius quam nos Latine et intelligebant et loquebantur.—Muretus, in an Oration, entitled, Defensio Taciti.

4 See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, p. 572.

the principal idea, and discard all unnecessary appendages. Tacitus was sparing of words, and lavish of sentiment. Montesquieu says he knew every thing, and therefore abridged every thing. In the political maxims and moral reflections which, where we least expect it, dart a sudden light, yet never interrupt the rapidity of the narrative, the comprehensive energy of the sentence gives all the pleasure of surprise, while it conveys a deep reflection. The observations which Quintilian calls *lumina sententiarum*, crowded fast on the author's mind, and he scorned to waste his strength in words; he gave the image in profile, and left the reader to take a roundabout view. His style may be compared to the mode adopted by Poppæa, who, we are told,[5] wore a veil that shaded, or seemed to shade her face, lest her beauty, by being too much displayed, might tarnish in the eye of the public; or because that style of dress was graceful and becoming. It may be asked, Is Tacitus never obscure? He certainly is: his own laconic manner, and, it may be added, the omissions of the copyists, have occasioned some difficulties; but he, who has made himself familiar with the peculiarities of the style, will not be much embarrassed. By due attention to the context, the true, or at least the probable meaning may be always found. But still it may be said, that, in so long a work, one continued strain of studied brevity fatigues the ear, and tires the reader by an unvaried and disgusting monotony. Variety, it must be admitted, would give new graces to the narrative, and prevent too much uniformity. The celebrated Montagne observes, that Tacitus abounds with strong and vigorous sentences, often constructed with point and subtlety, agreeably to the taste of the age, which delighted in the gay and brilliant; and when those were not in the thought, the writer was sure to find an antithesis in the expression. And yet it is remarkable that the same writer, who owns that for twenty years together he reads by fits and starts, tells us himself, that he read Tacitus a second time in one regular train without interruption.

The next allegation of the critics is, that Tacitus was a misanthrope, who beheld human nature with a malignant eye, and, always suspecting the worst, falsified facts, in order to paint men worse than they were. The answer is obvious: Tacitus was fallen on evil times; he says, "A black and evil period lies before me. The age was sunk to the lowest depth of sordid adulation, insomuch that not only the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure themselves, were obliged to crouch in bondage, but even men of consular and prætorian rank, and the whole senate tried, with emulation, who should be the most obsequious slave."[6] In such times, who could live free from suspicion? Tacitus knew the character of Tiberius; he was an accurate observer of mankind: but he must have been credulous indeed, or, like Velleius Paterculus, the willing dupe of a profligate court, if he had not laid open the secret motives of all, and traced their actions to their first principles. At the head of the critics, who have endeavoured to enforce the charge of falsehood and malevolence, stands Famianus Strada, the elegant author of the well known Prolusiones Academicæ, and the Wars in Holland, entitled, De Bello Belgico; but it will be sufficient, in answer to his laboured declamations, to say with Lord Bolingbroke, "He was a rhetor, who condemned Tacitus, and presumed to write history himself."

The imputation of atheism, which has been alleged by critics of more piety than discernment, is easily refuted. Whatever were our author's doubts concerning fate, free-will, and the influence of the planets, let the fine apostrophe to the departed spirit of Agricola[7] be perused with attention, and every sentiment will discover a mind impressed with the idea of an all-ruling Providence. There are many passages in the Annals and the History to the same effect; but more on this head is unnecessary. Nor does the paradox suggested by Boccalini deserve a longer discussion. That author gives it as his opinion, that the whole design of the Annals was to teach the arts of despotism: it may with as good reason be said, that Lord Clarendon wrote the History of the Grand Rebellion, with intent to teach schismatics, puritans, and republicans, how to murder their king.

The objections which have been stated, were the mere cavils of learned men, who hoped to

5 Rarus in publicum egressus; idque velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum, vel quia sic decebat.—Annals, xiii. s. 45. This remark is borrowed from Gordon; if another allusion of equal elegance can be found in his works, it has escaped the present writer.

6 Tempora illa adeo infecta, et adulatione sordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui prætura functi, multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent, fœdaque et nimia censerent.—Annals, iii. s. 65.

7 See Life of Agricola, s. 46.

gain reputation by the novelty of paradox. But paradox flutters for a short time, and the voice of truth is heard. *Opinionum commenta delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.* Tacitus may be fairly called the anatomist of the heart. The passions, and, if the expression may be allowed, their antagonist muscles were perfectly known to him; he saw their inward workings, however disguised, and, being a strong colourist, he has painted the prominent features of all that rose to eminence by their vices or their virtue. As long as it shall be thought that *the proper study of mankind is man*, so long the Annals of Tacitus will be the school of moral as well as political knowledge.

An account of our author's works, from their appearance after the revival of letters, will not be thought improper. The first edition was published at Venice by John De Spira, in the year 1468, containing the six last books of the Annals, four books of the History, with part of the fifth, the Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, and the Dialogue concerning Oratory. Another edition was published in a year or two after by Franciscus Puteolanus, more correct and elegant than the former, with the addition of the Life of Agricola. The six first books of the Annals had not then been found. Diligent search being made in all parts of Europe, they were at length discovered in the monastery of *Corwey* in *Westphalia*, situate on the banks of the *Visurgis*, or the *Weser*.[1] Leo X. the great patron of letters, purchased that valuable treasure, and, under his patronage, Beroaldus, in the year 1515, gave the world a complete edition of the whole. The manuscript, which had been found in Germany, was deposited in the Florentine library. Lipsius, whose labours have done much service to Tacitus, and great honour to himself, gave his edition at Antwerp, in the year 1574. He continued retouching and improving it, till death put an end to his studies in 1606, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Gronovius published the text and a laboured commentary in 1672. The Delphin edition made its appearance at Paris in 1682. Ryckius gave his notes at Leyden in 1687. A better edition of that work was printed in Dublin in 1780. The grandson of Gronovius gave an improved edition in 1721; but his coarse abuse of Ryckius, in the true style of a Dutch commentator, did him no honour. Ernest, a native of Germany, obliged the learned world with two valuable editions, one in 1752, the second in 1772. A beautiful edition by *Nicholas Lallemand* saw the light at Paris in 1759; but why the Dialogue concerning Eloquence was left out, no good reason was assigned.

At last, in the year 1771, was published at Paris, a noble edition of all the works of Tacitus, in four elegant quarto volumes, by Gabriel Brotier, with copious notes, and emendations of the original text, after a due examination of the manuscripts in the Vatican, at Paris, Oxford, and other places. Another edition of the same work, in seven volumes 12mo, was published in 1776.

After this account of the editors, the translators claim due notice. Almost all the nations of Europe have had the ambition to make Tacitus a denizen of their country, and to hear him in their own language. The Germans and the Dutch boast of good translations. Spain is proud of three translators, and Italy has a greater number; but the voice of Fame gives the preference to *Davanzati*, who is celebrated for a curious felicity of expression, that vies with the sententious brevity of the original.

The first French translation of any value was about the middle of the last century, D'Ablancourt. His language is pure, elegant, and often nervous; but he took the liberty sometimes to retrench, and, occasionally, to vary the sense of the original. The composition, however, flowed with so much ease and harmony, that the critics agreed to call it *la belle infidele*.

Amelot de la Houssaye translated thirteen books of the Annals: but his love of political reflection made him encumber his work with a load of notes, sometimes valuable, often

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1 From the collection, called *Monumenta Paderbornensia*, the following little poem, in honour of the place where the six first Annals were found, has been selected, and will perhaps be acceptable to the reader. The Visurgis (now the *Weser*) says: "The Amisius (*Ems*) may now flow through a waste of sand; and the Luppia (the *Lippe*) may receive the tributary waters of the *Pader*; while I, the Visurgis, waft the commerce of the world into the heart of Germany. My banks have been ennobled by the overthrow of Roman legions, and the brave exploits of the Francs. But, alas! what should we now know of the Romans, or of Arminius, my own warlike chieftain, if Tacitus had not recorded those transactions, and if the *Abbey of Corwey* had not, in return for immortal glory, given life to Tacitus himself?"

Exserat Amisius steriles caput inter arenas,
Et Paderæ socias Luppia jactet aquas;
Solus ego patrias clarissimus amnis ad oras
Navibus externas porto Visurgis opes.
Nec me bella minus celebrant adversa Quiritum,
Quam quæ per Francos gesta fuere duces.
Sed quota pars rerum superesset, Roma, tuarum,
Aut quis Arminii nosceret arma mei,
Ni mihi quam Tacitus scriptor dedit inclytus, illi
Reddita Corbeiæ munere vita foret?

frivolous, and too minute. He died at Paris in 1706. The work was continued by FRANCIS BRUYS at the Hague, 1731; but, as it seems, without success. Brotier says, that the last translator resembled the vices, not the virtues of his master: *vitiis quam virtutibus similior*.

The critics of FRANCE were not satisfied with the state in which Tacitus was left. Their writers were determined to try their strength; and, accordingly, a new translation by GUERIN, professor of eloquence in the university of Paris, was sent into the world in the year 1742. His work, though too loose and paraphrastical, may be read with pleasure and advantage.

LA BLETTERIE published a translation of the Manners of the Germans, and the life of Agricola, in the year 1755; and afterwards, in 1768, he added the first six Annals, with learned notes, but perhaps ostentatious, and too much drawn into length. After the death of LA BLETTERIE, Monsieur DOTTEVILLE, adopting part of his predecessor's work, gave a complete translation of all Tacitus, except the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

Dotteville had before him a model of close translation from the pen of D'Alembert, who gave select passages from Tacitus, endeavouring in every sentence to reach the precision and energy of the original. We see him however, in a painful endeavour to vie with his author, and the style is harsh and dry.

The same may be said of the celebrated Rousseau, who has left a translation of the first book of the History, written with elaborate brevity, and those abrupt sentences, which the French call *style coupe*. We look in vain for the graceful ease that charms in the original works of that pleasing author.

England has produced three translations; the first in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Greenway and Sir Henry Saville; the second, about one hundred years after, by Dryden and others; and the third by Gordon, under the patronage of Sir Robert Walpole. It were superfluous to say any thing of the two first translations. Gordon, to make way for himself, was at the pains of collecting a multiplicity of passages; and, since he has sufficiently abused them, peace be to their manes! With regard to Gordon, it is not the intention of the present writer to produce any specimens of his performance; that were to offer a few bricks as a sample of the building. Gordon shall be left to speak for himself: he says, "Lord Carteret (afterwards Lord Granville,) who understood Tacitus, and admired him, was pleased to think him not *unfit for it*, and gave him many just lights about the manner of *doing it*; that particularly about allowing himself *scope and freedom*, without which he was satisfied every translation must be *pedantic and cold*." Thus encouraged, he employed himself in what he called *Conjectures concerning the present state of the English Tongue*, and kindly resolved to offer some *Observations upon style*, which he found, was far from being generally understood, though so many *pretend to be judges of it*. Having beheld the ignorance of the English nation with an eye of compassion, Mr Gordon was as good as his word, determined that the public should have the benefit of his reflections on the English language. He says, "I have little complaisance for those who think (if any who understand Tacitus can possibly think) that the *common English style* will *at all* suit that *uncommon writer*, whose manner is as peculiar and as affecting as his thoughts. His sentences are like PROVERBS, short, lively, and self-evident. Are PROVERBS, upon subjects of great dignity, usually expressed in the ordinary strain? Are they not therefore the more pathetic, and the more easily remembered, because they are couched in a particular manner, turned *something like poetry*, and sometimes in *antiquated words*? Why is the language of the book of Job, and of Isaiah the prophet, so much admired? Why is that of the *Proverbs of Solomon*, why that of the Son of Syrach, so much applauded? I will venture to say, that I have not expressed one phrase in the whole translation more remotely from the common way, than many of THOSE PROVERBS and SAYINGS are expressed; and though they be so expressed, nobody ever called them stiff, affected, or obscure."

This was Gordon's grand secret, which he has generously communicated for the instruction of those who pretended to be judges of style. His practice, we may be sure, was conformable to his precepts. He says, "I have sometimes ventured upon a new phrase,[1] and *a way of my own*; upon drawing the *English idiom as near as possible to that of the Latin, and the genius of my author*, by leaving the beaten road, *dropping particles, transposing words*, and sometimes *beginning a sentence where it is usual to end it*." This surely may be called trying experiments upon language; but Gordon

[1] Nero was in love with Acte, an enfranchised slave: Gordon's new phrase is, "He *fell into a passion for her*."

gives a notable reason for it: "No words upon paper will have the same effect as words accompanied with a voice, looks, and action: hence the thoughts and language should be so far raised as to supply the want of those advantages." In order, therefore, to give *colour and a body* to the thought, Gordon thought the unnatural style the best; to be strong, he thought it necessary to be uncouth and turgid; to supply the want of a voice and action, he chose to be distorted upon paper: and *in this way of his own* he was encouraged "by some of the greatest men of the age, who, convinced by the reasons he had offered, and having a perfect taste of Tacitus, and understanding him as a writer, were absolutely against any alterations in the manner of translating him." Mr. Gordon's friends might as well have told him, that no organs of speech can pronounce, with proper emphasis and energy, the sublime sentiments of Tacitus; and therefore, in reading him to a circle of his acquaintance, he ought to make faces. Gordon, most certainly, took the advice of his patrons; he imitated his favourite PROVERBS, and grimaced the language. The consequence is, that he produced a translation in which one of the first writers of antiquity has been made, as Dr. Middleton expresses it, *to speak such English as an Englishman of taste would be ashamed to write on any original subject.*

A new translation is now submitted to the public. It will not become the author to take up any time about himself, or his performance. He has endeavoured to give a faithful transcript of the original, in *such English* as an *Englishman of taste* may read without disgust; and if in the transfusion, he has not suffered the spirit of Tacitus to evaporate, he will look back with pleasure to the years which he has dedicated to a great and arduous undertaking.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

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These transactions include almost two years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
767	14	Sextus Pompeius, Sextus Apuleius.
768	15	Drusus Cæsar, C. Norbanus Flaccus.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

I. The first form of government that prevailed at Rome was monarchy.[1] Liberty and the consulship were established by Lucius Junius Brutus. Dictators were created in sudden emergencies only. The jurisdiction of the decemvirs did not extend beyond two years; and the consular authority of the military tribunes soon expired. The domination of Cinna ended in a short time; and that of Sylla was not of long duration. From Pompey and Crassus, the whole power of the state devolved to Julius Cæsar, and, after the struggle with Lepidus and Antony, centered in Augustus; who, under the mild and well-known title of[2] Prince of the Senate, took upon him the management of the commonwealth, enfeebled as it was by an exhausting series of civil wars. But the memorable transactions of the old republic, as well in her day of adversity, as in the tide of success, have been recorded by writers of splendid genius. Even in the time of Augustus there flourished a race of authors, from whose abilities that period might have received ample justice: but the spirit of adulation growing epidemic, the dignity of the historic character was lost. What has been transmitted to us concerning Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, cannot be received without great mistrust. During the lives of those emperors, fear suppressed or disfigured the truth; and after their deaths, recent feelings gave an edge to resentment. For this reason, it is my intention shortly to state some particulars relat-

1 In this introduction, Tacitus gives us a compendious view of the Roman government in all its various forms, and every deviation from its first principles, from the foundation of the city to the establishment of the Cæsars. The several forms were as follows:

I. The regal government, which lasted, under seven successive kings, about two hundred and forty years, and ended at last by the expulsion of Tarquin.

II. The consulship, and the republican government established by Brutus, A. U. C. 245; before the Christian æra 509.

III. The supreme authority of the dictator, created in pressing exigencies, and for a limited time. This office was first instituted, according to Livy, A. U. C. 253.

IV. The decemvirs appointed to frame a body of laws. They were the only magistrates. The government, which was transferred from kings to consuls, was now vested in the decemvirs. Their code of laws was finished within two years. It was called the Twelve Tables. The well-known tyranny of Appius brought upon them the name of the Ten Tarquins. Their magistracy ended A. U. C. 305.

V. The military tribunes, in a violent contention between the patricians and commonalty, invested with the authority of the consuls, and exercising all the functions of those two magistrates, A. U. C. 310. In the following year the consular government was once more restored.

VI. The usurpations of Cinna, A. U. C. 667.

VII. The domination of Sylla; who assumed the power of dictator, A. U. C. 672, and continued in that station till the year 675, when he made a voluntary abdication, and retired to lead the life of a private citizen.

VIII. The triumvirate of Pompey, Crassus, and Julius Cæsar, A. U. C. 699. This was a faction, not a legal institution.

IX. Cæsar perpetual dictator, A. U. C. 706.

X. The triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Augustus, A. U. C. 711.

XI. The supreme power vested in Augustus, A. U. C. 724. Such were the various changes of government which Tacitus has enumerated with his usual comprehensive brevity. Each of them forms an important æra, and all well developed, would furnish a complete political history of Rome.

2 The original says simply under the name of prince, meaning *prince of the senate;* a title well known in the time of the old republic, and always given to the senator whose name stood first on the censor's roll. When the consul called upon the fathers for their opinions, he began with the Princeps Senatus. Under that constitutional name Augustus seemed rather to accept than to arrogate to himself the management of the state. Tacitus says afterwards, section iv. that the government was neither settled under a monarch nor a dictator, but under the title of prince. *Non regno, neque dictatura, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam.* Augustus understood the policy of not assuming invidious titles in the outset of his reign; but it was owing to him that, in process of time, the word *princeps* no longer signified *prince of the senate,* but, in the modern acceptation, the supreme ruler of the state.

ing to Augustus, chiefly towards the close of his life; and thence to follow downward the thread of my narration through the reigns of Tiberius and his three immediate successors, free from animosity and partial affection, with the candour of a man who has no motives, either of love or hatred, to warp his integrity.

II. The fate of Brutus and Cassius[1] being decided, the commonwealth had no longer an army engaged in the cause of public liberty. The younger Pompey received a total overthrow on the coast of Sicily; Lepidus was deprived of his legions; and Mark Antony fell on his own sword. In that situation the partisans of Julius Cæsar had no leader but Octavius, who laid aside the invidious title of Triumvir, content with the more popular name of Consul, and with the tribunitian[2] power, which he professed to assume for the protection of the people. In a little time, when he had allured to his interest the soldiery by a profusion of largesses, the people by distributions of corn, and the minds of men in general by the sweets of peace, his views grew more aspiring. By degrees, and almost imperceptibly, he drew into his own hands the authority of the senate, the functions of the magistrates, and the administration of the laws. To these encroachments no opposition was made. The true republicans had perished, either in the field of battle, or by the rigour of proscriptions: of the remaining nobility, the leading men were raised to wealth and honours, in proportion to the alacrity with which they courted the yoke; and all who in the distraction of the times had risen to affluence, preferred immediate ease and safety to the danger of contending for ancient freedom. The provinces acquiesced under the new establishment, weary of the mixed authority of the senate and people; a mode of government long distracted by contentions among the great, and in the end rendered intolerable by the avarice of public magistrates; while the laws afforded a feeble remedy, disturbed by violence, defeated by intrigue, and undermined by bribery and corruption.

III. In this state of affairs, Augustus selected Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Agrippa, to prop and strengthen his administration. The former, who was his sister's son,[3] and still a youth, he raised to the dignity of pontiff and ædile: on the latter, by his birth obscure, but eminent for military talents, and the companion of all his victories, he conferred the honour of two successive consulships; and in a short time after, upon the untimely death[4] of Marcellus, chose him for his son-in-law. Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, the sons of his wife Livia, were adorned with the title of IMPERATOR,[5] though the succession in the house of Augustus was at the time well secured by other branches of the house of Cæsar. He had already adopted into the imperial family Caius and Lucius, the two sons of Agrippa; and to see them even before they had put on the manly gown, considered as princes of the Roman youth, and marked out as future consuls, was his ardent desire; though, for political reasons, he chose to disguise his sentiments. To obtain those honours for his

1 Brutus and Cassius, after their defeat at the battle of Philippi, despatched themselves, A. U. C. 712, having both resolved before the engagement, that, if they did not conquer, they would have nothing to fear from their enemies. Plutarch, Life of Brutus. They were the two last Roman patriots, and public liberty died with them. Sextus Pompeius, the son of Pompey the Great, was defeated by Agrippa in a naval engagement on the coast of Sicily. He fled into Asia, and was there put to death, A. U. C. 719. Florus, lib. iv. cap. 8. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 72, 73. Lepidus was at the head of twenty legions, but was dismantled of his power by the policy of Augustus. Mark Antony died a voluntary death.

2 The office of tribune of the people originated in the following manner: The inferior citizens made a secession to the *Mons Sacer*, A. U. C. 259, and refused to return till they were allowed to choose magistrates of their own. The number at first was two; in the year of Rome 283, five were chosen; and in 297, ten. By their *intercession* in any business they could stop the proceedings of the senate, and all the magistrates. In process of time their authority was held to be sacred. No man could presume to interrupt them in their harangues, and they could command all to be silent. They could stop all legislation, and also the execution of the laws. A new form was thus introduced into the constitution, which threw the weight into the democratic scale; and this extraordinary power, Cicero says, saved the republic; because, in the hands of a turbulent multitude, it would have been nothing but uproar and confusion. The tribunes, however, could at their pleasure control the other magistrates, and that was the popular title which Augustus assumed. It gave him, under a republican name, the whole force and energy of the government. He knew the art of distinguishing tyranny under constitutional forms. *Arcanum novi status, imago antiqui.* Tacitus says in another place, that Augustus, under that artful disguise, found the way without the name of *king* or *dictator*, to make himself superior to the legislative and the executive powers of the commonwealth. *Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus reperit, ne* REGIS *aut* DICTATORIS *nomen adsumeret, attamen appellatione aliqua cætera imperia præsumineret.* —Annals, book iii. s. 56.

3 Octavia was the sister of Augustus. For more of her see Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, No. 16. For Marcellus, see *ibidem*, No. 18.

4 For Julia, the daughter of Augustus, married first to Marcellus and afterwards to Agrippa, see the Genealogical Table, No. 46. For Agrippa, see No. 47.

5 An account of Livia and her first husband is given in the Genealogical Table, No. 66. For Drusus, see No. 79; and Tiberius, No. 68. The title of *imperator* implied no more than the commander of an army. It was usually given by the soldiers in their camp, or in the field after a victory, to the general whom they approved. Augustus, and the following emperors, granted the name to their favourites as an honourable distinction. Tiberius reserved it for the emperor only. See Annals, book iii. s. 74. Being always, with other titles, annexed to the imperial dignity, it served, at length, to convey the idea now understood by the word EMPEROR.

family was the wish of his heart; while, under a show of coy reluctance, he seemed to reject them. Agrippa departed this life; and in a short time after his two sons were cut off; Lucius Cæsar[6] on his road to join the army in Spain; and Caius on his return from Armenia, where he had received a wound that impaired his health. Whether they died by their own premature fate, or the machinations of their step-mother Livia, is to this day problematical. Drusus had paid his debt to nature, leaving Tiberius the only surviving son-in-law of the emperor. The current of court favour was now directed that way. He was adopted by Augustus, declared his colleague in the government, his associate in the tribunitian power, and shown as the rising sun to the army; not as before, by the secret arts of Livia, but with her open and avowed direction. Augustus was now in the decline of life, and Livia had gained unbounded influence over his affections. By her contrivance Agrippa Posthumus,[7] the only surviving grandson of the emperor, was banished to the isle of Planasia.[8] In praise of this young man much cannot be said: he was a stranger to the liberal arts, uncouth, unformed, and stupidly valuing himself on his bodily strength; yet free from vice, or the imputation of crime.

At this time Germanicus, the immediate descendant of Drusus, was appointed to the command of eight legions on the Rhine. By the emperor's direction Tiberius adopted him as his son, though he had then issue of his own[9] growing up to manhood. The policy, no doubt, was to guard the succession with additional securities. Augustus, in that juncture, had no war upon his hands, that in Germany excepted; which was carried on, not with a view to extension of empire, or any solid advantage, but solely to expiate the disgrace incurred by the loss of Varus[10] and his legions. A perfect calm prevailed at Rome: the magistrates retained their ancient names; the younger part of the community were born since the battle of Actium,[11] and the old during the civil wars: how many were then living, who had seen the constitution of their country?

IV. The government thus overthrown, nothing remained of ancient manners, or ancient spirit. Of independence, or the equal condition[12] of Roman citizens, no trace was left. All ranks submitted to the will of the prince, little solicitous about the present hour; while Augustus, in the vigour of health, maintained at once his own dignity, the honour of his house, and the public tranquillity. In process of time, when, worn with age, and failing under bodily infirmities, he seemed to approach the last act, a new scene presented itself to the hopes of men. Some amused themselves with ideas of ancient liberty, many dreaded the horrors of a civil war, and others wished for public commotion; the greater part discussed, with a variety of opinions, the character of the new masters at that moment impending over the state. "Agrippa was rude and savage; disgrace added to his natural ferocity; and, in point of age and experience, he was by no means equal to the weight of empire. Tiberius was matured by years; he had gained reputation in war: but the pride of the Claudian[13] family was inveterate in his nature, and his inbred cruelty, however suppressed with art, announced itself in various shapes. Trained up in the imperial house, in the very bosom of despotism, he had been inured from his youth to the pomp and pride of consulships and triumphs. During the years which he passed in a seeming retreat, but real exile, in the isle of Rhodes,[14] he meditated nothing so much as plans of future vengeance, clandestine pleasures, and the arts of dissimulation." To these reflections the public added their dread of a mother raging with all the impotence of female ambition: a whole people, they said, were to be enslaved by a woman, and two young men,[15] who in the beginning would hang heavy on the state, and in the end distract and rend it to pieces by their own dissensions.

V. While these and other observations of a similar nature employed the public mind, the health of Augustus declined apace. The wickedness of his wife was not supposed to remain inactive. A rumour prevailed, that Augustus had gone a few months before, in a private man-

6 Caius and Lucius were the sons of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See Genealogical Table, No. 48 and 49. The Roman law made no difference between adoption and natural filiation; consequently the two sons of Agrippa, being adopted by Augustus, became part of the Cæsarean family.

7 Agrippa Posthumus, so called because he was born after his father's death. See Genealogical Table, No. 50.

8 For the island of Planasia, see the Geographical Table.

9 Tiberius had a son, named Drusus, by his first wife Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, No. 70. Drusus was afterwards cut off by Sejanus. See Annals, book iv. s. 8.

10 The slaughter of Varus, and his three legions, was A. U. C. 762. See an account of it in Suetonius, in Aug. s. 23. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 117; and also in this book, s. 58, 60, 61.

11 The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 723. For Actium, see the Geographical Table.

12 By the equal condition of Roman citizens we are not to understand *equality of ranks*, which never did and never can subsist in any age or country. The equal condition of the people consisted in their having a voice in the making of laws, in all questions about war and peace, and in all affairs of moment.

13 The pride of the Claudian family, from which Tiberius was descended both by the paternal and the maternal line, is painted forth in lively colours by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 1 and 2.

14 For an account of Tiberius in the isle of Rhodes, see Suet. in Tib. s. 10, 11, 12.

15 Drusus (the son of Tiberius) and Germanicus, who at that time, commanded the legions on the Rhine.

ner, with a select party, and Fabius Maximus, his confidential friend, to the island of Planasia, on a visit to Agrippa. The meeting was said to be of the tenderest nature: tears were shed by both, and a scene of mutual affection followed. From that interview hopes were conceived, that the young prince would be once more restored to the favour and protection of his grandfather. The secret soon transpired: Fabius communicated the whole to his wife Marcia, and by her it was conveyed to Livia. Augustus knew that he had been betrayed. Maximus died soon after, perhaps, by his own hand: but of that nothing can be said with certainty. At his funeral Marcia was heard, in the vehemence of distress and sorrow, to accuse herself of being accessary to the death of her husband. However that may be, Tiberius had scarcely set foot in Illyricum, when he received despatches from his mother, requiring his immediate presence. He arrived at Nola: but whether Augustus was still living, or had breathed his last, must be left in doubt. By Livia's order the palace and all the avenues were closely guarded: favourable accounts were issued from time to time; and with that artifice mankind was amused, till all proper measures were concerted. At length the same report that announced the death of Augustus, proclaimed Tiberius in possession of the supreme power.

VI. The first exploit of the new reign [A. U. C. 767. A. D. 14.] was the murder of Agrippa Posthumus. A centurion of undaunted resolution attacked him by surprise. Though unprovided with arms, the young man did not easily yield: he fell after a stout resistance. Of this event Tiberius made no report to the senate, content with hinting a pretended order of his deceased father, by which the centurion, charged with the custody of Agrippa's person, was commanded to dispatch him, as soon as the emperor breathed his last. Augustus, it is true, had arraigned the character and conduct of the young man in terms of asperity; he had even banished him by a decree of the senate: but it is equally true, that he never imbrued his hands in the blood of his kindred; nor is it probable that, for the security of a step-son, he would have doomed to death a descendant from himself. The stronger presumption is, that Tiberius and Livia, the former impelled by his dread of a rival, and the latter by the malice of a step-mother, were accomplices in the murder. When the assassin, in the military phrase, reported to Tiberius, that what he had given in orders was duly executed, the reply of the new emperor was, that he had given no such orders, and for what was done the centurion must answer before the senate.

A disavowal so very extraordinary gave the alarm to [1] Sallustius Crispus, a minister then in favour, and trusted with the secrets of the court. The warrant for the execution had passed through his hands. He dreaded a public examination; well aware that, whether he disclosed the truth, or attempted to disguise it, his own danger would, in either case, be precisely the same. To ward off the blow, he remonstrated to Livia, that the secret counsels of the imperial family, the conduct of ministers, and the actions of the centurions, ought to be veiled from the public eye. By referring too much to the senate, the prince would weaken his own authority: that men should be accountable to the sovereign only, was a branch of the imperial prerogative; and if Tiberius departed from it, he ceased to reign.

VII. At Rome, in the meantime, all things tended to a state of abject servitude. Consuls, senators, and Roman knights contended with emulation, who should be the most willing slaves. The higher each person's rank, the more he struggled for the foremost place in bondage. All appeared with a studied countenance. An air of gaiety might dishonour the memory of Augustus, and sadness would ill befit the opening of a new reign. A motley farce was acted; and grief and joy, distress and flattery, succeeding by turns, were curiously mixed and blended. The oath of [2] fidelity to Tiberius was taken first by the two consuls, Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, and by them administered to Seius Strabo and Caius [3] Turranius; the former, præfect of the prætorian bands; the latter, controller of the corn and public stores. Their example was followed by the senate, the army, and the mass of the people.

To make every thing move from the consuls, was the policy of Tiberius. He affected the appearance of republican principles, as if the constitution still subsisted, and he himself had formed no design to destroy it. The very proclamation, by which he convened the senate, professed no other authority than that of the tribunitian power conferred upon him by Augustus. The proclamation itself was short, and penned in modest terms; importing, "that the

1 He was grand nephew to Sallust, the great historian. See Annals, book iii. s. 30. If he disclosed the secret, he was sure to incur the resentment of the emperor; if he concealed it, the senate might condemn him for the murder.

2 There were two forms of oaths; one, when they swore by the name of the prince; the other, when they bound themselves to support his acts. The last was introduced by Romulus, and is called by Ulpian, Lex Regia. It was the foundation of the monarchy. Julius Cæsar renewed it to support his own ambition.—Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 84 It should seem, from what Tacitus says, that, on the present occasion, they swore by the name not the acts of Tiberius. The latter oath was voted afterwards by the senate, but Tiberius opposed it. This book, s. 72.

3 Turranius was the confidential friend of Augustus, and by him, towards the latter end of his reign, appointed præfect of corn and grain; an office which that emperor had generally kept in his own hands.

business of the meeting was, to decree funeral honours to his deceased father; as to himself, he could not leave the body; that office of piety was the only function that he presumed to exercise." This was, indeed, the language of moderation; but Augustus was no sooner dead, than he assumed the supreme authority in his character of Imperator; he took upon him the whole military command; he gave the word to the prætorian[4] guards; sentinels were stationed round the palace; the soldiery appeared under arms; the magnificence of a court was seen in all its forms; guards attended him to the forum; guards conducted him to the senate-house; all things announced the[5] sovereign. In his despatches to the army, he was already the successor of Augustus: he spoke the style and language of a recognised emperor, without reserve, and in the tone of power, equivocal only when he addressed the senate.

The fact was, Tiberius dreaded Germanicus. A commander in chief, who had so many legions under his direction, who had formed connections with the armies of Rome, and was besides the idol of the people, might choose to seize the government, rather than linger in expectation. For this reason the fathers were to be managed. There was at the bottom another motive: if, in appearance, he owed his elevation, not to the intrigues of an ambitious mother, or the adoption of a superannuated emperor, but to the voice of the people, it would redound more to his glory. The opportunity was also fair, to pry into the temper and dispositions of the leading senators. The event showed that his indecision was policy in disguise. He noted the words of men, he watched their looks; warped every circumstance into a crime; and, hoarding all in his memory, gathered rancour for a future day.

VIII. At the first meeting of the senate, the funeral of Augustus was the only subject of debate. The emperor's will was brought forward by the[6] vestal virgins. Tiberius and Livia were declared his heirs. The latter was adopted into the Julian family, with the additional title of Augusta. His grandchildren and their issue were next in succession; in the third degree he named the nobles of Rome; not indeed from motives of personal regard, for the greater part had been for a long time obnoxious; but a bequest so generous and magnificent might gain the applause of future ages. In the rest of his legacies the will was in the style of a Roman citizen: if we except the clauses, whereby he gave to the Roman people four hundred thousand great sesterces,[7] to the inferior commonalty five

4 In every Roman camp the general's tent, or pavilion, was called the Prætorium, because the ancient Latins styled all their commanders, Prætors. Scipio Africanus formed a *prætorian cohort*, or a body of select men, who were stationed near his pavilion, holding themselves in readiness to attend their general in all sudden emergencies. In the time of Augustus the emperor's tent was called Prætorium Augustale. The name was continued by his successors; and the soldiers, who formed the emperor's body-guard, were called the *prætorian cohorts*, under the command of an officer, instituted with a special commission, in which he was styled Præfectus Prætorii. The soldiers were for some time quartered at Rome, till Sejanus, in order to forward his own dark designs, persuaded Tiberius to form a prætorian camp at a small distance from the city. Annals, book iv. s. 2.

5 Tiberius appeared with the same external pomp, and all the honours that distinguished Augustus; namely, the *fasces* wreathed with laurels, a train of lictors, and whatever at that time was appropriated to the emperor. The purple, and the diadem, in imitation of eastern monarchy, were introduced at a later period.

6 Suetonius informs us, that Augustus made his will a year and four months before his death, and committed it to the care of the vestal virgins. Two-thirds of his money, which he had taken care to deposit in his exchequer, he gave to Tiberius, and the rest to Livia. In the event of their death, one-third was to go to Drusus, the son of Tiberius; and the other two-thirds to Germanicus and his three sons. If they did not survive him, he left the whole to his relations and friends.—Suet. in Aug. s. 101.

7 Suetonius seems to have given a distinct account of these several legacies. Tacitus mentions a gross sum to the nation, and the populace; *populo et plebi*. What was given to the former was of course carried into the public treasury, *ærarium*; the rest was distributed to the inferior citizens. Suetonius separates the two legacies, and the translator has ventured to follow him. Suetonius says that forty millions of sesterces were bequeathed to the Roman People; to each of the tribes, thirty-five thousand; to the prætorian guards, one thousand to each; to the city cohorts, five hundred; and to the soldiers of the legions, three hundred to each. He fixed stated times for the payment of the several legacies, declaring, that not above one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces would go to his heirs, though in the last twenty years of his life he had received in legacies no less than fourteen hundred millions, all which, besides his own paternal estate, he had expended on the public.—Suet. in Aug. s. 101.

With regard to the Roman coin, the translator thinks proper to acknowledge, that he does not pretend to accuracy, whenever the great and small sesterces occur in the original. He believes that the reader, in general, will not be anxious about the exact valuation. The curious in such matters are referred to a dissertation on the subject in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxviii. 4to edit. He will there find that *sestertius nummus* was a piece of money worth about four sols of French money; and *sestertium pondus* about 204 livres, 3 sols, and 4d. Another peculiarity is explained in the dissertation just mentioned. Whenever the Latin adverbs, such as *decies*, *vicies*, *centies sestertium*, occur in the original, *centena millia* must always be understood; so that *decies sestertium* is ten hundred thousand or one million of small sesterces. It follows, that the numeral letters in the text ccccxxxv, imply *quadringenties tricies quinquies centena millia sestertium*, that is, four hundred and thirty-five times one hundred thousand small sesterces. Monsieur Guerin, who has given a valuable translation of Tacitus, explains the legacy of the emperor agreeably to what has been stated. Augustus, he says, left to the Roman people, that is, to the state, one hundred thousand sesterces four hundred times told; and to each of the five and thirty tribes, one hundred thousand sesterces, to be distributed among the poorer citizens. This note has run into length; but it

and thirty thousand, to each prætorian soldier one thousand small sesterces, and to every common man belonging to the legions three hundred, he affected neither pomp nor grandeur. The will being read, the funeral honours were taken into consideration. The chief propositions were, that the *procession should pass through the triumphal gate;* this was moved by Asinius Gallus: *that the titles of all the laws of Augustus, and the names of the conquered nations, should be carried before the body*, was the motion of Lucius Arruntius. Valerius Messala was of opinion, that the *oath of fidelity to Tiberius should be renewed every year;* and being thereupon interrogated by the prince, whether that motion was made with his privity? *I made it*, said Messala, *upon my own suggestion; in matters of public concern, however it may give umbrage, the conviction of my own heart shall be the only rule of my conduct.* The age had left no other mode of flattery. The senate with one voice insisted, that the body should be borne to the funeral pile upon their own shoulders. Tiberius assented with seeming condescension, but real arrogance. The Field of Mars was the place appointed for the ceremony. A proclamation was issued, warning the populace to restrain their zeal, and not require that the last duties should be performed in the Forum, as had been done with tumult and disorder at the funeral of Julius Cæsar.

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the soldiers were drawn up under arms; a circumstance that served only to provoke the ridicule of all who remembered the day, or heard of it from their fathers, when Cæsar the dictator was put to death. In that early period of slavery, and in the first emotions of joy for liberty in vain recovered, the blow for freedom seemed a murder to some, and to others a glorious sacrifice. But in the present juncture, when a prince worn out with age, who had grown grey in power, and left a long train of heirs, was to receive the last funeral obsequies, at such a time to call forth the military, in order to secure a quiet interment, was a vain parade, as ridiculous as it was unnecessary.

IX. Augustus now became the subject of public discussion. Frivolous circumstances engaged the attention of the greater number. They observed that the anniversary of his accession to the imperial dignity, was the day of his death. He died at Nola, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where Octavius his father breathed his last. They called to mind, in wonder and amaze, the number of his [1] consulships, equal to those of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Marius put together. The tribunitian power continued in his hands during a series of seven and thirty years; he was saluted IMPERATOR no less than one and twenty times; and other titles of distinction were either invented or revived, to adorn his name. Reflections of a different kind were made by thinking men. They rejudged the life of the emperor, and pronounced with freedom. By his apologists it was argued, "that filial piety to his adopted father, the distraction of the times, and the ruin of the laws, made the part he took in the civil wars an act of necessity; and civil war can neither be undertaken nor conducted on principles of honour and strict justice. To revenge the death of Julius Cæsar, was the primary motive. To obtain that end, he made concessions to Antony, and he temporized with Lepidus: but when the latter grew grey in sloth, and the former fell a victim to his voluptuous passions, the commonwealth, convulsed by party divisions, had no resource but the government of one. There was, however, no monarchy, no dictator content with the unassuming title of Prince of the Senate, he established peace, and settled the constitution. The ocean and far distant rivers [2] marked his boundaries of the empire. The legions, the provinces, and the fleets of Rome acted in concert, with all the strength of system. Justice was duly administered at home; the allies were treated with moderation; and magnificent structures rose to adorn the capital. Violent measures were rarely adopted, and never but for the good of the whole.

X. To this it was answered, "Filial piety, and the distraction of the times, were nothing but a colour to varnish over the lust of dominion. It was the ambition of Augustus that gained the veterans by a profusion of largesses; it was ambition that raised an army, when he was yet a young man, and in a private station. By bribery and corruption he seduced to himself the forces of the consuls. To the friends of Pompey's party he wore a mask, affecting republican principles: he deceived the senate; and by an extorted decree possessed himself of the fasces, and the prætorian authority. How long did the consuls Hirtius and Pansa [3] survive that event? They

was thought necessary, that the curious in Roman coins may not expect more than is intended.

1 Immediately after the battle of Modena, in which Hirtius and Pansa were defeated, Augustus, on the fourteenth before the calends of September, that is, on the 19th of August, A. U. C. 711, was consul for the first time. He was, afterwards, thirteen times consul. Valerius Corvinus was six times consul, and Marius seven times; both together making their number equal to Augustus. It must however be remembered, that he was not emperor of Rome till the defeat of Mark Antony, at the battle of Actium, A. U. C. 723. He died on the 19th of August, in the year of Rome 767.

2 The distant rivers were, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.

3 Hirtius and Pansa were consuls A. U. C. 711. They gave battle to Mark Antony near Modena, and obliged him to abandon Italy. Hirtius fell in the engagement, and Pansa, in a short time after, died of his wounds. Suetonius (Life of Augustus, s. 1.) says, that Glyco, the surgeon, was suspected of infusing poison into the

were both cut off. Did they fall by the hand of the enemy? Who can be certain that Pansa did not die by poison infused into his wound, and Hirtius by the treachery of his own soldiers? If that was their fate, is it clear that Augustus was not an actor in that scene of iniquity? That he put himself at the head of both their armies, is a fact well known. Having extorted the consulship[4] from a reluctant senate, he threw off the mask, and turned against the commonwealth the arms which had been intrusted to him in the cause of liberty against Mark Antony.[5] What shall be said of the fury of proscriptions? He seized the lands of Roman citizens, and divided them among his creatures. These were acts of violence, to this hour unjustified even by those who advised the measure.

"To atone for the death of a father, Brutus and Cassius fell a sacrifice: so far, perhaps, may be allowed; but whether that deadly feud, when the good of the commonwealth required it, might not have been, to his immortal honour, appeased in silence, may still be made a question. Be it as it may, the younger Pompey was ruined by an insidious peace, and Lepidus was undone by treachery. Mark Antony relied upon the treaties of Tarentum[7] and Brundusium: he went further; he married the sister of Augustus; and, in consequence of that insidious alliance, lost his life. Peace, it is true, was soon after established: but what kind of peace? The slaughter of Lollius[8] and Varus stained it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros,[9] the Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of blood."

From the public conduct of Augustus, a transition was made to his domestic character. "Livia was taken by force from Tiberius Nero, her lawful husband; she was then advanced in her pregnancy: whether in that condition she was under a legal disability to contract a second marriage, was indeed referred to the pontifical college; but that very reference was a mockery, that turned all religion to a jest. His two favourites, Quintus Tedius[10] and Vedius Pollio, were distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. To crown the whole, Livia ruled him with unbounded sway; to the commonwealth a fatal empress, and to the Cæsarian family a pernicious stepmother. The honours due to the gods were no longer sacred: Augustus[11] claimed equal worship. Temples were built, and statues were erected, to him: a mortal man was adored, and priests and pontiffs were appointed to pay him impious homage. In calling Tiberius to the succession, he neither acted from motives of private affection, nor of regard for the public welfare. He knew the arrogance and innate cruelty of the man, and from the contrast hoped to derive new lustre on himself." That he knew the inward frame and cast of Tiberius, appears from a fact that happened a few years before. The business of granting to that prince a renewal of the tribunitian power, was depending in the senate. Augustus, in his speech upon that occasion, made honourable mention of him; but, at the same time, threw out oblique reflections on his conduct, his deportment, and his manners. With affected tenderness he seemed willing to palliate all defects; but the malice of the apology wounded the deeper.

XI. The rites of sepulture being performed, a temple and religious worship were decreed to the memory of Augustus. The senate now turned their supplications to Tiberius. A direct answer could not be drawn from him. "He talked of the magnitude and the weight of empire; he mistrusted his own abilities: the comprehensive mind of Augustus was, indeed, equal to the charge; but for himself, called as he had been by that emperor to a share in the administration, he knew by experience, that, to direct

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wound; but Cicero refutes the charge, and vindicates the character of his friend.—See Letters to Brutus, epist. vi.

4 This was the first consulship of Augustus: he drew near the city walls, and demanded it in the name of the legions.—Suetonius, in Aug. s. 26. He had not then obtained the tribunitian power, and therefore was not master of the commonwealth. He was at that time in his twentieth year.

5 Augustus collected together the veteran soldiers who had fought under Julius Cæsar, and received a commission from the senate to join Hirtius and Pansa against Mark Antony.—See Suet. Life of Augustus, s. 10; and Cicero's Philippics *passim*.

6 For an account of the extreme rigour with which Augustus enforced the proscription of the triumvirate, see Suetonius, in Aug. s. 27.

7 The alliance between Augustus and Mark Antony was often violated, and renewed by the interposition of friends. Horace's account of his journey to Brundusium is supposed by Dacier to have been written A. U. C. 713, when the poet met Mæcenas and Cocceius Nerva, the famous lawyer, who were then employed to settle the treaty of Brundusium, by which Antony (his wife Fluvia being then dead) agreed to marry Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The treaty of Tarentum was about three years afterwards.

8 Marcus Lollius was defeated in Germany, A. U. C. 738. The slaughter of Varus and his three legions was A. U. C. 762.—See Suet. in Aug. s. 23; and Florus, lib. iv. cap. 12.

9 Varro Murena and Marcus Egnatius suffered for a conspiracy. Julius Antonius was son to Antony the triumvir, by his wife Fluvia. He was engaged in an intrigue with Julia the daughter of Augustus, and for that offence was put to death. Velleius Paterculus says he despatched himself. Horace's ode *Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari*, is addressed to him.

10 The excessive luxury of Vedius Pollio is well known. Dio Cassius says that he fattened his lampreys and other fish with human blood. Of Quintus Tedius nothing more is known.

11 Suetonius says, Augustus, though he knew that temples were often raised in the provinces in honour of the proconsuls, allowed none to be erected to himself, unless they were at the same time dedicated to the Roman people. In the city he absolutely refused all honours of that kind. Suet. in Aug. s. 52.

the affairs of a great nation, was to be in a state of painful preeminence, exposed to danger, and subject to the vicissitudes of fortune. In a city so well provided with men of illustrious character was it advisable to confide the whole to a single ruler? The several departments of public business would be better filled by a coalition of the best and ablest citizens." In this strain Tiberius delivered himself, with dignity of sentiment, it is true, but nothing from the heart. A profound master of dissimulation, he had from nature, or the force of habit, the art of being dark and unintelligible. Even upon occasions when duplicity was useless, he spoke in short and broken hints, the sense suspended, mysterious, and indecisive. Intending at present to conceal his sentiments,[1] he was of course more involved than ever. The senators, dreading nothing so much as the crime of knowing his character, broke out in a strain of supplication; they melted into tears; they poured forth entreaties; with uplifted hands they looked to the gods; they turned to the statue of Augustus, and at times fell prostrate at the knees of Tiberius. Thus surrounded he called for a state-paper, and ordered it to be read.[2] It set forth an estimate of the empire and its resources, the number of citizens, the allies of Rome, an account of the naval strength, the names of the conquered kingdoms and provinces; the subsidies, tributes, and the amount of the revenue, with the necessary disbursements of government, and the demands for secret service. The whole was in the handwriting of Augustus. It concluded with his advice never to aim at an extension of empire: an important rule of policy; but was it the result of wisdom? or did he view with a malignant eye the fame that might accrue to his successor?

XII. The senate still continuing, with prostrate servility, to press their suit, Tiberius let fall an expression, intimating, that, though unequal to the whole, he was willing to undertake any part that might be committed to his care. Inform us, Cæsar, said Asinius Gallus,[3] what part do you choose? Disconcerted by so unexpected a question, Tiberius paused for a moment; but soon collecting himself, "To choose," he said, "or to decline any part would ill become the man who wished to be dispensed with altogether." Gallus saw displeasure working in his countenance. With quickness and presence of mind he made answer, "The question was not put with intent to divide what in its nature is united and indivisible. I appealed to your own feelings. I wished to draw from you a confession, that the commonwealth, being one body politic, requires one mind to direct it." To this he added a panegyric on the character of Augustus; he expatiated on the victories obtained by Tiberius, and the civil employments which he had filled, with honour to himself, during a series of years. But this soothing strain had no effect. The resentment of Tiberius was not to be pacified. Asinius Gallus had married Vipsania,[4] the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, after her divorce from Tiberius. By that connection he seemed to aspire above the rank of a citizen; and the spirit of his father, Asinius Pollio, was still living in the son.

XIII. Lucius Arruntius[5] delivered his sentiments, nearly the same as Gallus had offered, and in like manner gave offence. Tiberius harboured in his breast no lurking resentment to Arruntius; but he was jealous of a man, whom he saw flourishing in opulence, an ardent spirit, possessed of talents, and high in the esteem of the public. Augustus, moreover, in a conversation not long before his death, talking of the succession to the imperial dignity, distinguished three several classes; in the first he placed such as were worthy, but would decline the honour; in the second, men of ambition, but of inferior talents; in the last, such as had genius to plan, and courage to undertake. Marcus Lepidus[6]

1 Tacitus says, in another place, that Tiberius valued himself more for his art of dissimulation, than for all his other talents. He placed it in the rank of virtues, and hated the man who attempted to discover the secrets of his heart. *Nullam æque Tiberius, ut rebatur, ex virtutibus suis, quam dissimulationem diligebat. Eo ægrius accepit, recludi quæ premeret.* Annals, book iv. s. 71.

2 The pacific system recommended by Augustus, was adopted by his two immediate successors. Tiberius and Caligula were contented with their triumph over the laws, and the lives and fortunes of the most eminent citizens. The pursuit of pleasure, and the exercise of domestic tyranny, banished all ideas of military glory; and their dread of superior merit made them withhold from their generals the renown in arms which they themselves despised. Under the auspices of the emperor Claudius, Britain was invaded and finally reduced by Agricola in the reign of Domitian. That was the only addition to the Roman empire during the first century of the Christian æra. Trajan, afterwards, departed from the moderation of Augustus. He reduced the whole vast territory of Dacia, which lay beyond the Danube, to the form of a Roman province, and extended his conquests into Armenia, Mesopotamia, and other countries, as far as the gulf of Persia. His death closed the career of victory. His successor, Hadrian, renounced all the eastern conquests, choosing to make the precept of Augustus the rule of his conduct.

3 Asinius Gallus was son to Asinius Pollio, the famous orator, and confidential friend of Augustus. Horace and Virgil have made the father immortal. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 12, note (*e*.)

4 Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, was married to Tiberius, who was divorced from her at the desire of Augustus, that he might be at liberty to marry the emperor's daughter Julia, at that time the widow of Agrippa. Vipsania, when repudiated, was far advanced in her pregnancy. She was delivered of Drusus the son of Tiberius, in the house of her second husband. Tiberius always thought of her with real affection, and educated her son Drusus as his own. See the Genealogical Table, No. 69.

5 Lucius Arruntius was consul A. U. C. 722. Pliny the elder makes honourable mention of his talents, and ranks him with the eminent authors of the age.

6 The character of Marcus Lepidus is drawn by

he said, was every way qualified, but unwilling; Asinius Gallus had more ambition than merit; Lucius Arruntius was not only equal to the task, but, if occasion offered, would show a spirit of enterprise. Of this anecdote, with regard to the two first, no doubt remains; but instead of Arruntius, Cneius Piso by some writers is said to have been named. Except Lepidus, they were afterwards all cut off for constructive crimes, artfully laid to their charge by Tiberius. In the course of the debate, Quintus Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus had the misfortune to alarm that gloomy and suspicious temper: the first, by asking "How long is it your pleasure, Cæsar, that the commonwealth shall want a head to direct it?" Scaurus, by saying, "Since the prince has not interposed the tribunitian[7] authority to prevent the report of the consuls, there is room to hope that he will yield to the entreaties of the senate." Tiberius took fire at what was said by Haterius, and broke out with sudden vehemence: to Scaurus he made no reply; resentment had taken root in his heart, and for that reason was smothered in silence.

Fatigued at length by the clamours of the senate and the solicitations of individuals, he gave way by degrees: not expressly declaring his consent; but, as he said, to end the mutual trouble of repeated refusals and unwearied importunity. It may be related as a fact, that Haterius, on the following day, attending at the palace, to mitigate resentment by an apology, narrowly escaped being put to death by the guards. In a suppliant posture he clasped the emperor's knees; and in that moment Tiberius, entangled perhaps by the petitioner, or making a false step, fell to the ground. This provoked the soldiers upon duty. Haterius was saved from their fury: but the danger that threatened a man of his illustrious character, made no impression on the prince; nor did he relent till Livia exerted all her power and influence. Tiberius yielded at length to the solicitations of his mother.

XIV. The senate, at their next meeting, began to offer the incense of adulation to Livia. It was proposed to confer upon her the title of Parent: that name was thought too general: the more distinctive appellation of Mother of her Country was moved as an amendment. It was further proposed, with the general concurrence, that to the name of the Emperor should be added, The Son of Julia. Tiberius opposed these several motions: honours, he said, ought not to be lavished on women; in what regarded his own rank, he was determined to act with the strictest self-denial. This had the appearance of moderation, but envy was the source. By the honours intended to his mother, he thought his own glory might be eclipsed, and, in that spirit, prevented a decree, by which a lictor[8] was ordered to attend her; nor would he suffer an altar[9] to be raised on account of her adoption into the Julian family. Other marks of distinction were proposed and rejected. Germanicus was more favourably treated; for him Tiberius desired the rank of proconsul.[10] Special messengers were sent to invest him with his honours, and at the same time to condole with him on the loss of Augustus. Drusus[11] was then at Rome; and, being consul designed, in his favour nothing new was demanded. By virtue of the imperial prerogative, twelve candidates were named for the prætorship. That number had been settled by Augustus; and though the senate entreated Tiberius to enlarge the list, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed[12] the line already drawn.

Tacitus, Annals, book iv. s. 20. He is there celebrated for his political wisdom, and the virtues of moderation. See also Velleius Paterculus, lib ii. s. 114. For Cneius Piso, who was afterwards the mortal enemy of Germanicus, see Annals, book ii. s. 43.

7 The question put by Haterius seems to imply a compliment. Tiberius, perhaps, thought it came from a man who saw through his affected delays. Mamercus Scaurus is mentioned, Annals, book iii. s. 31, as one of the most eloquent orators of his time, and afterwards, s. 66, as a man whose dissolute manners made him a disgrace to an illustrious line of ancestors. His vices are described by Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, lib. iv. cap. 31. Being accused of writing verses against Tiberius, he prevented a sentence of condemnation by a voluntary death. Annals, book vi. s. 29. What he says in the senate is a pointed remark, and no wonder that it provoked resentment. Tiberius, by virtue of his tribunitian power, might have put an end to the importunity of the senate. Since he did not use his authority, it was evident that he was acting a part, and Scaurus, by his observation, pulled off the mask. Suetonius says, the senate grew impatient; according to him, a member cried out, "Let him accept the sovereignty, or renounce it at once." Another said, "Some men are quick to promise, and slow to perform; Tiberius is the reverse; he acts already, and yet will not promise." Tiberius saw that the farce lasted too long. He therefore said, "I accept the imperial dignity, till you yourselves shall think fit to relieve old age from such a weight of care." Suetonius, in Tib. s. 24.

8 Livia took the name of *Julia*, in consequence of her adoption into the *Julian* family. Tiberius, notwithstanding, thought the appointment of a lictor too great an honour. Claudius was afterwards more indulgent to his wife Agrippina. Two lictors were ordered to attend her.

9 When the Romans wished to perpetuate the memory of a singular event they raised an altar, and engraved the particulars of the transaction. Augustus, after living above seven and thirty years with Livia as his acknowledged wife, chose, in the end, to make her his daughter by adoption. The fathers meant to pay their court to Livia, but Tiberius did not approve of so much adulation.

10 The proconsular authority was often granted to generals at the head of distant armies, but never exercised within the city.

11 Drusus, as already mentioned, was the son of Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, No. 70.

12 He broke his promise afterwards, and, according to Dio Cassius, appointed no less than fifteen or sixteen candidates.

XV. The right of electing magistrates, by public suffrage, in the Field of Mars,[1] was now, for the first time, taken from the people at large, and vested in the senate. The will of the prince had, before that time, great influence in all elections; but parties were formed among the tribes, and sometimes with success. To this encroachment the people made no opposition: they saw their rights taken from them; they grumbled, and submitted. The senators were pleased with the change. They were now delivered from the necessity of humiliating condescensions in the course of their canvass, and from the heavy expense of bribery and corruption. The moderation of Tiberius was a further circumstance in favour of the measure: four candidates of his nomination were implicitly to be chosen, without intrigue or contention; and the prince, content with that number, promised not to stretch his prerogative. The tribunes of the people applied for leave to celebrate, at their own expense, the games newly instituted in honour of Augustus, and ordered to be added to the calender, under the title of Augustan games. A decree passed; but the expense was to issue out of the treasury. The tribunes were allowed to preside in the Circus, dressed in[2] triumphal robes, but the pomp of splendid chariots was expressly denied. The annual celebration of those games was afterwards transferred, from the tribunes, to that particular prætor who has jurisdiction in all cases between[3] strangers and the citizens of Rome.

XVI. Such was the situation of affairs at Rome when a fierce and violent mutiny broke out among the legions in Pannonia. For this insurrection there was no other motive than the licentious spirit, which is apt to to show itself in the beginning of a new reign, and the hope of private advantage in the distractions of a civil war. A summer-camp had been formed for three legions under the command of Junius Blæsus. The death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius being known to the army, the general granted a suspension of[4] military duty, as an interval of grief or joy. The soldiers grew wanton in idleness: dissensions spread amongst them; the vile and profligate had their circular audiences; sloth and pleasure prevailed; and all were willing to exchange a life of toil and discipline for repose and luxury. There happened to be in the camp a busy incendiary, by name Percennius, formerly a leader of theatrical factions,[5] and now a common soldier; a man fluent in words, and by his early habits versed in the arts of exciting tumults and sedition. Over the weak and ignorant, and such as felt their minds alarmed with doubts and fears about the future condition of the service, this pragmatical fellow began to exert his influence. In the dead of the night he mixed in cabals; and never failed at the close of day, when the sober and well disposed retired to their tents, to draw together the idle and most abandoned. Having gained a number of proselytes, he stood forth the orator of sedition, and harangued his confederates in the following manner:

XVII. "How long, my fellow-soldiers, must we obey a small and despicable set of centurions! how long continue slaves to a wretched band of military tribunes? If we mean to redress our grievances, what time is so fit as the present, when the new emperor is not yet settled on the throne! Relief may now be obtained either by remonstrances, or sword in hand. By our passive spirit we have suffered enough; we have been slaves in thirty or forty[6] campaigns; we are grown grey in the service, worn out with infirmities and covered with wounds. In that condition we are still condemned to the toils of war. Even the men who have obtained their discharge, still follow the standard under the name of veterans;[7] another word for protracted misery. A few, indeed, by their bodily vigour have surmounted all their labours; but what is their reward? they are sent to distant regions; and

1 Tiberius had all the arts of a subtle and disguised politician. He knew that by depriving the people of the last remnant of liberty, their right to a voice in the election of magistrates, and vesting it in the senate, he should establish his own absolute power. The senate, at all times adverse to the claims of the people, saw with pleasure the annihilation of a restless, factious, and turbulent democracy; never once reflecting that their order, unsupported by the people, could make but a feeble resistance to the will of a despotic prince. The people, on their part, complained of the alteration; but they complained without principle, or a sense of public interest, merely because they lost the opportunity of selling their votes. Juvenal describes the people, who in the days of the republic granted the consulship and the command of the armies, reduced to think of two things only; their bread, and the games of the circus.

——— Nam qui dabat olim
Imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
PANEM ET CIRCENSES. SAT. x. ver. 78.

2 The triumphal robe was a rich purple, intermixed with gold. Pliny says it was in use in Homer's time, and for that reason adopted by the Roman generals.

3 There were eight prætors, but two only had jurisdiction; one in all causes between citizen and citizen; the other, between citizens and strangers. See the Life of Agricola, s. 6, note 4.

4 A suspension of all business whatever, occasioned by some melancholy event, was called *justitium*. See the description of it in Lucan, lib. ii. v. 19.

5 Theatrical factions were often the cause of great public mischief. See dialogue concerning Oratory, s. xxix. note 5.

6 In the time of the republic, the cavalry served ten years, and the infantry twenty. The civil wars prolonged the service.

7 The soldiers who had served their full time, were not discharged, but still continued to enter into action when occasion required. They encamped apart from the legions, under a banner called *vexillum*, and thence the name of *vexillarii*. They were also called *veterans*

under colour of an allotment of lands, they are settled on a barren mountain, or a swampy fen. War of itself is a state of the vilest drudgery, without an adequate compensation. The life and limb of a soldier are valued at[8] tenpence a day: out of that wretched pittance he must find his clothing, his tent-equipage, and his arms; with that fund, he must bribe the centurion; with that, must purchase occasional exemptions from service; and, with that, must pay for a remission of punishment. But blows and stripes from our officers, wounds from the enemy, intense cold in winter, and the fatigue of summer-campaigns; destructive war, in which every thing is hazarded, and peace, by which nothing is gained, are all the soldier's portion.

"For these evils there is but one remedy left. Let us fix the conditions of our service; let every soldier receive a denarius[9] a day, and at the end of sixteen years let him be entitled to his dismission: beyond that term no further service. Without detaining any man whatever, and without forcing him to follow the colours as a veteran, let every soldier receive the arrears that may be due to him; let him be paid in ready money on the spot, and in the very camp where he signalized his valour. The prætorian cohorts receive two denarii for their daily pay; at the end of sixteen years they return to their families: and is superior merit the ground of this distinction? do they encounter greater dangers? It is theirs to mount guard within the city, and the service may be honourable; but it is our lot to serve amidst savage nations, in a state of perpetual warfare. If we look out of our tents, the barbarians are in view."

XVIII. This speech was received with acclamations. Various passions heaved in every breast. Some presented their bodies seamed with stripes; others pointed to their heads grown grey in the service; numbers showed their tattered clothing, and their persons almost naked. At length the frenzy of the malcontents knew no bounds. Their first design was to incorporate the three legions into one; but which should give its name to the united body, was the question: mutual jealousy put an end to the project. Another scheme took place: the eagles of the three legions, with the colours of the cohorts, were crowded together without preference or distinction. They threw up sods of earth, and began to raise a tribunal. Amidst the tumult Blæsus arrived: he called aloud to all; he laid hold of individuals; he offered himself to their swords; and "Here," he said, "behold your victim: imbrue your hands in the blood of your general. Murder is a crime less horrible, than treason to your prince. I will either live to command the legions intrusted to me: or, if you are determined to revolt, despatch me first; that, when this frenzy is over, you may wake to shame, to horror, and remorse."

XIX. The work of raising a tribunal, in spite of all his efforts, still went on. Heaps of turf were thrown up, and rose breast-high. Conquered at length by the perseverance of their general, the mutineers desisted. Blæsus exerted all his eloquence: "Sedition and revolt," he said, "could not serve their cause; the remonstrances of the army ought to be conveyed to the ear of the prince with respect and deference. The demands which they now made were of the first impression, unknown to former armies, and with the deified Augustus never attempted. In the present juncture, when the prince was new to the cares of government, was that a time to add to his solicitude by tumult and insurrection? If they would still persist, in the season of profound peace, to urge a claim never demanded even by the conquerors in a civil war, why incur the guilt of rebellion? why, in violation of all military discipline, urge their pretensions sword in hand? They might depute their agents to treat with the prince; and, in the presence of their general, they might give their instructions on the spot." This proposal was accepted: with one voice they called out for the son of Blæsus, then a military tribune. The young officer undertook the charge. His directions were to insist that, at the expiration of sixteen years, the soldier should be discharged from the service. That point settled, it would then be time to enumerate other grievances. With this commission the general's son went forward on his journey. A calm succeeded, and lasted for some days. But the minds of the soldiers were still in agitation: their pride was roused; the general's son was now the orator of the army; and force, it was manifest, had at length extorted, what by gentle measures could never be obtained.

XX. Meanwhile, the detached companies[10] which before the disturbance had been sent to Nauportum, to repair the roads, the bridges, and other military works, having heard of the commotions in the camp, seized the colours; and, after ravaging the adjacent villages, plundered Nauportum, a place little inferior to a municipal town. They treated the centurions with derision; from derision they proceeded to opprobrious language; and, in the end, to blows and open violence. Aufidienus Rufus, the prefect of the camp, was the chief object of their fury: they dragged him out of his carriage; and, laying a heavy load on his back, obliged him to

8 The daily pay of a Roman soldier, Brotier says, was equal to ten *sous* of French money.

9 The Roman *denarius* is said to be equal to sixteen *sous* of French money.

10 The companies of foot were called *manipuli*. They consisted, in the time of Romulus, of 100 men, and thence the principal officer was called *centurio*. They increased afterwards to 200, but the name of centurion still remained. A common soldier was called *manipularis*.

march in the foremost ranks, asking him, with contemptuous insolence, how he liked his burden, and the length of his journey? Rufus had risen from a common man to the rank of centurion, and was afterwards made præfect of the camp. In that station he endeavoured to recall the rigour of ancient discipline. A veteran in the service, and long inured to fatigue, he was strict and rigorous in his duty, expecting from others what he had practised himself.

XXI. The return of this tumultuous body renewed the troubles of the camp. The soldiers, without control, issued out of the lines, and pillaged the country round. Some, more heavily loaded with booty than their comrades, were apprehended by the orders of Blæsus; and, after receiving due correction, thrown into prison, as an example to the rest. The authority of the general was still in force with the centurions, and such of the common men as retained a sense of their duty. The delinquents, however, refused to submit; they were dragged along, resisting with all their strength; they clasped the knees of the multitude round them; they called upon their fellow-soldiers by name; they implored the protection of the company to which they belonged; they invoked the cohorts and the legions, crying out to all, that the same lot would shortly be their portion. Against their general they omitted nothing that calumny could suggest; they appealed to heaven; they implored the gods; they tried, by every topic, to excite compassion, to inflame resentment, to awaken terror, and rouse the men to acts of violence. A general insurrection followed: the soldiers in a body rushed to the prison, burst the gates, unchained the prisoners, and associated with themselves the vilest of the army, a band of deserters, and a desperate crew of malefactors, then under condemnation for the enormity of their crimes.

XXII. The flame of discord raged with redoubled fury. New leaders joined the mutiny. Amidst the crowd, one of the common soldiers, a fellow known by the name of Vibulenus, mounted on the shoulders of his comrades before the tribunal of Blæsus, and addressed the multitude, all wild with fury, and eager to hear the language of sedition. "My friends," he said, "you have bravely interposed to save the lives of these innocent, these much injured men. You have restored them to new life. But who will restore my brother? who will give him to my arms? Sent hither from the German army, in concert with you to settle measures for our common safety, he was last night basely murdered by the hand of gladiators,[1] whom Blæsus arms for your destruction. Answer me, Blæsus, where have you bestowed the body? The very enemy allows the rites of sepulture. When I have washed my brother with my tears, and printed kisses on his mangled body, then plunge your poniard in this wretched bosom. I shall die content, if these my fellow-soldiers perform the last funeral office, and bury in one grave two wretched victims, who knew no crime but that of serving the common interest of the legions."

XXIII. This speech Vibulenus rendered still more inflammatory by the vehemence of his manner, by beating his breast, by striking his forehead, and pouring a flood of tears. A way being opened through the crowd, he leaped from the man's shoulders, and grovelling at the feet of individuals, excited the passions of the multitude to the highest pitch of frenzy. In their fury, some fell upon the gladiators retained by Blæsus, and loaded them with irons; others seized the general's domestic train; while numbers dispersed themselves on every side in quest of the body: and, if it had not been speedily known that no corpse could be found; that the slaves of Blæsus averred under the torture, that no murder had been committed; and, in fact, that the incendiary never had a brother, Blæsus must have fallen a sacrifice. The tribunes and the præfect of the camp were obliged to save themselves by flight. Their baggage was seized and plundered. Lucilius, the centurion, was put to death. This man, by the sarcastic pleasantry of the soldiers, had been nick-named GIVE ME ANOTHER; because, in chastising the soldiers, when one rod was broke, he was used to call for ANOTHER, and then ANOTHER. The rest of the centurions lay concealed in lurking places. Out of the whole number, Julius Clemens, a man of prompt and busy talents, was the favourite of the insurgents. He was spared as a fit person to negotiate the claims of the army. Two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were upon the point of coming to the decision of the sword: the former bent on the destruction of Sirpicus, a centurion; and the latter determined to protect him. The quarrel would have laid a scene of blood, if the soldiers of the ninth legion had not, by entreaty, or by menacing the obstinate, appeased the fury of both parties.

XXIV. When the account of these transactions reached Tiberius, that abstruse and gloomy temper, which loved to brood in secret over all untoward events, was so deeply affected, that he resolved, without delay, to despatch his son Drusus, with others of high rank, and two prætorian cohorts, to quell the insurrection. In their instructions no decisive orders were given: they were left to act as emergencies might require. To the cohorts were added a select detachment, with a party of the prætorian horse, and the flower of the Germans, at that time the body-guard of the emperor. In the

1 The Roman generals had in their camp a band of gladiators, in order to accustom their soldiers to wounds and the effusion of blood.

train which accompanied Drusus, Ælius Sejanus[2] was appointed, by his counsels, to guide the inexperience of the prince. Sejanus, at that time in a joint commission with his father Strabo, had the command of the prætorian bands, and stood high in favour with Tiberius: the army would of course consider him as the fountain of rewards and punishments. As soon as they approached the camp, the discontented legions, by way of doing honour to Drusus, advanced to meet him; not, indeed, with colours displayed, as is usual on such occasions; but with a deep and solemn silence, their dress neglected, and their whole appearance uncouth and sordid. In their looks was seen an air of dejection, and at the same time a sullen gloom, that plainly showed a spirit of mutiny still working in their hearts.

XXV. Drusus was no sooner within the intrenchments, than the malcontents secured the gates. Sentinels were posted at different stations, while the rest in a body gathered round the tribunal. Drusus stood in act to speak, with his hand commanding silence. The soldiers felt a variety of contending passions: they looked around, and viewing their numbers, grew fierce at the sight: they rent the air with shouts and acclamations: they turned to Drusus, and were covered with confusion. An indistinct and hollow murmur was heard; a general uproar followed; and soon afterwards a deep and awful silence. The behaviour of the men varied with their passions; by turns inflamed with rage, or depressed with fear. Drusus seized his moment, and read his father's letter, in substance stating, that Tiberius had nothing so much at heart, as the interest of the gallant legions with whom he had served in so many wars. As soon as his grief for the loss of Augustus allowed him leisure, it was his intention to refer the case of the army to the wisdom of the senate. In the meantime, he sent his son to grant all the relief that could then be applied. Ulterior demands he reserved for the deliberation of the fathers: to enforce authority, or to relax it, was the lawful right of that assembly; and the senate, beyond all doubt, would distribute rewards and punishments with equal justice.

XXVI. The soldiers made answer, that they had appointed Julius Clemens to speak in their behalf. That officer claimed a right of dismission from the service, at the end of sixteen years; all arrears then to be discharged: in the meantime a denarius to be the soldier's daily pay; and the practice of detaining the men beyond the period of their service, under the name of veterans, to be abolished for ever. In a business of so much moment, Drusus observed, that the senate and the emperor must be consulted; a general clamour followed. "Why did he come so far, since he had no authority to augment their pay, or to mitigate their sufferings? The power of doing good was not confided to him; while every petty officer inflicted blows, and stripes, and even death. It had been formerly the policy of Tiberius to elude the claims of the army, by taking shelter under the name of Augustus; and now Drusus comes to play the same farce. How long were they to be amused by the visits of the emperor's son? Could that be deemed an equitable government, that kept nothing in suspense but the good of the army? When the soldier is to be punished, or a battle to be fought, why not consult the senate? According to the present system, reward is to be always a subject of reference, while punishment is instant and without appeal."

XXVII. The soldiers, in a tumultuous body, rushed from the tribunal, breathing vengeance, and, wherever they met either the men belonging to the prætorian bands, or the friends of Drusus, threatening violence, in hopes of ending the dispute by a sudden conflict. Cneius Lentulus,[3] whose age and military character gave him considerable weight, was particularly obnoxious; he was supposed to be the chief adviser of Drusus, and an enemy to the proceedings of the army. For the security of his person, he went aside with Drusus, intending to repair to the winter camp. The mutineers gathered round him, demanding with insolence "which way was he going? to the senate? perhaps to the emperor? Was he there to show himself an enemy to the demands of the legions?" Nothing could restrain their fury: they discharged a volley of stones; and one of them taking place, Lentulus, wounded and covered with blood, had nothing to expect but instant death, when the guards that attended Drusus came up in time, and rescued him from destruction.

XXVIII. The night that followed seemed big with some fatal disaster, when an unexpected phenomenon put an end to the commotion. In a clear and serene sky the moon was suddenly eclipsed.[4] This appearance, in its natural cause not understood by the soldiers, was deemed a prognostic denouncing the fate of the army. The planet, in its languishing state, represented the condition of the legions: if it recovered its former lustre, the efforts of the men would be crowned with success. To assist the moon in her labours, the air resounded with

2 For the character of Ælius Sejanus, see Annals, book iv. s. 1.

3 Tacitus has recorded the praise of Lentulus, Annals, book iv. s. 44.

4 This eclipse, according to the calculation of eminent mathematicians, happened on the 27th of September, A. U. C. 767, of the Christian æra 14. Augustus died on the 19th of the preceding month of August.

the clangour of brazen instruments, with the sound of trumpets, and other warlike music. The crowd, in the meantime, stood at gaze: every gleam of light inspired the men with joy; and the sudden gloom depressed their hearts with grief. The clouds condensed, and the moon was supposed to be lost in utter darkness. A melancholy horror seized the multitude; and melancholy is sure to engender superstition. A religious panic spread through the army. The appearance in the heavens foretold eternal labour to the legions; and all lamented that by their crimes they had called down upon themselves the indignation of the gods. Drusus took advantage of the moment. The opportunity was the effect of chance; but, rightly managed, might conduce to the wisest purpose.

He gave orders that the men who by honest means were most in credit with the malcontents should go round from tent to tent. Among these was Clemens, the centurion. They visited every part of the camp; they applied to the guards on duty; they conversed with the patrol, and mixed with the centinels at the gates. They allured some by promises, and by terror subdued the spirit of others. "How long shall we besiege the son of the emperor? Where will this confusion end? Must we follow Percennius and Vibulenus? And shall we swear fidelity to those new commanders? Will their funds supply the pay of the legions? Have they lands to assign to the veteran soldier? For them shall the Neros and the Drusi be deposed? Are they to mount the vacant throne, the future sovereigns of Rome? Let us, since we were the last to enter into rebellion, be the first to expiate our guilt by well-timed repentance. Demands in favour of all, proceed but slowly; to individuals, indulgence is more easily granted; deserve it separately, and the reward will follow." This reasoning had its effect: suspicion and mutual distrust began to take place; the new-raised soldiers went apart from the veterans; the legions separated; a sense of duty revived in the breast of all; the gates were no longer guarded; and the colours, at first promiscuously crowded together, were restored to their proper station.

XXIX. At the return of day, Drusus called an assembly of the soldiers. Though unused to public speaking, he delivered himself with the eloquence of a man who felt his own importance, and the dignity of his rank. He condemned the past, and applauded the present. It was not, he said, a part of his character to yield to menaces, or to shrink from danger. If he saw them penitent, if he heard the language of remorse, he would make a report in their favour, and dispose his father to listen to their petition. The soldiers answered in humble terms: at their request, the younger Blæsus mentioned above, with Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight in the train of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion[1] of the first rank, were despatched as the delegates of the army. In the councils afterwards held by Drusus, various opinions were entertained, and different measures proposed. To wait the return of the deputies, and meanwhile to win the affections of the men by moderation, was the advice of many. Others were for immediate coercion: "Lenity," they said, "makes no impression on the vulgar mind. The common men, when not kept in subjection, are fierce and turbulent; yet ever ready to bend and crouch under proper authority. It was now the time, while they were overwhelmed with superstition, to infuse another fear, and teach them to respect their general. The authors of the late sedition ought to be made a public example." Drusus, by the bent of his nature prone to vindictive measures, desired that Percennius and Vibulenus might be brought before him. By his orders they were put to death; according to some writers, in his own tent, and there buried; according to others, their bodies were thrown over the intrenchments, a spectacle for public view.

XXX. Diligent search was made for the most active incendiaries. Some were found roving on the outside of the lines, and instantly cut off by the centurions, or the prætorian soldiers. Others were delivered up to justice by their respective companies, as an earnest of their own conversion. The rigour of the winter which set in earlier than usual, added to the afflictions of the army. Heavy rains ensued; and fell with such violence, that the men could not venture from their tents. To meet in parties, and converse with their comrades, was impossible. The colours, borne down by torrents that rushed through the camp, were with difficulty secured. Superstition still continued to fill the mind with terror. In every thing that happened, imagination saw the anger of the gods: it was not without reason that the planets suffered an eclipse, and storms and tempests burst from the angry elements. The guilt of the army was the cause of all. To avert impending vengeance, the only expedient was to depart at once from a vile inauspicious camp, the scene of so many crimes, and, by due atonement, expiate their past offences in their winter-quarters. In this persuasion the eighth legion departed: the fifteenth followed; while the ninth remained behind, declaring aloud that they would wait for orders from Tiberius: but they soon saw themselves deserted, and therefore struck their tents, willing to do by choice

1 Every legion was divided into thirty companies, 200 men in each; and again, the companies were distinguished into *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*. Every company had two centurions; the first in command was called PRIMIPILUS, or PRIMIPILARIS.

what in a little time would be an act of necessity. Peace and good order being thus restored, Drusus judged it unnecessary to wait till the return of the deputies, and immediately set off for Rome.

XXXI. About the same time, and from the same causes, another sedition broke out among the legions in Germany, supported by greater numbers, and every way more alarming. The leaders of the mutiny flattered themselves that Germanicus, impatient of a new master, would resign himself to the will of the legions, and in that case they had no doubt, but that every thing would fall before him. Two armies[2] in that juncture were formed on the banks of the Rhine; one in Upper Germany, commanded by Caius Silius; the other in the Lower Germany, under Aulus Cæcina. Both were subordinate to Germanicus, the commander-in-chief, who was then in Gaul, holding the assembly of the states,[3] and collecting the revenues of that nation. The forces under Silius had not as yet revolted: undecided, wavering, and cautious, they judged it prudent to wait the issue of the mutiny begun by others. In Cæcina's camp on the Lower Rhine, the flame of discord was kindled to the utmost fury. The one-and-twentieth and fifth legions began the insurrection; the first and the twentieth followed their example: they were all stationed together in a summer camp, on the confines of the Ubians. The campaign was inactive; and, as the calls of duty were slight, the time of course was passed in repose and indolence.

New levies from Rome, the refuse of that city, had lately joined the army. Upon the first intelligence of the death of Augustus, these men, long addicted to licentiousness, and averse from labour, began to practise upon the ruder minds of their fellow-soldiers. The time, they said, was come, when the veterans might claim their dismission from the service; when the young soldier might augment his pay; when the army in general might redress their grievances, and retaliate the cruelty of the centurions. It was not, as in Pannonia, a single Percennius that inflamed the mutiny; nor were these arguments urged to men who saw on every side of them superior armies, and of course trembled while they meditated a revolt. There were numbers of busy incendiaries, and many mouths to bawl sedition. Their doctrine was, that the fate of Rome was in their hands; by their victories the empire flourished; by their valour Germany was subdued; and from the country which they had conquered, the emperors of Rome were proud to derive a title[4] to adorn their names.

XXXII. Cæcina saw the danger, but made no effort to suppress it. The malcontents were numerous, and their frenzy above all control; insomuch, that the general no longer retained his usual firmness. The tumult broke out at once: the soldiers fell upon the centurions, the old and lasting cause of military discontent, and in every insurrection the first to fall a sacrifice. They seized their victims, and, without mercy, dashed them on the ground: in every legion[5] the centurions amounted to sixty; an equal number fell on each of them. The soldiers laid on with their cudgels; they wounded, maimed, and mangled their devoted officers; and, to complete their vengeance, cast them dead, or ready to expire, over the intrenchments. Numbers were thrown into the Rhine. One, in particular, by name Septimius, fled to the tribunal: and, clasping the knees of his general, hoped there to find a sanctuary. The soldiers demanded him with contumacy, and Cæcina was obliged to give him to their fury. Cassius Chærea,[6] the same who afterwards immortalized his name by the death of Caligula, was then a centurion, in the vigour of youth, and of a spirit to face every danger. He made head against all assailants, and, sword in hand, cut his way through their thickest ranks. From this time all was uproar and wild commotion. No tribune gave orders, no præfect of the camp was heard. The leaders of the mutiny appointed sentinels; they stationed the night watch, and gave directions as emergencies required. One mind inspired the whole body; and this circumstance, in the judgment of those who best knew the temper of the army, was the sure sign of a faction not easy to be quelled. In separate bodies nothing was done; no single incendiary took upon him to direct; together they set up a general shout, and together all were silent. Every thing moved in concert, and even anarchy had the appearance of regular discipline.

XXXIII. Meanwhile Germanicus, engaged,

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2 The whole tract of Gaul, on the borders of the Rhine, was reduced to subjection, and divided by Augustus into Upper and Lower Germany. Whenever they are mentioned, it will be proper to bear in mind, that both lay on this side of the Rhine, and were no part of Germany, properly so called. For a further account of this matter, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 1, note.

3 In collecting the tributes in the several provinces, the Romans made an accurate survey of the people, and an estimate of their riches: this was called census agere.

4 The Roman generals, and the emperors after them, took an honorary title from the conquered country. Scipio was styled Africanus: Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was called Germanicus, and his son was known by no other name. The emperor Claudius assumed the addition of Germanicus.

5 It has been observed, section 29, note, that there were in every legion thirty companies, with two centurions to each.

6 Chærea was the chief of the conspirators against Caligula. He desired that he might have the glory of striking the first blow. Suet. in Calig. s. 56.

as has been mentioned, with the states of Gaul, received advice that Augustus was no more. He had married Agrippina, the granddaughter[1] of that emperor, and by her had several children. Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, was his father, and of course Livia was his grandmother. Thus descended, and thus allied, he lived in perpetual anxiety. The sullen aversion of his uncle, and the secret malice of Livia, embittered his days. The hatred with which they pursued him was unjust; and, for that reason, unrelenting. The fact is, Drusus[2] was the delight of the Roman people: they cherished his memory, persuaded that, if the sovereign power had devolved on him, the old republic would have been restored. At his death, the affections of mankind were transferred to his son. From similar virtues the same conduct was expected. Possessed of popular talents, affable, and obliging to all, Germanicus presented a strong contrast to the harsh temper and clouded aspect of Tiberius. The jealousies that subsisted between the women, added fuel to the flame; Livia beheld the wife of Germanicus with the malice of a stepmother; and, in return, Agrippina resented every thing with sensibility, perhaps with indignation. But the tenderness of her affection for her husband softened her fiercer passions, and gave a tincture of delicacy to that haughty spirit which nothing could subdue.

XXXIV. Germanicus was now advanced nearer to the imperial dignity; but his zeal for Tiberius rose in proportion. He required from the Sequanians and the Belgic states[3] the oath of fidelity to the emperor; and being informed of the commotions that distracted the army, he set forward, without delay, to appease the tumult. The legions met him on the outside of the intrenchments, with downcast eyes, and all the external symptoms of repentance. He was, however, no sooner within the lines, than the camp resounded with groans and bitter lamentations. Some laid hold of the prince's hand, as if going to kiss it; but inserting his fingers in their mouths, made him feel their boneless gums, complaining that they had lost their teeth in the service: others showed their bodies bent with age, and drooping under a load of infirmities. A tumultuous crowd gathered round the tribunal: Germanicus ordered them to form in their respective companies, that the men might more distinctly hear his answer; and to distinguish the cohorts, he directed the standards to be ranged in proper order. The soldiers obeyed, but with reluctance. Germanicus opened with the panegyric of Augustus; he proceeded to the victories and triumphs obtained by Tiberius,[4] insisting chiefly on his exploits in Germany, at the head of those very legions. The succession, he observed, was quietly settled: Italy consented, both the Gauls remained in their duty, and peace prevailed in every part of the empire.

XXXV. Thus far Germanicus was heard with silence, or at worst with a low and hollow murmur. He made a transition to the present disturbances; "Where is now the sense of military duty? Where that ancient discipline, the boast and honour of the Roman armies? Whither have you driven the tribunes? Where are the centurions?" At these words the whole multitude, as if with one instinct, threw off their clothes, exposing their bodies seamed with wounds from the enemy, and with lashes from the centurion. A general outcry followed. They complained of the price exacted for relaxations of duty; they mentioned the miserable pittance which they received for their daily pay; they set forth their various hardships, and in particular their unremitting labour at the intrenchments, the fatigue of carrying provisions, wood, and forage, with a detail of other employments, sometimes imposed by necessity, and frequently to prevent idleness in the camp. The clamour of the veterans was outrageous: they had served thirty years and more, and when were they to expect a cessation of misery? They desired to retreat for old age, that they might not languish in despair, and wait till the hand of death released them from their troubles. Some demanded immediate payment of the legacies bequeathed by Augustus. They offered up ardent vows for the success of Germanicus; assuring him, if he wished to seize the sovereign power, that they were to a man devoted to his service.

Struck with horror, and dreading the contagion of so foul a crime, Germanicus leaped from the tribunal. The soldiers sword in hand opposed his passage, and even threatened violence if he did not return. The prince was resolved to perish, rather than forfeit his honour. He drew his sword, and pointed it to his breast, ready to plunge it to his heart. The people near him stopped his hand; but the crowd at a distance, and even some who dared to advance, had the insolence to bid him strike: one in particular, by name Calusidius, presented a naked sword; adding, at the same time, *Take this; it is sharper than your own.* This behaviour, even in the moment of frenzy, appeared to the soldiers an atrocious act. A pause ensued. The friends of Germanicus seized the opportunity, and conveyed him to his tent.

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1 For Agrippina, see the Genealogical Table, No. 51.

2 Drusus died A. U. C. 745. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79.

3 The original says, *Belgica civitates.* By the word *civitas*, the Roman authors do not always mean a city, in the modern sense of the word; but a body politic, a state, a people.

4 Tiberius conquered in Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Illyricum. He commanded in Germany, and obtained several victories. Suet. in Tib. s. 18 and 20. Velleius Paterc. lib. ii. s. 104.

XXXVI. A council was immediately called. It was well known that the insurgents were preparing a deputation to the army on the Upper Rhine, in order to engage them in the revolt, and make it a common cause. The city of the Ubians was devoted to destruction. From the pillage of that place, the plan of the mutineers was to proceed to greater lengths, and carry desolation into the provinces of Gaul. The Germans, at the same time, knew the dissensions of the Roman army; and, if the Rhine were once abandoned, stood in readiness to seize so advantageous a post. The moment was full of perplexity. To employ the auxiliary forces and the states in alliance with Rome against the revolted legions, were to engage in a civil war. To proceed with rigour might be dangerous; and to pacify the men by largesses, were an expedient altogether dishonourable. Grant all or nothing, the dilemma was either way big with mischief. After mature deliberation, letters were framed in the name of Tiberius, importing that at the end of twenty years the soldier should be entitled to his dismission; that, after sixteen, he should be deemed a veteran, still retained in the service, but exempt from all duty, except that of repelling the incursions of the enemy. A promise was added, that the legacies given by Augustus should not only be paid, but increased to double the amount.

XXXVII. The forgery was suspected by the soldiers. They saw that the letter was an expedient to gain time. They demanded immediate compliance, and accordingly dismissions from the service were made out by the tribunes. The payment of the money was deferred till the legions arrived in their winter quarters. The fifth and one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till Germanicus, with his own finances and the assistance of his friends, made up the sum required. The first and twentieth legions, under the command of Cæcina, proceeded towards the city of the Ubians; exhibiting, as they marched, a shameful spectacle, while they carried, amidst the colours and the Roman eagles, the treasure extorted from their general. Germanicus proceeded with expedition to the army on the Upper Rhine, and there required the oath of fidelity to the emperor. The second, the thirteenth, and sixteenth legions, complied without hesitation. The fourteenth stood for some time in suspense. They made no demand; but Germanicus ordered dismissions from the service to be made out for the veterans, and their money to be forthwith discharged.

XXXVIII. Meanwhile a party of veterans belonging to the legions lately in commotion, but at that time stationed in the territory of the Chaucians, discovered the same spirit of disaffection; but the firmness of Mennius, the prefect of the camp, suppressed the mischief in its birth. He ordered two of the ringleaders to be seized, and put to death; an act of severity not strictly[5] legal, but in some degree justified by necessity. He was obliged, however, to seek his safety by flight. The soldiers pursued him. Being detected in his lurking-place, he resolved to face his enemies, and depend upon his own bravery. "It is not," he said, "against me, the prefect of the camp, that this outrage is committed; it is treachery to Germanicus; it is treason to the emperor." The leaders of the mutiny were struck with terror. In that moment he seized the standard; and turning towards the river,[6] declared, in a peremptory tone, that whoever quitted his rank, should suffer as a deserter. The whole body marched into winter-quarters, murmuring discontent, but not daring to disobey.

XXXIX. During these transactions, the deputies of the senate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar,[7] on his return from the Upper Rhine. Two legions, the first and twentieth, were stationed at that place in winter-quarters; and, with them, the veterans lately appointed to follow the colours. To minds in their condition, fluctuating between fear and conscious guilt, every circumstance was a new alarm. The deputies, they were sure, came with instructions to revoke and cancel the terms which violence had extorted. The credulity of the common people never works by halves; they believe without proof, and soon find the author of what never happened. Munatius Plancus, a senator of consular rank, and a principal person in the embassy, was named as the framer of a decree, that never existed but in the imagination of the soldiers. In the dead of the night they rushed in a body to the head-quarters of Germanicus, demanding, with rage and violence, the purple standard[8] which was there deposited. They broke open the doors; they forced their way into the house; and, dragging their general out of his bed, with menaces of instant death, compelled him to surrender the

5 The territory of the Chaucians lay between the rivers Amisia (the *Ems*) and Albis (the *Elbe*). Hence it appears, that after the slaughter of Varus the Romans were still in possession of some strongholds in Germany. The garrison quartered in Germany began to mutiny, but the prefect of the camp ordered two of the ringleaders to be executed. The prefect of the camp had no authority to punish with death. This was against law. That power was vested in the commander in chief Lesser punishments were inflicted by the tribunes and centurions.

6 He turned towards the river, i. e. the Rhine, and led the mutineers to their winter-quarters.

7 The Ubian altar, now *Bonn*. See the Geographical Table.

8 The original says, *vexillum*. This, on the authority of Lipsius, is called in the translation the *purple standard*, which was always at the head-quarters, till produced as the signal for engaging the enemy. Some of the commentators contend that it was the banner, under which the veterans were retained in the service.

standard. Flushed with this exploit, they ran wild through the streets; and meeting the deputies, then on their way to join the prince, they poured forth a torrent of opprobrious language, and threatened a general massacre.

Plancus was the first object of their fury. That illustrious citizen could not, without dishonour to his character, shrink back from a tumultuous rabble; he was, however, compelled to take refuge in the camp of the first legion. He there embraced the colours; and, laying hold of the eagles, thought himself protected by the gods of the army. But even that sanctuary was no longer a place of shelter; the soldiers forgot the religion of the camp; and if Calpurnius, the eagle-bearer, had not made a stout resistance, a deed of horror, unheard of even among barbarians, had been impiously perpetrated; and the blood of a Roman ambassador, in a Roman camp, had stained the altar of the gods.[1] At the return of day, when the general, the men, and the actions of all might be clearly distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp. He ordered Plancus to be conducted to his presence, and seated him near himself on the tribunal. He complained of the distractions of the time; but imputed what had happened, not so much to the madness of the soldiers, as to the vengeance of the gods. He explained the nature of the deputation from the senate; he stated the rights of ambassadors; he painted forth, in pathetic terms, the indignity offered to a man of such high consideration as Plancus: and lamented the disgrace that befell the legion. The soldiers heard him like men astonished, but not convinced. Germanicus thought proper to dismiss the deputies; but, to guard their persons, ordered a detachment of the auxiliary horse to escort them.

XL. The conduct of Germanicus was censured by many of his friends. "Why did he not withdraw to the army on the Upper Rhine? Discipline was there in force, and with proper assistance the mutiny might have been crushed at once. By dismissions from the service, by largesses, and other feeble measures, the disturbances were too much encouraged. If the general set no value on his own life, why neglect the safety of his infant son?[2] Why hazard among lawless men, who had violated every sacred right, an affectionate wife, at that time far advanced in her pregnancy? Those tender pledges were the property of the state, and should be restored to the emperor and the commonwealth." Germanicus yielded to these remonstrances; but the consent of Agrippina was still to be obtained. Descended from Augustus, she insisted that the granddaughter of that emperor had not so far degenerated, as to shrink from danger. Germanicus continued to urge his request; he melted into tears; he clasped her in his arms; he embraced her infant son, and at length prevailed. A procession of disconsolate women moved slowly on; and with them the wife of the commander-in-chief, compelled to be a wanderer, with her infant son in her arms. A band of wretched women, driven forth from their husbands, attended in her train. Amongst those whom they left behind, the scene of distress was not less affecting.

XLI. The camp presented a mournful spectacle. Instead of a Roman general at the head of his legions; instead of Germanicus in all the pomp and pride of authority, the face of things resembled a city taken by storm. Nothing was heard but shrieks and lamentations. The soldiers listened; they came forth from their tents; they stood astonished at the sight: and, "Why," they said, "wherefore those notes of sorrow? What means that mournful spectacle? A train of noble matrons deserted, left to themselves, abandoned by all! no centurion, not so much as a soldier, to accompany them! The wife of the general, undistinguished in the crowd, without a guard, and without the train of attendants suited to her rank, proceeding on her way towards the people of Treves, to seek in a foreign state, that protection which was denied her in a Roman camp!" To these reflections shame and remorse succeeded, and every breast was touched with sympathy. All lamented the condition of Agrippina. They called to mind the splendour of her father Agrippa; they recollected the majesty of Augustus, her grandfather; they remembered Drusus, her father-in-law; her own personal accomplishments, her numerous issue, and her virtue, endeared her to the army. Her son, they said, was a native of the camp;[3] he was educated in the tents of the legions; and surnamed CALIGULA, from the boot so called, which, to win the affections of the soldiers, he wore in common with the meanest of the army. Amidst these reflections, the honour intended for the people of Treves made the deepest impression. Stung by that idea they pressed forward to Agrippina; they entreated her to stay; they opposed her passage; they ran in crowds to Germanicus, imploring him not to let her depart. The prince, still warm with mixed emotions of grief and indignation, addressed them in the following manner:

XLII. "My wife and child are ever dear to me, but no more so than my father[4] and the

1 The ensigns and the eagles were the gods of a Roman army. Tacitus calls them *propria legionum numina*. Tertullian says, *Religio Romanorum tota castrensis; signa veneratur, signa jurat, et omnibus diis præponit.*

2 This was Caligula, afterwards emperor. See the Genealogical Table, No. 86.

3 Caligula was born in Germany:

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.

Suetonius seems to think that he was born at Antium in Italy. Suet. in Calig. s. 8.

4 Not his real father Drusus, who was long since

commonwealth. But the emperor will be safe in his own imperial dignity, and the commonwealth has other armies to fight her battles. For my wife and children, if, from their destruction, you might derive additional glory, I could yield them up a sacrifice in such a cause: at present, I remove them from the rage of frantic men. If horrors are still to multiply, let my blood glut your fury. The great-grandson of Augustus, and the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, need not be left to fill the measure of your iniquity. Without that horrible catastrophe the scene of guilt may end. But let me ask you, in these last few days what have you not attempted? What have you left unviolated? By what name shall I now address you? Shall I call you soldiers? Soldiers! who have dared to besiege the son[5] of your emperor! who have made him a prisoner in his own intrenchments! Can I call you citizens? Citizens! who have trampled under your feet the authority of the senate; who have violated the most awful sanctions, even those which hostile states have ever held in respect, the rights of ambassadors, and the law of nations?

"Julius Cæsar, by a single word, was able to quell a mutiny: he spoke to the men who resisted his authority; he called them Romans,[6] and they became his soldiers. Augustus showed himself to the legions that fought at Actium, and the majesty of his countenance awed them into obedience. The distance between myself and those illustrious characters, I know, is great; and yet, descended from them, with their blood in my veins, I should resent with indignation a parallel outrage from the soldiers of Syria, or of Spain: and will you, ye men of the first legion, who received your colours from the hand of Tiberius; and you, ye men of the twentieth, his fellow-warriors in the field, his companions in so many victories; will you thus requite him for all the favours so graciously bestowed upon you? From every other quarter of the empire Tiberius has received nothing but joyful tidings: and must I wound his ear with the news of your revolt? Must he hear from me, that neither the soldiers raised by myself, nor the veterans who fought under him, are willing to own his authority? Must he be told, that neither dismissions from the service, nor money lavishly granted, can appease the fury of ungrateful men? Must I inform him, that here the centurions are murdered; that, in this camp, the tribunes are driven from their post; that here the ambassadors of Rome are detained as prisoners; that the intrenchments present a scene of slaughter; that rivers are discoloured with our blood; and that a Roman general leads a precarious life, at the mercy of men inflamed with epidemic madness?

XLIII. "Why, the other day, when I endeavoured to address you, why was the sword which I aimed at my breast, why in that moment was it wrested from me? Oh, my mistaken friends! the man who presented his sword dealt more kindly by me. I could then have closed my eyes in peace. I should not have lived to see the disgrace of the legions, and all the horrors that followed. After my death, you would have chosen another general, regardless indeed of my unhappy lot, but still of spirit to revenge the massacre of Varus and his three legions. May that revenge be still reserved for the Roman sword; and may the gods withhold from the Belgic states, though now they court the opportunity, the vast renown of vindicating the Roman name, and humbling the pride of the German nations! and may thy departed spirit, adored Augustus! who now art ranked among the gods; and may thy image,[7] Drusus, my ever-honoured father! may thy memory inspire these unhappy men, whom I now see touched with remorse! May your active energy blot out that disgrace that sits heavy upon them; and may the rage of civil discord discharge itself on the enemies of Rome! And you, my fellow-soldiers! whom I behold with altered looks, whose hearts begin to melt with sorrow and repentance, if you mean to preserve the ambassadors of the senate; if you intend to remain faithful to your prince, and to restore my wife and children; detach yourselves at once from the contagion of guilty men; withdraw from the seditious: the act will be a proof of your remorse, an earnest of returning virtue."

XLIV. The soldiers were appeased by this harangue. They acknowledged their guilt, and the justice of the reproof. In a suppliant tone they entreated Germanicus to select for punishment the most obnoxious; to pardon the weakness of men drawn into error, and lead them against the enemy. They requested that his wife might be recalled; and that his son, the darling of the camp, might not be sent a hostage to the states of Gaul. Agrippina being then advanced in her pregnancy, and the winter

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dead. He means Tiberius, who had adopted him by order of Augustus, as already mentioned, s. 3. See the fine passage in Cicero: *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est; pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere?* De Officiis, lib. i. s. 17.

5 Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius.

6 The soldiers of the tenth legion being quartered at Rome, demanded of Julius Cæsar the arrears of their pay, and a discharge from the service. He yielded to their clamour, and disbanded the whole corps. He then addressed them in a soothing speech, and as they were no longer soldiers, called them QUIRITES. By that single word the men were softened, and once more listed in the service. Suet. in Cæs. s. 70. After the battle of Actium, Augustus quelled a mutiny at Brundusium, Suet. in Aug. s. 17.

7 The image of Drusus was displayed among the eagles and standards.

season approaching, Germanicus judged it best to let her proceed on her journey. His son, he said, should once more appear amongst them. What remained to be done he left to themselves.

The soldiers were now incited by new sentiments and passions unfelt before; they seized the ringleaders of the sedition, and delivered them, loaded with irons, to Caius Cetronius, who commanded the first legion. By that officer the delinquents were brought to immediate justice. The form of proceeding was as follows: The legions under arms were ranged round the tribunal: the criminal was set up to public view; if the general voice pronounced him guilty, he was thrown headlong down, and put to instant death. In this mode of punishment the soldier concurred with ardour; by shedding the blood of others, he thought his own guilt was expiated. The measure, however violent, received no check from Germanicus. What was done had no sanction from his orders. The cruelty began with the soldiers, and by consequence could be imputed to no one else. The veterans followed the example, and in a few days afterwards were ordered to march into Rhætia, under colour of defending the province from the inroads of the Suevians; but in truth, to remove them from the camp polluted by rebellion, and in the end made savage by the horrors of military execution. A strict review of the centurions was the first care of Germanicus. They were all cited before him; each in person gave in his name, his rank, the place of his birth, the length of his services, the actions in which he had distinguished himself, and the military honours [1] which he had obtained. If the tribunes, or the legion in general, reported in his favour, he preserved his station; if taxed by the general voice with avarice or cruelty, he was discharged from the service.

XLV. Order and tranquillity were in this manner restored: but at the distance of sixty miles, at a place called *Vetera*,[2] riot and disorder still subsisted. The fifth and twenty-first legions were there in winter quarters. In the late commotions these men were the first and most active incendiaries. The worst and blackest crimes were by them committed; and now, when the storm was in appearance over, they still retained their former ferocity, unreclaimed by the penitence of others, and undismayed by the fate of those who had suffered death. To meet this new alarm, Germanicus resolved to equip his fleet, and with the auxiliary forces to sail down the Rhine, in order, if the mutiny still subsisted, to crush it at once by force of arms.

XLVI. At Rome, in the meantime, where the issue of the commotions in Illyricum was yet unknown, advice was received of the disorders that broke out in Germany. The city was thrown into consternation. All exclaimed against the conduct of Tiberius. "To amuse the senate and the people, both helpless, void of spirit, and disarmed, was the sole drift of the emperor. The flame of discord was in the meantime kindled up by the distant armies; and two young men, who had neither experience nor sufficient authority, were sent in vain to quell the insurrection. Why did not Tiberius set out in person upon the first alarm? The occasion called for his presence. At the sight of him, who had gained renown in war, and was moreover the fountain of rewards and punishments, the malcontents would have laid down their arms. Augustus,[3] though in the decline of life, could make a progress into Germany: and shall Tiberius, in the vigour of his days, content himself with the vain parade of attending the senate, there to amuse himself with petty disputes, to cavil about words, and wrangle with the fathers? Enough was done at Rome to establish his system of slavery, and despotic power. Measures should now be taken to curb the spirit of the legions, and teach them to endure the leisure of repose."

XLVII. Tiberius heard the murmurs of discontent, but remained inflexible. To keep possession of the capital, and neither hazard his own safety, nor that of the empire, was his fixed resolution. A crowd of reflections filled him with anxiety. The German army was superior in strength; that in Pannonia was the nearest: the former had great resources in Gaul, and Italy lay open to the latter. To which should he give the preference? If he visited one, the other might take umbrage. By sending his sons, he held the balance even, and neither could be jealous. It was besides his maxim, that the imperial dignity should not be suffered to tarnish in the eye of the public. What is seen at a distance is most respected. If Drusus and Germanicus reserved some points for the consideration of their father, the inexperience of youth would be a sufficient apology. Should the mutineers persist with obstinacy, there would still be time for the prince to interpose, and either by rigour, or conciliating measures, to restore the ancient discipline. If he went in person, and the insurgents spurned his authority, what resource was left?—These considerations had their weight; and yet, to have the appearance of being willing to face his armies was part of his policy.

1 The rewards of the soldiers' valour were a chain, a bracelet, a spear, a branch of oak. *Servati civis referentem præmia quercum.* See in book ii. s. 9, the military honours obtained by Flavius, the brother of Arminius.

2 *Vetera* is the same as *vetera castra*, the old camp; a place rendered famous by the siege conducted by Civilis, the Batavian chief. Hist. book iv. s. 22. It is now called *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves.

3 Suetonius says there was not a province, except Africa and Sardinia, which he did not visit. In Aug. s. 47.

He played this game so well, that he seemed every day upon the point of leaving Rome.[4] He settled his train of attendants, ordered his camp equipage, equipped his fleets; still contriving, by specious pretences, to give a colour to delay. The winter season, he said, was near at hand, and the weight of affairs at Rome claimed his attention. The most discerning were for some time the dupes of his dissimulation. The people were much longer amused, and the provinces were the last to see through the delusion.

XLVIII. Germanicus in the meantime was ready, with his collected force, to act against the rebel legions. He was willing, notwithstanding, to suspend his operations, till time should show whether the late example had wrought the minds of the soldiers to submission, and a due sense of their duty. With this intent, he sent despatches to Cæcina, to inform that officer, that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army; resolved, if justice was not previously executed, to put the whole body to the sword. Cæcina communicated, in a confidential manner, his secret instructions to the standard-bearers, to the inferior officers, and such of the private men as were known to be well affected. He recommended to them to avert the danger that hung over the legions, and in good time to secure their lives. In times of peace, he said, there is always leisure to investigate the truth, and separate the man of merit from the turbulent and seditious: but war knows no distinction of cases; the innocent and the guilty fall in one promiscuous carnage.

The officers, thus instructed, sounded the common men; and, finding the greatest part well-affected, agreed, at an hour approved of by Cæcina, to fall with sudden fury upon the leaders of the mutiny. Having concerted their measures, at a signal given they began the attack. They rushed sword in hand into the tents,[5] and without mercy butchered their comrades, who little thought they were so near their end. A dreadful slaughter followed; no cause assigned, and no explanation given. Except the authors of the measure, no man knew from what motive the assault proceeded, or where it would end.

XLIX. In the civil wars recorded in history, we no where find a scene of horror like the present. No battle was fought; there was no assault from an adverse camp: in the same tents, where the day saw them eat their meal in peace, and the night laid them down to rest, comrades divide against their fellows; darts and javelins are thrown with sudden fury; uproar and confusion follow; shouts and dying groans resound throughout the camp; a scene of blood is laid; wretches expire, and the reason remains unknown. The event is left to chance. Men of worth and honour perished in the fray; for the guilty, finding themselves the devoted objects, snatched up their arms, and joined the better cause. Cæcina remained a tame spectator; no officer, no tribune, attempted to stop the wild commotion. The fury of the soldiers had its free career; and vengeance rioted in blood, even to satiety. Germanicus in a short time after entered the camp. He saw a tragic spectacle; and, with tears in his eyes, called it a massacre, not an act of justice. He ordered the dead bodies to be burnt. The fury of the soldiers had not yet subsided; in the agitation of their minds they desired to be led against the enemy, in order to expiate by the blood of the Barbarians the desolation they had made. The shades of their slaughtered friends could not be otherwise appeased; when their breasts were gashed with honourable wounds, atonement would then be made. Germanicus embraced the opportunity; and throwing a bridge over the river,[6] advanced with an army of twelve thousand legionary soldiers, six-and-twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse; all free from disaffection, and during the late commotions strict observers of discipline.

L. The Germans, posted at a small distance, exulted in full security. They saw with pleasure the cessation of arms occasioned by the death of Augustus; and the revolt of the legions inspired them with fresh courage. The Romans, by a forced march, passed the Cæsian forest;[7] and having levelled part of the rampart[8] formerly begun by Tiberius, pitched their tents on the spot. In the front and rear of the camp, they threw up intrenchments. The flanks were fortified with a pile of trees, hewn down for the purpose. Their way from that place lay through a gloomy forest: but of two roads, which was most eligible, was matter of doubt; whether the shortest[9] and most frequented, or another more difficult, and seldom attempted, but for that reason unsuspected by the enemy. The longest road was preferred. The army pushed on with vigour. The scouts had brought intelligence that the approaching night was a festival, to be celebrated by the Barbarians with joy and revelry.

4 Tiberius, in the first two years after his accession, never once stirred out of Rome; nor did he afterwards venture farther than Antium, or the isle of Capreæ. He pretended an intention to visit the provinces, and made preparations every year, without so much as beginning a journey. He was at last called Callipedes, a man famous in Greece for being in a hurry, and never advancing an inch. Suet. in Tib. s. 38.

5 The tents are called, in the original, *Contubernia*. They were large enough for ten soldiers, who were lodged together.

6 He threw a bridge over the Rhine.

7 See the Geographical Table.

8 The rampart was raised by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, in the reign of Augustus. Cluverius says, it was near the city, now called *Schermbeck*. See Germ. Antiqua, lib. iii. cap. 9.

9 This road, Brotier says, stretched from west to east, along the banks of the river Luppia (the *Lippe*) as far as Aliso, now *Elsen*.

In consequence of this information, Cæcina had orders to advance with the light cohorts, and clear a passage through the woods. The legions followed at a moderate distance. The brightness of the night favoured their design. They arrived, with rapid expedition, at the villages of the Marsians,[1] and without delay formed a chain of posts, to inclose the enemy on every side. The Barbarians were sunk in sleep and wine, some stretched on their beds, others at full length under the tables; all in full security, without a guard, without posts, and without a centinel on duty. No appearance of war was seen; nor could that be called a peace which was only the effect of savage riot, the languor of a debauch.

LI. Germanicus, to spread the slaughter as wide as possible, divided his men into four battalions. The country, fifty miles round, was laid waste with fire and sword; no compassion for sex or age; no distinction of places, holy or profane; nothing was sacred. In the general ruin the Temple of Tanfan,[2] which was held by the inhabitants in the highest veneration, was levelled to the ground. Dreadful as the slaughter was, it did not cost a drop of Roman blood. Not so much as a wound was received. The attack was made on the Barbarians sunk in sleep, dispersed in flight, unarmed, and incapable of resistance. An account of the massacre soon reached the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes. Inflamed with resentment, those nations took up arms; and posting themselves to advantage, surrounded the woods through which the Roman army was to pass. Germanicus, informed of their motions, marched in order of battle. Part of the cavalry, with the light cohorts, formed the van; the first legion followed, to support them; the baggage moved in the centre. The left wing was closed by the twenty-first legion, and the right by the fifth. The twentieth, with the auxiliaries, brought up the rear. The Germans, in close ambush, waited till the army stretched into the woods. After skirmishing with the advanced party, and both the flanks, they fell with their whole strength upon the rear. The light cohorts, unable to sustain the shock of a close embodied enemy, were thrown into disorder; when Germanicus, riding at full speed to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "The time is come when you may efface, by one brave exploit, the guilt of the late sedition: charge with courage, and you gain immortal honour." Roused by this animating strain, the legion rushed to the attack, and at the first onset broke the ranks of the enemy. The Barbarians fled to the open plain: the Romans pursued them with dreadful slaughter. Meanwhile the van of the army passed the limits of the forest, and began to throw up intrenchments. From that time the march was unmolested. The soldiers, flushed with success, and, in the glory of this expedition, losing all memory of former guilt, were sent into winter quarters.

LII. An account of these events arriving at Rome, Tiberius was variously affected. He received a degree of pleasure, but it was a pleasure mingled with anxiety. That the troubles in the camp were at an end, he heard with satisfaction: but he saw, with a jealous spirit, that by largesses and dismissions from the service, Germanicus had gained the affections of the legions. The glory of his arms was another circumstance that touched him nearly. He thought fit, notwithstanding, to lay the whole account before the senate. He expatiated at large in praise of Germanicus, but in terms of studied ostentation too elaborate to be thought sincere. Of Drusus and the issue of the troubles in Illyricum, he spoke with more reserve; concise, yet not without energy. The concessions made by Germanicus to the legions on the Rhine, were ratified in every article, and, at the same time, extended to the army in Pannonia.

LIII. In the course of the year died Julia, the daughter of Augustus. On account of her lascivious pleasures, she had been formerly banished by her father to the isle of Pandataria; and afterwards to Rhegium, a city on the strait of Sicily. During the life of her sons Caius and Lucius, she became the wife of Tiberius; and, by the haughtiness of her carriage, made him feel that she thought him beneath her rank. The arrogance of her behaviour was the secret and most powerful motive, for the retreat which that prince made to the isle of Rhodes. At his accession to the empire, when he was master of the Roman world, he saw her in a state of destitution, banished, covered with infamy, and after the murder of Agrippa Posthumus, without a ray of hope to comfort her. Yet this could not appease the malice of Tiberius. He ordered her to be starved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile at a place remote, lingering death in want and misery would pass unnoticed.

From the same root of bitterness sprung the cruelty with which he persecuted Sempronius Gracchus;[4] a man descended from a noble fa-

1 The Marsians dwelt in the *diocese of Munster*, between the rivers Amisia and Luppia.

2 Woods and forests were the sanctuaries held in veneration by the Germans. The temple of *Tanfan* was an exception to the general custom. We are told by antiquarians, that the word was composed of *tan*, sylva, a wood, and *fane*, dominus, or lord. Amelot de la Houssaye says it was dedicated to the *first cause of all*, or the supreme being. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 9. note.

3 She was married to Agrippa, and had by him three sons, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Posthumus; and also two daughters, Agrippina and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 46.

4 For more of him and his son Caius Gracchus, see Annals, book iv. s. 13.

mily, possessed of talents, and adorned with eloquence, but eloquence viciously applied. By his wit and rare accomplishments he seduced the affections of Julia, even in the lifetime of her husband Agrippa. Nor did his passion stop there: when she was afterwards married to Tiberius, he was still a persevering adulterer, and, by secret artifices, poisoned the mind of the wife against her husband. The letter to Augustus, in which she treated the character of Tiberius with contempt, was generally thought to be his composition. For these offences he was banished to Cercina, an island on the coast of Africa, where he passed fourteen years in exile. Soldiers at length were sent to put an end to his days. The assassins found him on the point of a prominent neck of land, with a countenance fixed in sorrow and despair. As soon as the ruffians approached, he desired a short delay, that he might write the sentiments of a dying man to his wife Alliaria. Having despatched that business, he presented his neck to the murderer's stroke; in his last moments worthy of the Sempronian name. His life was a series of degenerate actions. The assassins, according to some historians, were not hired at Rome, but sent from Africa by the proconsul Lucius Asprenas, at the instigation of Tiberius, who hoped to throw from himself the load of guilt, and fix it on his tools of power. The artifice did not succeed.

LIV. In the course of this year was formed a new institution of religious rites. In honour of Augustus a list of priests was added to the sacerdotal college, in imitation of the order founded in ancient times by Titus Tatius, to perpetuate the religious ceremonies of the Sabines. To create this new sodality, the names of the most eminent citizens, to the number of one-and-twenty, were drawn by lot; and Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus, were added. It happened, however, that the games performed this year in honour of Augustus, were disturbed by violent factions among the players.[5] In compliance with the wishes of Mæcenas, that passionate admirer of Bathyllus, the comedian, Augustus had always favoured the exhibition of pantomimes. He had himself a taste for those amusements; and, by mixing with the diversions of the multitude, he thought he showed a popular condescension. Tiberius was of a different character: but the minds of men, softened by luxury, and during a long reign dissolved in pleasure, could not easily conform to that austerity which suited the rigid temper of the prince.

LV. In the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus, [A. U. C. 768. A. D. 15.] a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, though the war was not yet brought to a conclusion. The prince had concerted his plan of operations for the ensuing summer; but he thought proper, early in the spring, to open the campaign by a sudden irruption into the territories of the Cattians; a people distracted among themselves by the opposite factions of Arminius[6] and Segestes; the former famous for his treachery to the Romans, and the latter for unshaken fidelity. Arminius was the common disturber of Germany; Segestes, on the other hand, had given repeated proofs of his pacific temper. When measures were taken for a general insurrection, he discovered the conspiracy; and, during the banquet which preceded the massacre of Varus, he proposed that he himself, Arminius, and other chiefs, should be seized, and loaded with irons. By that vigorous measure he was sure that the minds of the common people would be depressed with fear; and, having lost their chiefs, none would dare to rise in arms. The general, of course, would have leisure to discriminate the innocent from the guilty. But Varus was fated to perish, and Arminius struck the blow. In the present juncture, Segestes was compelled, by the ardour of his countrymen, to take up arms. He still, however, retained his former sentiments. He had, besides, motives of a private nature: his daughter, whom he had promised in marriage to another chief, was ravished from him by Arminius. The father and the son-in-law were, by consequence, inveterate enemies; and that connection, which between persons mutually well inclined, forms the tenderest friendship, served only to inflame the animosity of the two contending chiefs.

LVI. Encouraged by these dissensions, Germanicus appointed Cæcina to the command of four legions, five thousand of the allies, and the German recruits lately raised, by hasty levies, on this side of the Rhine. He marched himself at the head of an equal legionary force, and double the number of auxiliaries. On the ruins of a fort, formerly built on Mount Taunus[7] by

5 For an account of theatrical factions, see Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 29, note. Bathyllus, the pantomime-performer, is distinguished by Horace for his graceful movement.

—— Nec cum sis cætera fossor,
Tres tantum ad numeros satyri moveare Bathylli.

He is also mentioned by Juvenal:

Chironemon Ledæa molli saltante Bathyllo.
Sat. vi. ver. 63.

6 Arminius, according to Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 118, was the son of Sigimier, a Cheruscan chief. Inguiomer was his father's brother, and of course uncle to Arminius, as mentioned in this book, s. 60. Arminius had a brother, whose name was Flavius. Annals, book ii. s. 9. Segestes was another leading chieftain among the Cheruscans. His daughter was ravished from him by Arminius. His son Segimund is mentioned in this book, s. 57. This account of the German chieftains will make the sequel, in this and the next book, more easily understood.

7 Mount Taunus, near Magontiacum (now *Mayence*, Brotier says is now called *Heyrich*.

his father Drusus, he raised a fortification, and proceeded by rapid marches against the Cattians. To secure his retreat, he left behind him Lucius Apronius, with orders to work at the roads, and embank the rivers. The dryness of the season, uncommon in those parts, and the low bed of waters in the rivers, favoured his expedition; but before his return, the fall of heavy rains, and the overflow of torrents, might lay the country under water. His arrival was so little expected by the Cattians, that their women and children were either taken prisoners or put to the sword. The young and able-bodied made their escape by swimming across the Adrana. From the opposite bank they attempted to hinder a bridge from being thrown over the river; but by a fierce discharge from the engines, and a volley of darts, they were driven from their post. They offered terms of peace, but without success. Numbers submitted at discretion: the rest abandoned their villages and fled for shelter into the woods. The country round was laid waste; Mattium, the capital, was destroyed by fire; and the open plains were made a desert. Germanicus marched his army back towards the Rhine, the Barbarians never daring to harass the rear, as is their practice, when, pretending to retreat in a panic, they wheel about on a sudden, and return to the charge. The Cheruscans meditated a sudden attack in favour of the Cattians; but Cæcina, with an army of observation, spread so warm an alarm, that the enterprise was dropped. The Marsians, more bold and desperate, risked a battle, and were defeated.

LVII. Germanicus, in a short time afterwards, received a message from Segestes, imploring protection from the fury of his countrymen, who held him closely besieged. Arminius had been the adviser of the war, and was by consequence the idol of the people. In a nation of savages, the man of fierce and turbulent spirit is sure, in times of commotion, to be the leading demagogue. Among the deputies sent to Germanicus, was Segimund, the son of Segestes; a young man who, in the year famous for the revolt of Germany, was made by the Romans a priest of the Ubian altar; but soon after, fired by the zeal that roused his whole nation, he tore off his sacred vestments, and went over to his countrymen. Conscious of this offence, he hesitated for some time, willing to decline the embassy; till at length, encouraged by the fame of Roman clemency, he obeyed his father's orders. He met with a gracious reception; and, under a proper guard, was conducted in safety to the frontiers of Gaul. Germanicus thought it of moment to change his purpose, and march back to the relief of Segestes. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy was attacked, and put to the route.

Segestes was set at liberty, and with him a numerous train of relatives and faithful followers; several women of noble birth; and, in the number, the daughter of Segestes,[1] then married to Arminius. In her deportment no trace appeared of her father's character; she breathed the spirit of her husband. Not a tear was seen to start; no supplicating tone was heard; she stood in pensive silence; her hand strained close to her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her womb, then pregnant with the fruit of her marriage. At the same time was brought forth a load of spoils, which, in the slaughter of Varus and his followers, fell to the share of those who now surrendered to the Roman arms. What chiefly attracted every eye, was Segestes himself; his stature of superior size, his countenance that of a man who knew neither guilt nor fear. He spoke to this effect:

LVIII. "It is not now the first time that Segestes has given proofs of his attachment to the cause of Rome. From the moment when I was enrolled a citizen by the deified Augustus, your interest has been the rule of my conduct. Your friends I embraced; your enemies were mine. In acting thus, I have not been guilty of treason to my country. A traitor I know is odious even to those who profit by the treason. I have been your friend, because I thought the interests of Germany and Rome were interwoven with each other; I have been your friend, because I preferred peace to war. Governed by these principles, I addressed myself to Varus, who commanded your armies; before his tribunal, I exhibited an accusation against Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator of public treaties. But sloth and irresolution were the bane of that unfortunate general. From laws enfeebled and relaxed I expected no relief. I therefore desired, earnestly desired, that Arminius, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy, might be thrown into irons. I did not except myself. With what zeal I pressed the measure, witness that fatal night which I wish had been my last. The horrors that followed, demand our tears: they cannot be justified. Soon after that tragic event, I confined Arminius in chains; and from his faction I have suffered, in my turn, the same indignity. Admitted now to an interview with Germanicus, I prefer ancient friendship to new connections; my voice is still for peace. For myself I have nothing in view; my honour is dear to me, and I desire to repell all suspicion of perfidy. I would, if possible, make terms for my countrymen, if they can be induced to prefer a well-timed repentance to calamity and ruin. For my son, and the errors of his youth, I am an humble suppliant. My daughter, indeed, appears before you by necessity, not by her own choice: I acknowledge it. It is yours to decide her fate; it is yours to

1 Her name, according to Strabo, was Thusnelda. Her deportment here described would be a fine subject for an historical painter.

judge which ought to have most influence, her husband or her father: she is with child by Arminius, and she sprung from me." Germanicus, in his usual style of moderation, assured him, that his children and relations should be protected; as to himself, he might depend upon a safe retreat in one of the old provinces. He then marched back to the Rhine; and there, by the direction of Tiberius, was honoured with the title of Imperator. The wife of Arminius was delivered of a boy, who was reared and educated at Ravenna.[1] The disasters which made him afterwards the sport of fortune, shall be related in their proper place.

LIX. The surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception from Germanicus, being, in a short time, spread throughout Germany, the feelings of men were various, as their inclinations happened to be for peace or war. Arminius, by nature fierce and enterprising, seeing, in this juncture, his wife for ever lost, and the child in her womb a slave before its birth, felt himself inflamed with tenfold fury. He flew round the country of the Cheruscans, spreading the flame of discord, and, in every quarter, rousing the people to revenge; he called aloud to arms, to arms against Segestes,—to arms against the Romans. He spared no topic that could inflame resentment. "Behold," he cried, "behold in Segestes the true character of a father! in Germanicus an accomplished general! in the exploits of the Roman army, the glory of a warlike nation! with mighty numbers they have led a woman into captivity. It was not in this manner that Arminius dealt with them: three legions, and as many commanders, fell a sacrifice to my revenge. To the arts of traitors I am a stranger; I wage no war with women big with child. My enemies are worthy of a soldier; I declare open hostility, and, sword in hand, I meet them in the field of battle.

"Survey your religious groves: the Roman banners by me hung up, and dedicated to the gods of our country, are there displayed; they are the trophies of victory. Let Segestes fly for shelter to the Roman provinces; let him enjoy his bank on the side of Gaul; and let him there meanly crouch to make his son the priest of a foreign altar. Posterity will have reason to curse his memory; future ages will detest the man, whose crime it is, that we have seen, between the Rhine and the Elbe, rods and axes, the Roman habit and the Roman arms. To other nations, punishments and taxes are yet unknown; they are happy, for they are ignorant of the Romans. We have bravely thrown off the yoke; we are free from burthens: and since Augustus was obliged to retreat, that very Augustus whom his countrymen have made a god; and since Tiberius, that upstart emperor, keeps aloof from Germany, shall we, who have dared nobly for our liberties, shrink from a boy void of experience, and an army ruined by their own divisions? If your country is dear to you, if the glory of your ancestors is near your hearts, if liberty is of any value, if the enjoyment of your natural rights is preferable to new masters and foreign colonies, follow Arminius. I will marshal you the way to glory and to freedom. Segestes has nothing in store but infamy, chains, and bondage."

LX. By these incendiary speeches all Germany was roused to action. The Cheruscans took up arms, and the neighbouring states followed their example. Inguiomer, a man long known, and high in the estimation of the Romans, declared in favour of Arminius: he was uncle to that chieftain. By adopting his measures, he added strength to the confederacy. Germanicus saw the impending danger. To cause a diversion, and avoid the united strength of the enemy, he ordered Cæcina, with forty Roman cohorts, to penetrate into the territory of the Bructerians, as far as the river Amisia. Pedo, at the head of the cavalry, was directed to march along the confines of the Frisians. Germanicus, with four legions, embarked on the lakes.[2] One common place of destination was appointed; the foot, the cavalry, and the fleet, arrived in due time. The Chaucians joined the Roman army; the Bructerians set fire to their houses, and abandoned their country. Lucius Stertinius, with a detachment of the light horse, was ordered to pursue the fugitives. That officer came up with the enemy, and put the whole body to the rout. Amidst the slaughter that followed, some of the soldiers were intent on plunder. Among the spoils was found the eagle of the nineteenth legion, lost in the massacre of Varus. The army pushed on with vigour to the farthest limit of the Bructerians. The whole country, between the river Amisia and the Luppia, was made a desert. The Romans were now at a small distance from the forest of Teutoburgium,[3] where the bones of

1 The account here promised, and without doubt given either in the Annals or the History, is totally lost. Strabo says that the son, who was called Thumelicus by the Romans, walked among the captives in the triumph of Germanicus, which is mentioned, Annals, book ii. c. 41.

2 The Lakes, which are now lost in the vast gulf called the Zuider-Zee.

3 The commentators give different accounts of the Teutoburgian forest. Guerin, the French translator of Tacitus, says it lay in the diocese of Munster, where there is, at this day, a place called *Varendorp*, which signifies the burg of Varus. Brotier places it in the diocese of Paderborn, near the town of *Horn*, not far from *Paderborn*, where there is a forest called *Teutoberg*; and a field called *Winfeldt*, that is, the field of victory. To confirm his opinion, he says that bones and military weapons, and also medals of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, are often dug in those woods.

Varus and his legions were said to be still unburied.

LXI. Touched by this affecting circumstance, Germanicus resolved to pay the last human office to the relics of that unfortunate commander and his slaughtered soldiers. The same tender sentiment diffused itself through the army: some felt the touch of nature for their relations, others for their friends; and all lamented the disasters of war, and the wretched lot of human kind. Cæcina was sent forward to explore the woods; where the waters were out, to throw up bridges; and, by heaping loads of earth on the swampy soil, to secure a solid footing. The army marched through a gloomy solitude. The place presented an awful spectacle, and the memory of a tragical event increased the horror of the scene. The first camp of Varus appeared in view. The extent of the ground, and the three different inclosures for the eagles,[1] still distinctly seen, left no doubt but that the whole was the work of the three legions. Farther on were traced the ruins of a rampart, and the hollow of a ditch well nigh filled up. This was supposed to be the spot where the few, who escaped the general massacre, made their last effort, and perished in the attempt. The plains around were white with bones, in some places thinly scattered, in others lying in heaps as the men happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisted to the last. Fragments of javelins, and the limbs of horses, lay scattered about the field. Human sculls were seen upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent woods stood the savage altars where the tribunes and principal centurions were offered up a sacrifice with barbarous rites. Some of the soldiers who survived that dreadful day, and afterwards broke their chains, related circumstantially several particulars. "Here the commanders of the legions were put to the sword: on that spot the eagles were seized. There Varus received his first wound; and this the place where he gave himself the mortal stab, and died by his own sword. Yonder mound was the tribunal from which Arminius harangued his countrymen: here he fixed his gibbets; there he dug the funeral trenches; and in that quarter he offered every mark of scorn and insolence to the colours and the Roman eagles."

LXII. Six years had elapsed since the overthrow of Varus; and now on the same spot, the Roman army collected the bones of their slaughtered countrymen. Whether they were burying the remains of strangers, or of their own friends, no man knew: all, however, considered themselves as performing the last obsequies to their kindred, and their brother-soldiers. While employed in this pious office, their hearts were torn with contending passions; by turns oppressed with grief, and burning for revenge. A monument to the memory of the dead was raised with turf. Germanicus with his own hand laid the first sod; discharging at once the tribute due to the legions, and sympathizing with the rest of the army. The whole, though an act of piety to the slain, was condemned by Tiberius. The malignity of his nature led him to misinterpret the actions of Germanicus; perhaps he was apprehensive, that the view of a field covered with the unburied limbs of a slaughtered army, might damp the ardour of the soldier, and add to the ferocity of the enemy. There might be another reason for his displeasure. Perhaps he thought that a general, invested with the office of augur, and other religious functions, ought not to assist at the performance of funeral rites.

LXIII. Germanicus pressed forward, by rapid marches, in pursuit of Arminius, who fled before him, taking advantage of the defiles, and difficult parts of the country. Having overtaken the Barbarians, and seeing his opportunity, he ordered the cavalry to advance on the open plain, and dislodge the enemy. Arminius drew up his men in close compacted ranks, and, feigning a retreat to the forest, suddenly wheeled about; giving, at the same time, the signal to the troops that lay ambushed in the woods, to rush out, and begin the attack. The Roman cavalry, struck with surprise at the sudden appearance of a new army, were thrown into disorder. They fell back upon the cohorts sent to support them, and a general consternation followed. The Barbarians pursued their advantage; and had well nigh driven the Romans into a morass, well known to themselves, but impracticable to strangers, when Germanicus came up with the legions in order of battle. At the sight of a regular force, the Germans were struck with terror. The broken ranks of the Romans had time to rally. Nothing decisive followed. Both armies parted upon equal terms: Germanicus marched back to the river Amisia, and with his legions sailed across the lakes. Part of the cavalry had orders to file along the sea coast, and by a winding march return to the banks of the Rhine.

Cæcina, at the head of his own division, marched through a country of which he was not ignorant. He had directions to pass *the long bridges*[2] with all possible expedition. The place so called is a narrow causeway, constructed

1 The part of a Roman camp, where the arms and eagles were deposited, was called *principia*. As the traces of three such places were visible, there could be no doubt but they were the work of three legions.

2 The causey, called the long bridge, was constructed by Lucius Domitius, the grandfather of the emperor Nero. According to Suetonius, he was, in the early part of life, as famous for his skill in driving a curricle as his grandson, when emperor of Rome. In the time of Augustus, he commanded the legions in Germany, and penetrated farther into that country than any Roman had done before him. Annals, book iv. s. 44.

formerly by Lucius Domitius. It stretches a great length of way between two prodigious marshes. The country round is one vast fen, in some parts covered with a deep and slimy mud, in others with a tenacious heavy clay, intersected frequently by rapid torrents. A thick forest, rising at some distance on a gradual acclivity, inclosed the whole scene, and formed a kind of amphitheatre. Arminius, who knew the course of the country, made a forced march, and took post in the woods, before the Romans, encumbered with arms and heavy baggage, arrived at the place. Cæcina found a double difficulty. The bridges, ruined by time, were to be repaired; and the enemy at the same time was to be repulsed. He judged it necessary to pitch his camp; as in that situation a sufficient number might work at the causeway, while the rest were held in readiness to engage the enemy.

LXIV. The Barbarians made a vigorous effort to force the outposts, and penetrate to the men working at the intrenchments. They rushed forward with impetuous fury, they wheeled about to the flanks, they returned to charge in front. A mingled shout arose from the labourers and the combatants. All things seemed to conspire against the Romans: the slimy soil, if the men stood still, sunk under them; if they advanced, it was too slippery for their feet. The weight of the soldiers' armour, and the depth of water, made the management of the javelins almost impracticable. The Cheruscans, on the contrary, were fighting in their own element; they were used to fens and marshes; their stature was large, and their spears of a length to wound at a distance. The legions began to give way, when night came on, and put an end to the unequal conflict. The Barbarians were too much flushed with success to complain of fatigue, or to think of rest. During the night they cut a channel for the waters, and from the neighbouring hills let down a deluge into the valley. The plains were laid under water; and the half-finished works being carried away by the flood, the soldier saw that his labour was to begin again.

Cæcina had been forty years in the service. A man of his experience, who had known the vicissitudes of war, was not to be disconcerted. He saw, between the morass and the hills, a plain of solid ground, large enough for a small army. To that spot, having weighed all circumstances, he judged it his best expedient to send the wounded with the heavy baggage, and in the meantime to confine the Germans in their woods. For this purpose he stationed the fifth legion in the right wing, and the one and twentieth in the left; the first legion led the van, and the twentieth brought up the rear.

LXV. The night in both camps was busy and unquiet, but from different causes. The Barbarians passed their time in jollity and carousing; warlike songs and savage howlings kept a constant uproar, while the woods and valleys rung with the hideous sound. In the Roman camp the scene was different: pale gleaming fires were seen; no sound save that of low and hollow murmurs; the soldiers lay extended at length under the palisades, or wandered from tent to tent, fatigued and weary, yet scarce awake. Cæcina was disturbed by a terrible dream: he thought that Quintilius Varus emerged from the fens; and, calling upon him to follow, waved his hand to point the way. Unwilling to obey the summons, Cæcina pushed the phantom from him. At break of day, the legions which had been stationed in the wings, through fear or a spirit of mutiny, abandoned their post, and seized a piece of solid ground beyond the morass. Arminius, though the opportunity was fair, did not embrace it: but soon after, seeing the baggage fast in the mud, or in the ditches, the soldiers gathering round in tumult and disorder; the eagles in confusion; and, as in such cases always happens, each man acting for himself, and deaf to the command of his officers; he ordered his men to make a vigorous onset, exclaiming, as he advanced, "Behold Varus and his legions! their fate once more has given them to our swords."

He charged at the head of a chosen band; and, by gashing and mangling the horses, made a dreadful havoc. Goaded by wounds, and not able to keep their legs on a slimy soil, which was made still more slippery by the effusion of their own blood, those animals in their fury threw their riders, overturned all in their way, and trampled under their feet the wretches that lay on the ground. The chief distress was round the eagles: to support them under a heavy volley of darts was difficult, and to fix them in the swampy ground impossible. Cæcina, exerting himself with undaunted vigour to sustain the ranks, had his horse killed under him. The Barbarians were ready to surround him, if the first legion had not come up to his assistance. At length the rage for plunder, natural to savages, turned the fortune of the day. Intent on booty, the Germans desisted from the fight. The Romans seized their advantage, and, towards the close of day, gained a station on the solid ground. Their distress, however, was not at an end: intrenchments were to be raised; earth to be brought; their tools for digging and cutting the soil were lost; no tents for the soldiers; no medicine for the wounded; their provisions in a vile condition, deformed with filth and blood; a night big with horror hung over their heads; and the ensuing day, to a number of brave and gallant men, might prove the last. The spirit of the legions sunk, and all lamented their condition.

LXVI. It happened in the course of the night, that a horse broke loose; and, scared by the noise of the soldiers, ran wild through the camp, trampling down all that came in his way.

This accident spread a general panic. In the first hurry of surprise, it was generally believed, that the Germans had stormed the intrenchments. The soldiers rushed to the gates, chiefly to that called the *Decuman*,[1] at the back of the camp, remote from the enemy, and the most likely to favour their escape. Cæcina knew that it was a false alarm; he tried to recall the men from their error; he commanded, he implored, he laid hold of numbers: but finding all without effect, he threw himself on the ground, and lay stretched at length across the passage. At the sight of their general in that condition, the men recoiled with horror from the outrage of trampling on his body. In that interval, the tribunes and centurions convinced the men that their fears were without foundation.

LXVII. Cæcina assembled his men in the part of the camp assigned for the eagles. Having commanded silence, he explained their situation, and the necessity that called upon them to act like men. "They had nothing to depend upon except their valour; but their valour must be cool, deliberate, guided by prudence. Let all remain within the lines, till the Barbarians, in hopes of carrying the works, advance to the assault. Then will be the time to sally out. By one brave effort they might open a passage to the Rhine. If they fled, other woods and deeper fens remain behind; perhaps more savage enemies. By one glorious victory they were sure of gaining every advantage; honoured by their country, loved by their families, and applauded by the whole army." The bright side of the military life being thus held forth, he said nothing of the reverse. His next care was to select a body of his bravest soldiers. These he provided with horses, as well from his own retinue, as from those of the tribunes and centurions, without favour or partiality, distinguishing merit only. The men thus mounted were to make the first impression on the enemy, and the infantry had orders to support the rear.

LXVIII. The Germans, in the meantime, were no less in agitation; their hopes of conquest, the love of plunder, and the jarring counsels of their chiefs, distracted every mind. The measure proposed by Arminius was, to let the Romans break up their camp, and surround them again in the narrow defiles, and in the bogs and marshes. Inguiomer, more fierce and violent, and, for that reason, more acceptable to the genius of Barbarians, was for storming the camp: it would be carried by a general assault; the number of prisoners would be greater, and the booty in better condition. His advice prevailed. At the point of day the attack began: at the first onset the Germans levelled the fosse, threw in heaps of hurdles, and attempted a scalade. The ramparts were thinly manned; the soldiers who showed themselves, put on the appearance of a panic. The Barbarians climbed to the top of the works. In that moment the signal was given to the cohorts; clarions and trumpets sounded through the camp; the Romans, in a body, and with one general shout, rushed on to the attack. They fell upon the enemy in the rear; crying aloud, as they advanced, "Here are no woods, no treacherous fens; we are here on equal ground, and the gods will decide between us." The Barbarians had promised themselves an easy conquest. The affair, they imagined, would be with a handful of men; but their surprise rose in proportion, when they heard the clangour of trumpets, and saw the field glittering with arms. The sudden terror magnified their danger. To be elated with success, and to droop in adversity, is the genius of savage nations. A dreadful slaughter followed. The two chiefs betook themselves to flight; Arminius unhurt, and Inguiomer dangerously wounded. No quarter was given to the common men. The pursuit continued as long as day-light and resentment lasted. Night coming on, the legions returned to their camp, covered with new wounds, and their provisions no better than the day before; but health, and food, and vigour, all things were found in victory.

LXIX. Meanwhile a report was spread round the country, that the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the Germans, flushed with conquest were pouring down to the invasion of Gaul. The consternation was such, that numbers proposed to demolish the bridge over the Rhine. Vile as the project was, there were men who, through fear, would have been hardy enough to carry it into execution, if Agrippina had not prevented so foul a disgrace. Superior to the weakness of her sex, she took upon her, with an heroic spirit, the functions of a general officer. She attended to the wants of the men; she distributed clothes to the indigent, and medicines to the sick. Pliny[2] has left, in his history of the wars in Germany, a description of Agrippina, at the head of the bridge, reviewing the soldiers as they returned, and with thanks and congratulations, applauding their valour. This conduct alarmed the jealous temper of Tiberius: "Such active zeal," he said, "sprung from sinister motives: those popular virtues had not for their object the enemies of Rome. The soldiers were caressed for other purposes. What remained for the commander-in-chief, if a wo-

1 There were four gates to a Roman camp. Livy says so in express terms. *Ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut, signo dato, ex omnibus portubus eruptionem facerent.* The several gates were, the *prætorian;* the gate opposite to it, at the extremity of the camp, called the *decuman;* and two others, called the *right and left principals*, because they stood on the right and left sides of the camp, fronting the street called *Principia.* See Duncan's Roman Art of War.

2 Pliny, the elegant author of the Natural History.

man can thus unsex herself at the head of the eagles? She reviews the legions, and by largesses draws to herself the affections of the men. Was it not enough for her ambition, that she showed her son to the army, and carried him from tent to tent, in the uniform of the common soldier, with the title of Cæsar Caligula? This woman towers above the commanders of the legions, and even above their general officer. She can suppress an insurrection, though the name and majesty of the prince make no impression." These were the reflections that planted thorns in the breast of Tiberius. By the arts of Sejanus, the malice of his heart was still more envenomed. That minister studied the character of his master. He practised on his passions, and had the skill to sow in time the seeds of hatred, which he knew would work in secret, and at a distant day break out with collected force.

LXX. Germanicus, who had sailed with the legions, thought proper to lighten his ships, in order to render them more fit for the navigation of the northern seas, full of sandbanks, and often dangerous both at the flood and the tide of ebb. With this view, he disembarked the second and the fourteenth legions, and put them under the command of Publius Vitellius,[3] with directions to pursue their way over land. Vitellius had at first a dry shore; but the wind blowing hard from the north, and the waves, as usual at the equinox, rolling with a prodigious swell, the soldiers were carried away by the torrent. The country was laid under water. The sea, the shore, and the fields, presented one vast expanse. The depths and shallows, the quicksands and the solid ground, were no more distinguished. The men were overwhelmed by the waves, and absorbed by the eddies. Horses, baggage, and dead bodies, were seen floating together. The companies of the legions were mixed in wild confusion, sometimes breast-high in water, and often deeper. Numbers were carried off by the flood, and lost for ever. Exhortations and mutual encouragement were of no avail. Valour and cowardice, prudence and temerity, wisdom and folly, perished without distinction. Vitellius at length gained an eminence, and drew the legions after him. The night was passed in the utmost distress; without fire, without utensils; many of the soldiers naked; the greatest part wounded, and all in a condition worse than the horrors of a siege. When the enemy is at the gates, an honourable death still remains; but here their fate was wretched and inglorious. The return of day presented a new face of things: the waters subsided, and the land appeared. The general pursued his march to the river Unsingis,[4] where Germanicus was arrived with his fleet. The two legions were taken on board. A report of their total loss was spread far and wide, and every day gained credit, till their safe return with Germanicus proved the whole to be a false alarm.

LXXI. Meanwhile Stertinius, who had been despatched to receive the surrender of Segimer, the brother of Segestes, conducted that chief, together with his son, to the city of the Ubians. A free pardon was granted to both: to Segimer, without hesitation; to the son, who was known to have offered indignities to the body of Varus, not without some delay. Gaul, Spain, and Italy, seemed to vie with each other in exertions to repair the losses of the army; each nation offering, according to their respective abilities, a supply of arms, of horses, and money. Germanicus thanked them for their zeal, but received arms and horses only. With his own funds he relieved the wants of the soldiers; and to obliterate, or at least soften, the recollection of past misfortunes, he united with generosity the most conciliating manners. He visited the sick; he applauded their bravery; he examined their wounds; he encouraged some by promises; he roused others to a sense of glory; and, in general, filled all hearts with zeal for his person and the success of his arms.

LXXII. Triumphal ornaments[5] were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their conduct under Germanicus. The title of *Father of his Country*, so often pressed upon him by the people, Tiberius once more declined; nor would he consent that men should be sworn on his acts, though a vote for that purpose had passed the senate. For this self-denial, he alleged the instability of human affairs, and the danger of the sovereign, always growing in proportion to the eminence on which he stands. Popular as this sentiment was, no man thought it sincere. He who had lately revived, in all its rigour, the law of violated majesty, could not be considered as the friend of civil liberty. The title, indeed, of that law was known in ancient times, but the spirit of it differed from the modern practice. During the old republic, the treachery that betrayed an army, the seditious spirit that threw the state into convulsions, the corrupt administration that impaired the majesty of the Roman people, were the objects of the law. Men were arraigned for their actions, but words were free. Augustus[6]

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3 He was uncle to Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

4 The first edition of Tacitus has the river VISURGIS (the *Weser*.) This is manifestly an error. The march of the troops was westward, towards the Rhine; and the *Visurgis* flowed at a great distance towards the east. Lipsius saw the mistake, but did not cure it. Brotier has clearly proved that *Unsingis*, now the river *Hunes* or *Hunsing*, near Groninguen, is the true reading.

5 The triumphal *insignia* were, a golden crown, an ivory chair (*sella curulis*), an ivory sceptre (called *scipio*), and a painted robe. Livy, lib. xxx. s. 15.

6 By a law of the Twelve Tables, defamatory libels

was the first who warped the law to new devices. The licentious spirit of Cassius Severus, whose satirical pen had ridiculed the most eminent of both sexes, excited the indignation of the prince; and the pains and penalties of violated majesty were, by a forced construction, extended to defamatory libels. After his example, Tiberius, being asked by the prætor, Pompeius Macer, whether in such prosecutions judgment should be pronounced, returned for answer, that the law must take its course. The fact was, Tiberius in his turn had felt the edge of satire in certain anonymous verses, circulated at that time, and keenly pointed at his pride, his cruelty, and his dissensions with his mother.

LXXIII. It will not be deemed an improper digression, if we state in this place the cases of two Roman knights, Falanius and Rubrius, both of narrow fortunes, and both attacked under the new mode of prosecution. A review of those proceedings will show the grievance in its origin, and its progress;[1] how it gathered strength from the wily arts of Tiberius; from what causes it was for a time suppressed, and afterwards revived in all its force, till it proved, in the end, the most detestable invention that ever harassed mankind. The charge against Falanius was, that he had admitted into one of the fraternities, then established in honour of Augustus, one Cassius, a comedian of profligate manners; and further, that, in the sale of his gardens, he had suffered a statue of Augustus to be put up to auction with the rest of his goods. The crime alleged against Rubrius was, that, being sworn on the name of Augustus, he was guilty of perjury. Tiberius, as soon as he was apprised of these proceedings, wrote to the consuls—"that divine honours were not decreed to the memory of his father, in order to lay snares for the people. Cassius, the player, as well as others of his profession, had often assisted in the games, dedicated by Livia, to the memory of the deceased emperor; and if his statue, in common with those of the gods in general, was put up to sale with the house and gardens, the interests of religion would not be hurt. A false oath on the name of Augustus was the same as a perjury in an appeal to Jupiter: but the gods must be their own avengers."

LXXIV. In a short time after this transaction, Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bithynia, was accused of violated majesty by his own quæstor, Cæpio Crispinus. The charge was supported by Romanus Hispo,[2] a mercenary advocate, who had then lately set up the trade of an informer; that detestable trade, which, by the iniquity of the times, and the daring wickedness of the vile and profligate, became afterwards the source of wealth and splendour. Obscure and indigent, but bold and pragmatical, this man, by secret informations, pampered the cruelty of Tiberius, and wriggled himself into favour. By his detestable practices he became formidable to the first characters in Rome. He gained the ear of the prince, and the hatred of mankind; leaving an example, by which the whole race of his followers rose from beggary and contempt to wealth and power; till, having wrought the destruction of the most eminent citizens, they fell at last by their own pernicious arts. The accusation brought by Cæpio Crispinus, charged Marcellus with having spoken defamatory words against Tiberius. The charge was big with danger, while the accuser had the art to bring forward, from the life of the emperor, the worst of his vices; ascribing all to the malignity of Marcellus. The words were believed to be spoken, because the facts were true.

Hispo the pleader added, that the accused had placed his own statue higher than the Cæsars; and to a bust, from which he had struck off the head of Augustus,[3] united that of Tiberius,

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were strictly prohibited. We read in Aulus Gellius, lib. iii. cap 3, that Nævius, the comic poet, was thrown into prison for certain defamatory verses in one of his plays. Horace says, the poets were by the Twelve Tables restrained within due bounds.

——— Quin etiam lex,
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Describi. Vertere modum formidine fustis,
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.
EPIST. AD AUG.

Augustus, not satisfied with the penalties of the old law, revived the charge of violated majesty, which had been invented by Sylla. Tiberius felt the lash of satire, as may be seen in the lampoon preserved by Suetonius (in Tib. s. 59.) He was, therefore, willing to enforce the rule laid down by Augustus.

1 To preserve the majesty of the Roman people was the scope and spirit of the *Lex Majestatis*. Under the emperors the majesty of the people was annihilated. Whoever was obnoxious to the prince or his favourites, was brought within the law of majesty. Every thing was a state-crime. Tiberius, we see, had the art to proceed, in the beginning, with some appearance of moderation; but the mask soon fell off, and the trade of a public accuser became the scourge of society. It went on with rapid success in the reign of Caligula, of Claudius, and Nero. It was suppressed under Titus, (see Suetonius, in Tit. s. 8,) and again blazed out under Domitian, Suet. s. 10 and 11.

2 The advocates subscribed their names to the accusation drawn up in form. Cicero, in the Oration concerning the Prosecution of Verres, called DIVINATIO, describes an accuser supported by a number of advocates, whom he calls subscribers: *Venit paratus cum subscriptoribus exercitatis et disertis.* Hispo, it seems, was the first of that vile crew, who lived and flourished by the destruction of their fellow-citizens. A specimen of his eloquence may be seen in the CONTROVERSIÆ of Seneca.

3 Suetonius says, a person, whom he does not name, was condemned by the senate for taking the head from a statue of Augustus, and placing another in its room. Life of Tiberius, s. 58. As Granius Marcellus was acquitted, what Suetonius says most probably relates to some other person.

The prince, who had hitherto remained silent, rose abruptly; declaring, in a tone of vehemence, that in a cause of that importance he would give his vote openly,[4] and under the sanction of an oath. By this expedient the same obligation was to be imposed on the whole assembly. But even then, in that black period, expiring liberty showed some signs of life. Cneius Piso had the spirit to ask, "In what rank, Cæsar, do you choose to give your voice? If first, your opinion must be mine; if last, I may have the misfortune to differ from you." Tiberius felt that his warmth had transported him too far. He checked his ardour, and had the moderation to consent that Marcellus should be acquitted on the law of violated majesty. There remained behind a charge of peculation,[5] and that was referred to the proper jurisdiction.

LXXV. The criminal proceedings before the senate were not enough to glut the malice of Tiberius: he attended the ordinary courts of justice; taking his seat near the corner of the tribunal, that he might not displace the prætor from his curule chair. In his presence, which had the effect of controlling the intrigues of the great, several just decisions were pronounced; but even this was big with mischief; truth was served,[6] and liberty went to ruin. Pius Aurelius, a member of the senate, complained to that assembly, that, by making of a public road, and laying an aqueduct, the foundation of his house was ruined; he therefore prayed to be indemnified. The prætors of the treasury opposed his petition. Tiberius, however, struck with the justice of the case, paid the value of the house. The littleness of avarice was no part of his character. When fair occasions called for liberality, he was ready to open his purse; and this munificent spirit he retained for a long time, when every other virtue was extinguished. Propertius Celer, a man of prætorian family, but distressed in his circumstances, desired to abdicate his rank of senator. The state of indigence in which he lived being found to be the consequence of hereditary poverty, he received a donation of a thousand great sesterces. A number of applications of the same nature followed soon after; but Tiberius required that the allegations of each petition should be proved. The austerity of his nature mixed with his best actions a leaven of harshness, that embittered his favours. By the rigour of the prince distress was silenced: ingenuous minds chose to languish in obscurity, rather than seek, by humiliating confessions, a precarious, and, at best, a painful relief.

LXXVI. In the course of this year, the Tiber, swelled by continual rains, laid the level parts of the city under water. When the flood subsided, men and houses were washed away by the torrent. Asinius Gallus proposed to consult the books of the Sybils;[7] but Tiberius, dark and abstruse in matters of religion as well as civil business, overruled the motion. The care of preventing inundations for the future, was committed to Atteius Capito and Lucius Arruntius. The provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, being found unequal to the taxes imposed upon them, were relieved from the expense of supporting a proconsular government,[8] and, for the present, transferred to the superintendance of the emperor. Drusus, in his own name, and that of his brother Germanicus, exhibited a spectacle of gladiators, and presided in person; delighted, more than became his rank, with the effusion of blood, and, by consequence, giving to the populace no favourable impression of his character. Tiberius, it is said, reproved him for his indiscretion. Why he himself did not attend the public games, various reasons were assigned. According to some, "numerous assemblies were not his taste, and crowds fatigued him." Others ascribed it to the phlegmatic genius of the man, fond of solitude, and willing to avoid a comparison with the gracious manners of Augustus, who was always a cheerful spectator on such occasions. That he intended, with covered malice, to afford Drusus an opportunity of laying open the ferocity of his nature, and thereby giving umbrage to the people,

4 The emperor frequently gave his opinion and his vote in the senate. Tiberius, in the sequel, will be frequently found taking a part in the debates. From the question put to him, it should seem that he might give his voice first or last, as he should think proper; but the secret of securing a majority by private influence was, probably, soon discovered. To decide under the sanction of an oath was a custom known to the senate during the republic. See a dissertation, entitled, The Roman Emperor in the Senate, Memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxii. 4to edit.

5 For the recovery of money obtained by peculation, or other improper means, there was an established jurisdiction; and, in case of condemnation, commissioners, called *Recuperatores*, were appointed to see restitution made.

6 If the truth was better investigated in the presence of Tiberius, the freedom of debate was abridged, and liberty was destroyed. Tiberius used to say, before judgment was pronounced, "If I was to decide, it should be so." And yet Velleius Paterculus, with his usual adulation, admires the gravity with which Tiberius attended the trial of causes, not as judge, senator, or prince, but as a private citizen. See Velleius, lib. ii. s 129.

7 The reason of this refusal seems to be explained by Suetonius. Tiberius, he says, was loose and careless in matters of religion, being early addicted to judicial astrology, and fully persuaded that all things were governed by fate. *Circa deos ac religiones negligentior, quippe addictus mathematicæ, persuasionisque plenus cuncta fato regi.* In Tib. s. 69.

8 Augustus divided the Roman provinces between himself and the senate. Those which he retained in his own hands, were administered by governors of his own choice, called *imperial procurators*. The Senatorian provinces were governed by proconsuls, appointed for a year only. See Life of Agricola, s. 4 note.

seems rather a strained construction; yet even this was said at the time.

LXXVII. The disorders occasioned by theatrical factions in the preceding year, broke out again with increasing fury. Numbers of the common people, and even many of the soldiers, with their centurion, exerting themselves to quell the tumult, and defend the magistrate, were killed in the fray. A tribune of the prætorian guard was wounded on the occasion. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. The fathers were on the point of passing a vote, investing the prætor with authority to order the players to be publicly whipped. This was opposed by Haterius Agrippa, a tribune of the people, who by his speech drew upon himself a sharp reply from Asinius Gallus. Tiberius with deep reserve listened to the debate. To see the senators amusing themselves with a show of liberty, filled him with secret satisfaction. The motion, however, passed in the negative. The authority of Augustus, who had formerly decided that players were not liable to that mode of punishment,[1] had great weight with the fathers; and what was established by that prince, Tiberius would not presume to alter. To fix the salary[2] of the players at a certain sum, and to repress the zeal of their partizans, several decrees were passed: the most material were, "That no senator should enter the house of a pantomime-performer; that the Roman knights should not attend the players in the street; no exhibition to be presented in any place except the theatre; and all who engaged in riots were liable to be banished by the sentence of the prætor."

LXXVIII. In consequence of a petition from Spain, leave was given to erect a temple to Augustus in the colony of Terragon. By this decree a precedent was held forth to all the provinces. The people of Rome presented a petition, praying that the payment of the hundredth part,[3] which was a tax on all vendible commodities imposed since the close of the civil wars, might be remitted for the future. Tiberius declared, by public edict, "That the support of the army depended upon that fund; and even with those resources the commonwealth was unequal to the charge, unless the veterans were retained in the service for the full term of twenty years." By this artful stroke, the regulations limiting the time to sixteen years, which had been extorted during the sedition in Germany, were in effect repealed, and rendered void for the future.

LXXIX. A project to prevent inundations, by giving a new course to the lakes and rivers that empty themselves into the Tiber, was proposed to the senate by Lucius Arruntius and Atteius Capito. The municipal towns and colonies were heard in opposition to the measure. The Florentines stated, "That if the Clanis were diverted from its channel, and made to flow by a new course into the Arno, their whole country would be ruined." The inhabitants of Interamna made the like objection; contending that "if the Nar, according to the plan proposed, were divided into various rivulets, the most fertile plains in Italy would be no better than a barren waste." Nor did the people of Reatè remain silent: they remonstrated that "if the communication, by which the lake Velinus fell into the Nar, were obstructed, the adjacent country would be laid under water. Nature had wisely provided for the interest of man; it was she that assigned to rivers their fountain-head, their proper channel, and their influx into the sea. Besides this, the religion of the allies of Rome claimed respect. Considering the rivers of their country as under the patronage of tutelary gods, they had in various places established forms of worship, and dedicated their priests, their altars, and their sacred groves. The Tiber too, deprived of his tributary waters, would be reduced, not without indignation, to an inglorious stream." Convinced by this reasoning, or deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking, perhaps influenced by superstitious motives, the senate went over to the opinion of Piso, who declared against all innovation.

LXXX. The government of Mæsia was continued to Poppæus Sabinus, with the superadded provinces of Achaia and Macedonia. In the character of Tiberius it was a peculiar feature, that he was ever unwilling to remove men from their employments. Hence the same person remained for life at the head of the same army, or in the government of the same province. For this conduct different reasons have been assigned. By some we are told that he hated the pain of thinking; and, to avoid further solicitude, the choice, which he once made, was decided for life. Others will have it that the malignity of his nature was the secret motive of a man, who did not wish to see too many made happy by his favours. The problem was solved by others in a different way. His discernment, they observed, was quick and penetrating; but his judgment slow and anxious. He thought with subtlety, and refined till he embarrassed himself; and, though he never was the patron of virtue, he detested vice. Superior merit made him tremble

1 Augustus was fond of the Circensian games, and with great liberality rewarded the best performers. He took from the magistrates the power of correcting the stage players, which by an ancient law was left to their discretion. See Suetonius, in Aug. s. 45.

2 The money laid out on plays and players was called LUCAR, because it arose from the annual produce of certain woods and groves (LUCI) in the neighbourhood of Rome. Plutarch, Roman questions.

3 Augustus fixed the rate of the soldiers' pay throughout all the armies of the empire; and, that a fund might be always ready for that purpose, he established a military exchequer, and certain taxes, which were to be paid into that office. See Suetonius, Life of Augustus, s. 49. Tiberius afterwards changed this tax to the two hundredth penny. Annals, book ii. s. 42.

for himself, and he thought bad men a disgrace to the age. In this manner divided between opposite extremes, thinking without decision, and reasoning but to hesitate, he has been known to appoint to the government of provinces, men, whom he never suffered to depart from Rome.

LXXXI. Of the consular elections, either in this year or during the rest of his reign, nothing can be said with precision. His own speeches, as well as the historians of the time, are so much at variance, that nothing like system can be traced. We see the emperor, in some instances, holding the name of the candidate in reserve, yet by an account of his birth, his public conduct, and his military services, pointing directly to the man. At other times he refuses even that satisfaction, content with general directions to the candidates, not to embroil the election by intrigue or bribery, but to leave the whole to his management. His custom in general was to profess, that he knew no candidates but those, whose names he had transmitted to the consuls; others, he said, were free to offer themselves, if, from their merit or their interest, they conceived hopes of success. With speeches of this nature, plausible indeed, but unsubstantial, the people were amused. A show of liberty was held forth, fair in appearance, but deceitful, and, for that reason, tending to plunge mankind in deeper servitude.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

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These transactions include four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
769	16	Statilius Sisenna Taurus, L. Scribonius Libo.
770	17	C. Cæcilius Rufus, L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus.
771	18	Tiberius Cæsar, 3d time; Germanicus, 2d.
772	19	M. Junius Silaunus, L. Norbanus Flaccus.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

I. DURING the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Tarus and Ludius Libo, [A. U. C. 769. A. D. 16.] the oriental kingdoms, and, by consequence, the Roman provinces were thrown into commotion. The flame of discord was lighted up among the Parthians. That restless people had sued for a king at the hands of Rome; and, after acknowledging his title, as a descendant from the line of the Arsacides,[1] began with their natural levity to despise him, as an alien to the crown. Vonones was the name of this unpopular prince: he had been formerly sent by his father Phraates[2] as an hostage to Augustus. The Eastern monarch made head against the armies of Rome, and had driven her generals out of his dominions; but he endeavoured, notwithstanding, by every mark of respect, to conciliate the friendship of Augustus. As a pledge of sincerity, he went the length of delivering up to the custody of the Romans even his own children, not so much with a design to avert the terror of their arms, as from want of confidence in the fidelity of his own subjects.

II. After the death of Phraates, and the kings who succeeded him, the leading men of the nation, tired of civil slaughter, sent ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to invite Vonones, the eldest son of Phraates, to the throne of his ancestors. A nation ready to receive a sovereign from the will of Augustus, presented to that emperor[3] a scene truly magnificent. He despatched Vonones, richly loaded with presents. The Barbarians, pleased, as is their custom, with the opening of a new reign, received the prince with all demonstrations of joy. But disaffection soon took place; they repented of their choice, and saw, with regret, the disgrace which their tame submission had brought upon their country. "The Parthians," they said, "were a degenerate race, who meanly stooped to sue in another world, and invited to reign over them an exotic king, trained up by the Romans, fraught with their maxims, and tainted by their manners. The kingdom of the Arsacides was at length reduced to a Roman province, to be dealt out at the pleasure of the emperor. Where now the glory of those gallant heroes who put Crassus to death, and made Mark Antony fly before them? The slave of Cæsar, who crouched so many years in bondage, gives the law to the Parthians." Such were the prejudices of the people. The conduct of Vonones inflamed their indignation. He renounced the manners of his country; was rarely seen in the sports of the chase; he took no delight in horsemanship, and, in his progress through the kingdom, lolled at ease in a litter. He disdained, with fastidious pride, to have his table served agreeably to the national taste; his train of Greek attendants gave disgust; and the paltry attention, that secured the most trifling articles under a seal,[4] excited the contempt and ridicule of the people. To be easy of access,

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1 The Parthian kings were called ARSACIDÆ, from ARSACES, the founder of the monarchy, A. U. C. 498; before the Christian era 256. The curious may see, in Brotier's edition of Tacitus, a Genealogical Table of all the descendants of Arsaces, in regular succession, down to Artabanus III., the last Parthian monarch, who was conquered by the Persians, and put to death A. U. C. 986; of the Christian era 233. Orodes was the king in whose reign Crassus and eleven legions were massacred, A. U. C. 701. Justin, lib. xlii. s. 4. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 2.

2 Phraates IV. was the son of Orodes. He defeated Mark Antony and sixteen legions under his command, A. U. C. 718. Justin, lib. xlii. s. 5. Plutarch, Life of Antony.

3 The original say-, *Cæsar thought it magnificent;* but, for the sake of perspicuity, Augustus is mentioned in the translation. The Parthian ambassadors arrived at Rome A. U. C. 758. See Suetonius, in Tib. s. 16.

4 The Romans were obliged to be always on their guard against the fraud and pilfering genius of their slaves. They locked up their valuable utensils with care, and affixed their seals to their bottles, to secure their wine from depredation. Cicero says, his mother was used to seal even the empty bottles, that the slaves, to favour their fraud, might not pretend that their master had left a greater number of empty bottles. *Sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quæ lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquas fuisse, quæ furtim essent exsiccatæ.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. xvi. epist. 26. Horace praises the master who could, with temper, see the seal of his bottle broken by his slaves:

Et signo læso non insanire lagenæ.

Lib. ii. epist. ii. ver. 134.

was want of dignity; and courteous manners degraded the prince. Virtues new to the Parthians were new vices. Between his good and evil qualities no distinction was made: they were foreign manners, and, for that reason, detested.

III. In this disposition of the public mind, the crown was offered to Artabanus, a descendant of Arsaces, educated among the Dahi. This prince, after a defeat in his first engagement, reinforced his army, and gained possession of the crown. Vonones fled to Armenia,[1] where, in that juncture, the throne was vacant; but an irresolute and wavering people could form no settled plan. They turned their thoughts first to Rome, and next to the Parthians, acting with alternate treachery to both. The insidious conduct of Mark Antony, who allured their king Artavasdes to his friendship, then loaded him with chains, and basely murdered him, was fresh in their minds. Artaxias, the son of that unfortunate prince, conceived from that tragic event a rooted aversion to the Roman name. He ascended the throne of his father, and with the assistance of the Parthians stood at bay with Rome, till he fell at last by the perfidy of his own relations. After his death, Tigranes, by the appointment of Augustus, was raised to the throne. Tiberius Nero, at the head of a powerful army, conducted him to the capital of his dominions. The reign of this prince was short. His issue succeeded; but the line became extinct, notwithstanding the intermarriages of brother and sister,[2] allowed by the policy of eastern nations, to strengthen the royal line. By order of Augustus, Artavasdes [3] succeeded. To support his cause, Rome exerted her strength, and spilt the blood of her armies, but without success. The new king was driven from the throne.

IV. In that juncture,[4] Caius Cæsar was sent to compose the troubles in Armenia. With the consent of the people that young commander placed the crown on the head of Ariobarzanes, by birth a Mede, distinguished by his rare accomplishments, and his graceful figure. After the death of this prince, who lost his life by an accident, the people refused obedience to his descendants. A woman of the name of Erato succeeded: but a female reign did not last long. From that time the nation continued in a state of anarchy, without a master, yet not in possession of liberty. It was in this posture of affairs that Vonones entered Armenia. The people received him with open arms. Artabanus, in the meantime, threatened to invade the kingdom. The Armenians were not in force; and Rome, without undertaking an expensive war against the Parthians, could not espouse their cause. Vonones fled for shelter to Creticus Silanus,[5] the governor of Syria. That officer promised his protection; but afterwards thought proper to secure the person of the prince, leaving him, under a strong guard, to enjoy the title of king, and the parade of royalty. The efforts which Vonones made to escape from this mock-dignity, shall be related in due time.

V. Tiberius, with his usual phlegm, saw the storm gathering in the East. Commotions in that part of the world might furnish an opportunity to remove Germanicus from an army devoted to his person, and to employ him in new scenes of action, and in distant provinces, where he would be exposed to the chance of war, and more within the reach of treachery. Germanicus, meanwhile, finding the legions zealous in his service, and the malice of Tiberius still implacable, began to consider how he might strike a decisive blow, and by one signal victory conclude the war. For this purpose he reviewed his operations in the three last campaigns, with the various turns of good and evil fortune which he had experienced. He observed that "the Germans, in a pitched battle, or on equal ground, were always defeated; woods and fens protected them; and the shortness of the summer, with the quick return of winter, favoured their cause. It was not so much the sword of the enemy, as the fatigue of long and difficult marches, that thinned the Roman army. The loss of military weapons was an additional evil. Horses were not to be procured in Gaul, that country being

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Persius represents a miser, anxious about his vapid wine, and smelling at the seal:

Et signum in vapida naso tetigisse lagena.
Sat. vi. ver. 17.

The new-married man gave a seal to his bride, to show that he committed the house-affairs to her management.

1 Vonones, the son of Phraates, was invited by the Parthians to the throne of his ancestors, A. U. C. 752. He was afterwards obliged to fly to Armenia. The kings of that country may be seen in a regular line of succession; Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 365, 4to edit. Artaxias was the first monarch, A. U. C. 565. Artaxias II. the prince mentioned in the text, mounted the throne A. U. C. 734; his reign was short. In that very year Tigranes, under the conduct of Tiberius, was placed, by order of Augustus, on the throne of Armenia. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 94.

2 Intermarriages between brothers and sisters were allowed by the customs of Egypt, and the eastern nations. Cleopatra married her brother Ptolemy; and accordingly Cæsar, having ended the Alexandrian war, appointed brother and sister kings of the country. *Regis constituit.* De Bell. Alexand. s. xxxiii. Livy, in like manner, calls Ptolemy and Cleopatra kings of Egypt. Freinshemius says, that the wife of Darius, who was taken prisoner by Alexander, was also sister to her husband.

3 Artavasdes was raised by Augustus to the throne of Armenia, A. U. C. 748; and deposed by the people in the year of Rome 752.

4 Ariobarzanes was made king of Armenia, A. U. C. 755, when Caius, the son of Agrippa, adopted by Augustus into the family of the Cæsars, commanded the army in the east.

5 Vonones, son of Phraates IV. succeeded queen Erato, who reigned a short time. He was himself expelled, as here related by Tacitus. Zeno succeeded, and was placed on the throne by Germanicus, A. U. C. 771. This book, s. 56.

well nigh exhausted. The baggage of the army, liable to ambuscades, was always defended at great disadvantage. An expedition by sea promised better success. The army might penetrate at once into the heart of the country; and the Germans, unapprised of that mode of attack, would be taken by surprise. The campaign would be sooner opened; the legions and their provisions might advance together; men and horses would arrive in good condition; and, with the advantage of harbours for the fleet, and navigable rivers up the country, the war might be pushed to the very heart of Germany."

VI. This plan of operations being judged the best, he sent Publius Vitellius and Caius Cantius to convene the states of Gaul; and, in the meantime, committed the care of building a fleet to Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina. A thousand vessels (that number being deemed sufficient) were soon in readiness, but not all constructed on one uniform principle. Some were of a shorter size, sharpened to a point at the stern and prow, and broad in the middle, the better to endure the fury of the waves; others were flat-bottomed, that they might without difficulty run in upon the shore. A great number had rudders at each end, that, by a sudden turn of the oars, they might work with facility either way. In many of the ships, formed as well to carry sail as to advance with the stroke of the oar, arches were raised on the decks of strength to bear the engines of war, and at the same time afford room for horses and provisions. The fleet, thus eqipped, displayed a magnificent spectacle; while the swell of the sails, the alacrity of the oars, and the bustle of the soldiers, struck a general terror. The isle of Batavia[6] was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. The shore in those parts being easy of approach, the troops might be speedily landed, and again embarked with expedition, so as to spread an alarm through the country. The Rhine, embracing in its course a few small islands, flows in one united stream, till it reaches the point of Batavia; where it branches off in two different channels; one running with rapid force along the confines of Germany, and, till it falls into the ocean, still retaining its original name; the other, with a wider but less violent current, washes the side of Gaul, and by the inhabitants is called the Wahal, till at last losing itself in the Meuse, it takes the name of that river, and through an immense opening discharges itself into the German Ocean.

VII. While the fleet was preparing for the expedition, Germanicus ordered Silius, with a light detachment, to make an irruption into the territory of the Cattians. Meanwhile, having intelligence that the fort upon the river Luppia was invested, he marched himself, at the head of six legions, to relieve the garrison. A sudden fall of heavy rain obliged Silius to desist from his enterprise. He returned with a moderate booty and two prisoners; one the wife, the other the daughter, of Arpus, prince of the Cattians. Germanicus was not able to bring the Germans to an engagement. He no sooner appeared before the place, than the enemy raised the siege, and consulted their safety by flight. It was found, however, that they had levelled to the ground the monument erected the year before to Varus and his legions, and likewise an ancient altar dedicated to Drusus. The prince rebuilt the altar; and joining with the legions in equestrian games, performed a funeral ceremony[7] in honour of his father. He did not judge it advisable to restore the tomb, which had been erected to Varus and the legions; but, with a chain of fortified posts, he secured the whole country between fort Aliso and the Rhine.

VIII. The fleet assembled at the place appointed. Germanicus ordered the military stores to be sent on board; and, having completed the embarkation of the legions and the allies, sailed through the canal called the canal of Drusus,[8] invoking his father to assist the enterprise, and by the memory of his example, to guide and animate his son, now pursuing the same track of glory. The fleet proceeded over the lakes;[9] and, entering the German Ocean, stretched away as far as the river Amisia. There, at a place of the same name[10] on the left-hand shore, he landed his men, leaving his ships safe at their moorings. This measure was ill concerted. The

6 The isle of Batavia is rendered for ever famous by the enterprising spirit of Civilis, the warlike chief, whose brave exploits against the Romans are related in the fourth book of the History. For a further description of Batavia, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 29, note.

7 The equestrian games, in honour of the dead, are described by Virgil:

Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis,
Decurrere rogos; ter mæstum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.
Æneid. lib. xi. ver. 188.

Statius, in his Thebaid, has given a description more at length. See book vi. ver. 313. Drusus, after many signal victories in Germany, died there in the summer camp, which was for that reason called the *wicked camp*. His remains were buried at Rome, in the Field of Mars. The soldiers raised a monument to his memory, and went annually round the place in a funeral procession. Suet. in Claudio, s. i.

8 The canal of Drusus, Brotier says, was between *Iselsort* and *Dossbourg*, from the Rhine to the river *Sala*, now the *Issel*.

9 This canal, according to Grotius, formed a third branch of the Rhine: it discharged itself into the Issel, and through that channel into the lakes, on the borders of which the Frisians inhabited, where it took the name of Flevus, and emptied itself into the sea. The lakes are now lost in the *Zuiderzee*. See Manners of the Germans, s. 29, note.

10 The station on the eastern bank of the river is now called *Western-Emden*. Germanicus was going to invade the Chaucians, who dwelt on the western side of the river, and he landed his men on the opposite bank

debarkation should have been made higher up the country, and on the opposite bank where the enemy had taken post. The mistake made it necessary to throw bridges over the river, and, in that business, several days were consumed. At low water the cavalry and the legions forded over the æstuary without difficulty; but the rear, consisting of the auxiliary forces, was overtaken by the return of the tide, and thrown into disorder. The Batavians, in particular, eager to show their dexterity in swimming, continued sporting in the waves, till the rapidity of the current overwhelmed them. Some lost their lives. Germanicus pitched his camp. While he was employed in marking out the lines, he received advice that the Angrivarians, whom he had left behind him, were in motion. To check their progress, he sent a detachment of light infantry, under the command of Stertinius, who chastised the treachery of the Barbarians, and laid the country waste with fire and sword.

IX. The Visurgis flowed between the Romans and Cheruscans. On the opposite bank Arminius presented himself. He was attended by the principal German chiefs. His business was to know whether Germanicus was with the army; being answered in the affirmative, he desired an interview with his brother, known to the Romans by the name of Flavius; a man of strict fidelity, who, some years before, under the conduct of Tiberius, lost an eye in battle. The meeting was permitted. Flavius advanced to the margin of the river. Arminius, from the opposite side, saluted him; and, having ordered his guards to fall back, required that the Roman archers should withdraw in like manner. The two brothers being left to themselves, Arminius fixed his eyes on Flavius; and, "Whence," he said, "that deformity of feature?" He was told the battle and the place where it happened. "And what," continued Arminius, "has been your recompense?" "I have received," said Flavius, "an augmentation of pay,[1] a military chain, an ornamental crown, and other honours." Arminius burst into a laugh of scorn and indignation. "They are the wages," he said, "of a slave cheaply purchased."

X. A warm altercation followed. Flavius talked of the majesty of Rome, the power of the Cæsars, the weight with which their vengeance falls on the obstinate, and their clemency to the nations willing to submit. He added, "Your wife and son are in the hands of Rome, and neither of them has been treated like a captive." Arminius, on the contrary, urged the rights of men born in freedom, the laws of his country, the plan of ancient liberty, and the gods of Germany. "Your mother," he said, "joins with me in earnest supplication: we both conjure you not to desert your family; not to betray your friends, nor prefer the detested name of traitor to the vast renown of commanding armies in defence of your country." By degrees their passions rose to a pitch of fury, insomuch that the river could not have restrained them from deciding their quarrel by the sword, if Stertinius had not checked the impetuosity of Flavius who stood burning with resentment, and calling aloud for his horse and his arms. Arminius behaved with equal fury, in his storm of passion denouncing vengeance, and threatening the issue of a battle. What he said was perfectly understood. He had commanded the auxiliaries of his country, acting in conjunction with the legions; and, having conversed in the Roman camp, was able to interlard his discourse with Latin expressions.

XI. On the following day, the Germans appeared on the other side of the Visurgis, drawn up in order of battle. Germanicus, till he had thrown bridges over the river, and made each pass secure, did not think it advisable to expose his legions to the hazard of an engagement. In the meantime, to cause a diversion of the enemy, he ordered the cavalry under the conduct of Stertinius, and Æmilius, one of the principal centurions,[2] to ford over at two different places. Cariovalda, at the head of his Batavians, advanced where the current was most rapid. The Cheruscans feigned a flight. Cariovalda, pursuing with too much eagerness, pushed on to a place encompassed with woods, and fell into an ambuscade. The enemy rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. They bore down all who resisted, and pressed on such as gave way. The Batavians formed a ring, and were surrounded on every side. The Germans, at a distance, discharged a volley of darts, while some of them, more eager than the rest, fought hand to hand in close engagement. Cariovalda sustained the shock with undaunted valour. Finding himself at length, in danger of being overpowered, he exhorted his men to form in platoons, and bravely open a passage through the ranks of the enemy. He rushed forward into the heat of the action, but his horse being killed, he fell under a shower of darts, and died sword in hand. Several of the prime nobility of his country perished with him. The rest found their safety either in their own valour, or the timely succour of Stertinius and Æmilius, who came up with the cavalry.

XII. Germanicus, in the meantime, having passed the Visurgis, found, by a deserter, that Arminius had already fixed upon a spot for a general action, and being reinforced by other nations, then actually assembled in a forest at

1 These military honours have been mentioned before. See book i. s. 72.

2 The word in the original is *primipilaris*. Gordon calls him lieutenant-colonel. It means one of the principal centurions.

ered to Hercules,[3] was determined, in the dead of night, to storm the Roman camp. This intelligence was thought worthy of credit. The fires of the enemy gleamed at a distance; the scouts, who advanced to reconnoitre their posts, heard the neighing of horses, and the bustle of a prodigious but undisciplined multitude. In this important moment, on the eve of a decisive battle, the Roman general thought it a point of moment to explore the sentiments and inclinations of his men. How to accomplish this, with a degree of certainty, was a difficult point. The tribunes and centurions studied more to "bring in agreeable reports, than to relate the truth. The freedmen still retained an original leaven of servility, and friends were prone to flattery. In an assembly of the soldiers, a few forward spirits took the lead, and the whole herd was ready to follow. To sound the real sentiments of the army, the soldier must be taken in his unguarded moments, removed from the eye of his officer, at table with his comrades, when, with frank simplicity, he speaks his mind, and tells his hopes and fears without reserve."

XIII. As soon as night came on, the prince went forth, through the augural gate,[4] covered with the skin of a wild beast. A single attendant followed him. He pursued his way through devious paths, unknown to the sentinels, stopping frequently near the tents, and listening to his own fame. The nobility of his descent was the topic with some; others praised the dignity of his person; the greater part talked of his patience, his courage, and that happy temperament, which, upon all occasions, severe or lively, still preserved the dignity of his character. To such a commander, the place to show their gratitude was the field of battle; there the Barbarians ought to suffer for their perfidy; and there the violator of public treaties should be doomed a sacrifice to the glory of Germanicus. Amidst these discourses, a soldier from the adverse camp, who could speak the Roman language, rode up to the intrenchments, and, in the name of Arminius, proclaimed aloud a promise of wives and lands to every deserter, besides a hundred sesterces for his daily pay, during the continuance of the war. This was felt as an affront: the soldiers cried out with indignation, "The dawn of day shall see us in the field: let Arminius risk a battle: the lands of his countrymen shall be ours by conquest, and their wives shall be carried off in captivity. The offer is an omen of victory. The wealth and the women of Germany shall be the reward of valour." At the third watch[5] the enemy advanced to the intrenchments; but perceiving the works properly guarded, the cohorts under arms, and all intent on duty, they retreated, without so much as throwing a single dart.

XIV. Germanicus retired to rest, and in his sleep was favoured with a joyful vision. Being employed, as he imagined, at a sacrifice, and the blood of the victim happening to stain his pontifical garment, his grandmother Livia made him a present of another robe, no less beautiful than magnificent. Pleased with this prognostic, which the auspices confirmed, he called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a speech, acquainted them with his plan for the ensuing battle. The open plain, he observed, was not the only spot where the Romans could engage with advantage. Woods and forests were equally favourable. The unwieldy buckler of the Germans, and that enormous length of spear, which, amidst surrounding trees and interwoven thickets, was scarcely manageable, could not be compared to the Roman sword, the javelin, and their defensive armour, so well adapted to the shape and motions of the body. "Redouble your blows," he said, "and strike at the face of the enemy. They have neither helmet nor breastplates. Their shields are neither riveted with iron, nor covered with hides; they are nothing but ozier twigs intertwined, or slight boards, daubed over with glaring colours. In their foremost ranks a few are provided with pikes and javelins; in the rest of their army you see nothing but stakes hardened in the fire, or weapons too short for execution. The aspect of their men may, at first sight, be hideous; in the onset they may have bodily vigour: but let them feel the anguish of their wounds, and they betake themselves to flight, impatient of pain, void of honour, and regardless of their officers; cowards in adversity, and, in the hour of success, above all laws, both human and divine. Do you wish, my fellow-soldiers, for an end of all your toils? Are you weary of tedious voyages, and laborious marches? Now is your opportunity: one battle ends the war. The Elbe is nearer than the Rhine. Beyond this spot we have nothing to subdue. It was here that Drusus, my father, triumphed; and here Tiberius, my uncle, reaped his laurels. Exert one vigorous effort, and you make me their rival, perhaps their equal in glory." This speech was received with acclamations; and the ardour of the men blazing out at once, the signal for the charge was given.

XV. Arminius and the German chiefs omitted nothing that could rouse the courage of

3 For the Hercules of the Germans, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 2. note.

4 It has been observed, book i. s. 7, note, that the general's tent was called the *prætorium*. It was a large square, with a flag in the middle, about a hundred feet distant from each of the sides. Near the tent were erected the tribunal for dispensing justice, and a kind of temple in which sacrifices were offered. Near the temple there was a private gate into the camp, called the *augural gate*.

5 The Romans divided the night into four watches. Each watch was on duty three hours, and then relieved by the next in turn. The third watch began about the modern twelve at night.

their men. "Behold," they said, "the refuse of the Varian army; a set of dastards in the field, and rebels in their camp. With their backs seamed with stripes, their limbs enervated, their strength exhausted by tempestuous voyages, dispirited, weak, and void of hope, they are given to our swords, a sacrifice to the gods, and the victims of German valour. To avoid a fiercer enemy they fled to the ocean, where we could neither attack, nor hang upon their rear. In the ensuing battle the winds cannot befriend them; their oars can give them no assistance. Call to mind their pride, their avarice, and their cruelty: above all, let us remember to act like men, who have resolved to live in freedom, or to die with glory."

XVI. By these and such like incentives the Germans were inflamed with uncommon ardour. Their chiefs conducted them, burning with impatience, to an open plain, called the Idistavisian vale,[1] situate between the Visurgis and a chain of mountains. The ground was of an irregular form, narrow in some parts, where the hills projected forward, and in others, where the windings of the river made an opening, stretching into length. In the rear of the Germans, and at a small distance, rose a thick forest;[2] the trees large and lofty, with branches expanding near the top; but the trunks bare towards the bottom, and the intermediate space clear of underwood. Of this plain, and the approaches to the wood, the Barbarians took possession. The Cheruscans, apart from the rest,[3] took post on the hills, to watch the fortune of the day, and in good time to pour down with fury on the Roman army. Germanicus ranged his men in the following order: the Gauls and German auxiliaries formed the front of the line, followed by a body of archers on foot, and four legions, with Germanicus at the head of two prætorian cohorts, and a select body of cavalry. Four other legions, with the light infantry, the horse-archers, and the remainder of the allies, brought up the rear. The whole army proceeded in order of battle, all instructed to preserve their ranks, and to receive with firmness the first impression of the enemy.

XVII. The Cheruscans, too impatient to keep their post, rushed with impetuosity from their hills. Germanicus no sooner saw their motions, than he sent a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, while Stertinius, with another detachment, wheeled round to fall upon the rear. The general himself was ready, if occasion required, to second the attack at the head of the legions. In that moment eight eagles were seen stretching with rapid wing towards the wood, where they entered and disappeared. This was received as an omen of victory. "Advance," said Germanicus; "the Roman birds have marshalled you the way. Pursue the tutelar deities of the legions." The infantry began the assault in front: the cavalry, at the same time, charged the flank and rear. The Barbarians, thrown into confusion, presented an uncommon spectacle; those who had been stationed in the woods were driven forward to the plain; and from the plain, the foremost lines fled for shelter to the woods. Between both the Cheruscans were driven down from their heights. Arminius, their chief, performed wonders. Wounded as he was, he braved every danger; with his voice, with his hand, with every effort still sustaining the combat. He fell with fury on the archers, and would have opened his way, had not the Rhætian cohorts, with the Gauls and the Vindelici, advanced their standards to oppose him. Indebted to his own exertions, and the vigour of his horse, he escaped from the field; and to disguise his person, besmeared his face with his own blood. If report is to be credited, the Chaucians, then serving as the allies of Rome, knew his person, but connived at his escape.

By the like gallant behaviour, or a similar treachery, Inguiomer survived the havoc of the day. A general carnage followed. Numbers endeavouring to swim across the Visurgis, perished in the attempt, overwhelmed with darts, or carried away by the violence of the current. The multitude then plunged into the water obstructed one another; and, the banks giving way were crushed under the load. Some were dastardly enough to seek their safety by climbing up the trees, where they hoped to skulk among the branches: but the Roman archers, in sport and derision, took aim at the fugitives; and in that manner, or by felling the trees, they were all destroyed. The victory was signal, and cost the Romans little or no effusion of blood.

XVIII. The slaughter lasted from the fifth hour[4] to the close of the day. The country, ten miles round, was covered with mangled bodies and the arms of the vanquished. Among the spoils was found a large quantity of fetters which the Barbarians, anticipating a certain victory, had prepared for the Roman prisoners The legions on the field of battle proclaimed Tiberius IMPERATOR;[5] and having raised a mount

1 La Bletterie says, he was told by military men, that the *Idistavisian plain* is the place now called *Hastenbeck*, near *Hamelen*, on the other side of the *Weser* (VISURGIS), where Marshal *D'Estrees* obtained a victory in the year 1757. He adds that D'Anville, the celebrated geographer, assured him that there could be no doubt of the fact.

2 The forest sacred to Hercules. See this book, s. 12.

3 Brotier is of opinion that these were the hills of *Luerberg* and *Nesselberg*.

4 It appears, in section 28, of this book, that the battle was fought in July, or the beginning of August, *adultum æstate*. If so, the *fifth hour* nearly agrees with our nine in the morning.

5 In the time of the republic, the title of *imperator* was given by the soldiers in the field of battle to the commander in chief. The custom ceased under Augustus, who annexed the title to the imperial dignity, the

placed on the top of it a pile of German arms as the trophies of victory, with an inscription at the base, setting forth the names of the conquered nations.

XIX. To the German mind nothing could be so exasperating as this monument of Roman glory. The wounds received in battle, the desolation of their country, and the wretched condition to which they were reduced, were all as nothing compared to this insulting memorial. Preparing but a little before to abandon their habitations, and seek new settlements beyond the Elbe, they changed their minds, and once more resolved to try the hazard of a battle. The nobles and the populace, the old and young, all ranks and classes of men, appeared in arms. They pursued the Romans on their march; they harassed the rear, and often threw them into disorder. Resolved at length to risk a battle, they chose for that purpose a narrow and swampy plain, inclosed on one side by a river,[6] and on the other by a thick wood, at the back of which lay a deep morass. A rampart, formerly thrown up by the Angrivarians, as a barrier between themselves and the Cheruscans, inclosed one side of the fen. On this spot the Barbarians stationed their infantry. Their cavalry lay in ambush in the woods, with intent, as soon as the Romans advanced, to attack them by surprise, and cut off the rear of the army.

XX. Germanicus had intelligence of all that passed. Their stations, their councils of war, their public debates, their secret resolutions, were all discovered; and their own devices were turned against themselves. The command of the horse was given to Seius Tubero, with orders to form on the open plain. The infantry was so disposed, that by an easy pass one division might penetrate into the woods, while the other carried the rampart by assault. Whatever was difficult or arduous the general reserved for himself, leaving all slighter operations to his officers. On the level plain the cavalry bore down all before them; but the rampart was not easily taken. The soldiers who advanced to the attack were as much exposed to the darts of the enemy, as if they had been before the walls of a regular fortification. Germanicus saw the disadvantage. He drew off the legions; and ordered the engineers and slingers to play upon the works, in order to drive the Barbarians from their post. A volley of darts was discharged from the battering machines with such incessant fury, that the bravest of the Germans, who dared to face every danger, died under repeated wounds. The enemy was dislodged from the rampart. Germanicus, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, advanced into the woods: the battle there was fierce and obstinate: both sides fought hand to hand. Behind the Barbarians lay the morass; in the rear of the Romans the river and the woods; no room to retreat; valour their only hope, and victory their only safety.

XXI. The martial spirit of the Germans yielded in nothing to the Romans; but their weapons, and their manner of fighting, were a great disadvantage. Pent up in a forest too close for such a multitude, they could neither wound at a distance, nor manage their weapons with their usual agility. The Romans, on the contrary, with their bucklers close to the breast, and their hands covered with the hilt of their swords, found the large proportions of the enemy an easy mark. They gashed the Barbarians in the face, and drove them from their ranks. Arminius no longer fought with his usual ardour. Ill success, so often repeated, depressed his spirit; or perhaps the wound, which he had received in the late engagement, had exhausted his strength. Inguiomer, performing wonders, and busy in every part of the field, was abandoned by his fortune, not by his courage. Germanicus threw off his helmet, that his person might be better distinguished; and rushing among the ranks, exhorted his men to give no quarter. He cried aloud, "We have no need of prisoners: extirpate the Barbarians; nothing less will end the war." The day being far advanced, he ordered one of the legions to quit the field, in order to prepare an encampment: the rest had their measure of revenge, till the approach of night put an end to the effusion of blood. In this battle the Roman cavalry fought with undecided success.

XXII. Germanicus in a public harangue commended the valour of his army; and afterwards raised a pile of arms as a trophy of victory, with this splendid inscription: "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, having subdued the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, dedicates this monument to Mars, to Jupiter, and Augustus." Of the commander-in-chief no mention was made. To soften envy, he assumed no part of the praise, content with deserving it. Stertinius marched into the territory of the Angrivarians, with orders, if they did not submit, to lay the country waste. The Barbarians surrendered at discretion, and received a general pardon.

XXIII. The summer being now far advanced, Germanicus ordered some of the legions to return by land to winter quarters; he himself sailed with the rest, down the river Amisia to the main ocean. The weather was favourable, and the sea presented a perfect calm, unruffled by any motion except what was occasioned by

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prince being then *generalissimo* of all the armies of the empire. The name of *imperator*, it is true, was afterwards given to the general who gained a victory; but that was not done without the special permission of the prince. The same rule was observed under the following emperors; and accordingly we find that Tiberius was saluted *imperator*; but the soldiers did not presume to do that honour to Germanicus.

6 The field of battle chosen by the Germans is supposed to be near *Minden*, on the right hand side of the *Weser*, and the wood is now the forest of *Schaumburger*.

the dashing of the oars, and the rapid motion of a thousand vessels under sail. But this serenity did not last long; the sky was overcast; a storm of hail burst down with sudden fury;[1] squalls of wind drove the billows different ways, and the pilot could no longer see what course to steer. Unused to the tempestuous element, and terrified by the novelty of the danger, the soldiers added to the alarm. They interfered with the mariners; they endeavoured to lend a helping hand; but activity, without skill, served only to embarrass such as knew their duty. The winds at last were collected to one point, and the storm blew directly from the south.

In that climate the south wind is generally more tempestuous than in other seas. Sweeping over the bleak German mountains, it drives from the land a vast body of clouds, that form a scene of impending horror, which the vicinity of the northern regions render still more formidable. The ships were dispersed: some were thrown upon unknown islands, surrounded with rocks, or upon banks of sand that lay concealed beneath the waves. At the turn of the tide, the wind and the current, with united force, drove one way. To lie at anchor was impossible. The billows broke over the ships with such violence, that all the pumps at work could not discharge the water. To lighten the vessels was the only expedient left: and accordingly horses, beasts of burthen, arms, and baggage, were thrown overboard.

XXIV. The storms in other seas are inconsiderable, when compared to the fury of a northern tempest. The ocean in those parts is more boisterous than in any other of the known world, and the rigour of Germany surpasses that of any other climate. The danger of the fleet was, by consequence, more alarming; the magnitude, as well as the novelty, of the mischief, exceeding any former voyage undertaken by the Romans. No friendly shore at hand; every coast in the possession of savage enemies;[2] the sea of a depth incredible; vast in circumference, and, according to the received opinion, without any nation towards the north, or any continent to fix its boundary. A number of ships went to the bottom; many were wrecked on distant islands, secluded from the commerce of man. The soldiers who were cast on shore, perished by famine, or prolonged a wretched existence by feeding on the carcasses of horses thrown up by the sea.

The vessel in which Germanicus sailed, was driven far from the fleet, to the coast[3] inhabited by the Chaucians. There the disconsolate prince passed whole days and nights among pointed rocks, wandering on the prominent beach, his eyes fixed on the brawling deep, and his heart imputing to himself the whole calamity. It was with difficulty that his friends restrained him from burying himself in the same waves that swallowed up so many gallant soldiers. At length the storm abated. The wind and the tide serving at once, some of the ships were seen making to the land, all in a shattered condition, few oars remaining, and the clothes of the men stretched out for sails. The crippled vessels were drawn in tow by such as were less disabled. Germanicus refitted the fleet with all possible expedition; and, as soon as might be, ordered some of the ships to coast along the islands, in search of the soldiers who had been cast away. By this diligence many were restored to their friends. The Angrivarians, lately reduced to subjection, returned a considerable number, whom they had ransomed from their maritime neighbours. Some were thrown on the coast of Britain, and there released by the petty princes of the country. According to the distance from which the men returned, the account of their perils was swelled with marvellous adventures; they talked of hurricanes, and birds unheard of before; of sea-monsters, and ambiguous forms, partly man, and partly fish; things either seen, or else the coinage of imaginations crazed with fear.

XXV. The news of these disasters spreading far and wide, the Germans began to think of renewing the war. Nor was Germanicus less active to counteract their designs. He despatched Caius Silius with thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to make war on the Cattians; and in the meantime marched himself, at the head of a greater force, to invade the Marsians. Malovendus, the chief of that nation, had lately surrendered to the protection of Rome. From him intelligence was gained, that the eagle of one of the legions commanded by Varus, lay in a trench, covered with earth, in a neighbouring grove,[4] and the guard stationed there could make but a feeble resistance. Two parties were sent forward without delay; one to attack the enemy in front, and draw them from their post; the other to enter the wood in the rear, and recover the eagle. Success attended both expeditions. Germanicus now resolved to penetrate into the heart of the country; he carried destruction wherever he marched, the enemy in every quarter flying before him, or if anywhere they made a stand, either routed or put to the sword. According to the account brought in by the prisoners, a more general panic was never known. All agreed that the Romans rose su-

1 This was about the time of the autumnal equinox.
2 The German and the British coasts.
3 The mouth of the Visurgis, or the *Weser*.

4 The more the Romans valued their eagles, the Germans in proportion were eager to keep the military gods of the legions in safe custody. The legions under Varus had three eagles. One, according to Florus, book iv. cap. 12, was thrown into a deep morass, by a Roman soldier, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Stertinius recovered a second, as Tacitus relates, book i. s. 60. The third, we find, was buried in a wood, now called the forest of *Teutsberg*.

perior to adversity; a race of men not to be subdued. Their fleet destroyed, their arms lost in the deep, the coast of Germany covered with the dead bodies of men and horses; and yet, said the astonished Germans, they return undismayed, and with their former ferocity renew the charge, as if calamity increased their numbers.

XXVI. The Romans marched into winter quarters, proud of their exploits, and in their late success losing the memory of past misfortunes. The prince, with that munificence that graced his character, paid to each soldier the amount of his loss. Meanwhile the Germans, weakened and disheartened by the ill success of so many efforts, began to think of pacific measures: nor was it doubted but another summer, if they dared to take the field, would complete and end the war. But Tiberius wished for nothing so much as the return of Germanicus. His letters were all to that effect. "It was time," he said, "to visit the capital, and enjoy the honours of a triumph already decreed. Enough had been performed. The prosperous events of war were balanced by misfortunes. Important battles had been fought, and victory had often attended the Roman arms: but the winds and waves conspired; and losses at sea, not indeed imputable to the general, were very heavy disasters. Tiberius added, that he himself, under the auspices of Augustus, had been sent nine times into Germany; but it was to prudent counsels, more than to force of arms, that he owed all his success. It was by policy that the Sicambrians[5] were wrought to a submission; it was by management that the Suevians were drawn into an alliance with Rome; and it was the same conduct that made Maroboduus[6] listen to terms of peace. The honour of the Roman name was now revived in all its ancient lustre; and it was therefore time to leave the Cheruscans, and the hostile states of Germany, to their own dissensions."

Germanicus, notwithstanding these remonstrances, requested leave to continue in the command for one year more. Tiberius was not to be diverted from his purpose. He plied Germanicus with new arguments; and, as a lure to young ambition, threw out the offer of a second consulship, which required personal attendance at Rome. He urged, moreover, that if the war continued, some share of merit ought to be left to Drusus, the brother of Germanicus, for whom no other field of glory could be found. It was in Germany only that Drusus could acquire the title of Imperator. Rome had no other enemies. The laurel crown must be gained in that quarter of the world. Germanicus saw through these pretences. The object, he knew, was to stop him in the full career of fame; with regret he resigned the command, and returned to Rome.

XXVII. About this time, Libo Drusus, descended from the Scribonian family, was accused of a conspiracy against the state. The history of this transaction in all its stages, its rise, its progress, and its final issue, shall be here laid open. The detail will not be uninteresting; since we are now arrived at that black period, which engendered that race of men, who, for a series of years, were the scourge and pest of society. Libo owed his ruin to his intimacy with Firmius Catus, a member of the senate. Catus saw in his friend, besides the impetuosity of youth, a cast of mind susceptible of vain illusions and superstitious credulity. He saw that the judicial astrology of the Chaldæans, the mysteries of the Magi, and the interpreters of dreams, would be sure to make their impression on a wild and distempered imagination. In such a mind the flame of ambition might be easily kindled. With that intent, he urged the dignity of Libo's ancestors: Pompey was his great grandfather; Scribonia,[7] once the wife of Augustus, was his aunt; the two young Cæsars[8] were his relations; and his house was crowded with images, that displayed an illustrious line of ancestors. Having thus inflamed his pride, he contrived to engage the young man in a course of luxury, and, by consequence, to involve him in a load of debt.[9] He watched him closely in the hour of wild profusion, and in the scene of distress that followed; affected with tender regard to be his constant companion, yet lying in wait for evidence; and playing the part of a friend, to be at last a pernicious enemy.

XXVIII. Having procured a competent number of witnesses, and among them such of the slaves as knew their master's course of life, Catus demanded an audience of the emperor. By the means of Flaccus Vescularius, a[10] Roman knight, much in the confidence of Tiberius, he had beforehand disclosed the nature of his

5 The *Sicambri* dwelt between the river Luppia (now the *Lippe*) and the Cattians, who inhabited the territory of *Hesse*. Being conquered by Tiberius, in the reign of Augustus, they were transplanted to the Gallic side of the Rhine. We find them mentioned by Horace:

Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compositis venerantur armis.
Lib. iv. ode 14.

6 Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanians, and part of the Suevian nation, who dwelt between the Elbe (*Albis*) and the *Vistula*, drove the Boians out of the district called, after their name, *Boiohemum*, and made himself king of the conquered country. See Manners of the Germans, section 12, note, and this book, section 45. note.

7 For Scribonia, see Genealogical Table, No. 45.

8 Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, adopted by Augustus into the Cæsarean family. Genealogical Table, No. 48, 49.

9 It was by luxury, and the extravagance that occasioned an immense load of debt, that Julius Cæsar advanced himself to the supreme power.

10 Vescularius was the tool of power, and flourished by his trade, till Tiberius ordered him to be put to death, Annals, vi. s. 10.

business. The emperor refused to grant an interview, and yet encouraged the informer, willing through the same channel to receive further intelligence. Libo in the meantime was raised to the dignity of prætor. He was a frequent guest at the imperial table. In those convivial moments, Tiberius never betrayed a symptom of suspicion. With gentle expressions, and looks of kindness, that master of dissimulation knew how to hide the malice of his heart. The follies of Libo's conduct might have been checked in the beginning; but Tiberius chose to collect materials for a future day. It happened at last that one Junius, who pretended to raise the dead by magic incantations, was appointed, at the request of Libo, to exhibit the wonders of his art. This man hastened with the secret to Fulcinius Trio, at that time a noted informer, who possessed dangerous talents, and, by any arts, however pernicious, wished to raise himself into public notice. Libo was cited to appear. Trio applied to the consuls for a solemn hearing before the senate. The fathers were convened to deliberate, as the summons informed them, on matters of moment, and a charge of the blackest nature.

XXIX. Libo changed his dress.[1] In a mourning garb he went from house to house, attended by a female train of the first distinction. He importuned his friends, and among them hoped to find some one willing to undertake his defence. His application was without effect. His friends deserted him, with different excuses; but all from the common motive of fear. On the day of trial, sinking under his distress, and faint with real or pretended illness, he was carried in a litter to the senate-house. He entered the court,[2] supported by his brother. At the sight of the emperor, he stretched forth his hands in the manner of a supplicant, and in a pathetic tone endeavoured to conciliate favour. Tiberius viewed him with a rigid and inflexible countenance. He then proceeded to open the charge, stating the particulars, and the names of the accusers; but in a style of moderation, neither aggravating nor extenuating the offence.

XXX. Fonteius Aggrippa and Caius Vibius, two new accusers, joined in support of the prosecution. Being now four in number, they could not agree among themselves which should take the lead. The point was contested with much warmth. Vibius at length observed, that Libo came to the trial without an advocate to support him; and therefore, to end the dispute with his associates, he undertook to detail in a plain and simple manner the heads of the charge. Nothing could be more wild and extravagant than some of the articles. He stated that Libo had made it a question to the fortune-tellers, whether he should ever be rich enough to cover with money the Appian road, as far as Brundusium. There were other allegations of the same stamp, equally void of common sense; or, to speak more truly, so weak and frivolous, that they could move no passion but pity.

There was however one fact of a serious nature. A paper was produced, containing a list of the Cæsars, and also several senators, with remarks, or notes, which no man could decypher, annexed to their names. This was exhibited as the handwriting of Libo. He insisted on his innocence. It was proposed to put his slaves to the torture. Their evidence by the established rules of law, was inadmissible. By an ancient decree of the senate, it was ordained, that, where the master's life was in danger, no slave should undergo the question. Tiberius, by a master-stroke of invention,[3] found an expedient to evade the law. He directed a sale of the slaves to be made to the public officer, that, the property being altered, they might then be examined on a new principle, unknown to former times. Libo prayed an adjournment to the next day. Being returned to his own house, he sent by his relation, Publius Quirinius, an humble petition to the emperor: the answer was, "he must address the senate."

XXXI. A party of soldiers surrounded Libo's house, and, with the brutal rudeness of men insolent in authority, forced their way into the vestibule, determined to make themselves heard and seen by the family. The prisoner was then at table, intending to make an elegant banquet the last pleasure of his life: but a mind in agony could relish nothing. Distracted, terrified, he called on his servants to despatch him; he laid hold of his slaves, and endeavoured to force a sword into their hands. The servants, in agitation, made an effort to escape, and, in the struggle, overturned the light that stood upon the table. This to Libo was funeral darkness: he seized the moment, and gave himself two

1 The accused always appeared in a mourning habit in order to excite compassion.

2 The charge against him, we are told in the next section, was too extravagant. It seems, however, that Tiberius lived in dread of him. Suetonius says, Libo was actually engaged in a conspiracy, and that Tiberius, harbouring dark suspicion, contrived at a sacrifice, when Libo attended, to put into his hand a knife made of lead, instead of the usual instrument. Suet. in Tib. s. 25.

3 Dio Cassius says, that Augustus was the author of this subtle device; but, as he does not tell upon what occasion, it is reasonable to suppose that Tacitus was better informed. We learn from Cicero, that the old law, which repelled the slave from being a witness against his master, made the case of incest an exception to the general rule. *De servis nulla quæstio est in dominum nisi incestu, ut fuit in Clodium.* Cicero, pro Milone. By the Roman law, a freeman could not be put to the torture. For that reason, the party accused in order to suppress the truth, took care, in time, to give the slaves their freedom. To prevent that evasion of public justice in the case of adultery, Augustus provided by the *Lex Julia*, that the slaves of the wife accused of adultery should not be manumitted before the expiration of sixty days, during which time they were liable to be put to the torture.

mortal stabs.[4] His groans alarmed the freedmen, who crowded round their dying master. The soldiers followed, and seeing him at the point of death, had the decency to withdraw. The prosecution, however, did not die with the unfortunate victim. It was resumed in the senate with unabating severity. Tiberius made an end of the business, by declaring that, if the criminal had not done justice on himself, he intended, notwithstanding the manifest proof of his guilt, to have recommended him to the mercy of the fathers.

XXXII. The estate of the deceased was divided among the informers. Such of them as were of senatorian rank, were promoted to the prætorship, without the form of an election. Various motions were made in the senate: Cotta Messalinus[5] proposed that the image of Libo should not be carried in the funeral processions of his kindred; Cneius Lentulus, that the surname of Drusus should be no longer assumed by the Scribonian family. On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of public thanksgiving were voted; and gifts were ordered to be presented to Jupiter, Mars, and Concord, at the desire of Lucius Puppius, Asinius Gallus, Papius Mutilus, and Lucius Apronius. It was further decreed, that the ides of September, the day on which Libo despatched himself, should be observed as a festival. Of these resolutions, and their several authors, I have thought proper to record the memory, that adulation may be branded to all posterity, and that men may mark how long a servile spirit has been the canker of the commonwealth.

The tribe of astrologers and magicians,[6] by a decree of the senate, was banished out of Italy. Two of the number suffered death; namely, Lucius Pituanius, and Publius Marcius. The former was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock; and the latter, by order of the consuls, was executed, at the sound of a trumpet, on the outside of the Esquiline gate,[7] according to the form prescribed by ancient usage.

XXXIII. At the next meeting of the senate, the luxury of the times became the subject of debate. The business was introduced by Quintus Haterius, of consular rank, and Octavius Fronto, who had discharged the office of prætor. A law was passed, prohibiting the use of solid gold for the service of the table; and further enacting, that men should not[8] disgrace themselves by the effeminate delicacy of silk apparel. Fronto took a wider compass. He proposed that the quantity of silver in every family, the expense of furniture, and the number of domestics, should be limited by law. The senators at that time did not confine themselves to the question depending before the assembly; but every speaker was at liberty to start new matter, and submit to consideration whatever he thought conducive to the public good.

Asinius Gallus rose in opposition to the opinion of Octavius Fronto. "The commonwealth," he said, "had increased in grandeur, and the wealth of individuals grew with the growth of empire. Nor was this a modern innovation: the same effect, from the same causes, may be traced in the early period of the commonwealth. The Fabricii had their private wealth, and so had the Scipios, but different in degree. Wealth is relative, always in proportion to the affluence of the times. When the state was poor, frugality was the virtue of a citizen. Does the empire flourish, individuals flourish with it. In matters of domestic expense, such as plate and retinue, the measure of economy or extravagance must be determined by the circumstances of the family. Nothing is mean, nothing superfluous, but what is made so by the condition of the parties. The

4 Seneca says, Libo was a young man, no less distinguished by his folly than by his illustrious birth; mad enough to form schemes of ambition too high for any man in that conjuncture, and for himself impracticable at any time. Being conveyed from the senate in a litter to his own house, he consulted his friends, whether he should despatch himself. His aunt Scribonia (formerly the wife of Augustus) asked him, Why will you do another man's business? Her question made no impression. He put an end to his days. Seneca, epist. lxx.

5 For more of Cotta Messalinus, see Annals, book iv. s. 20. He was son to Messala the celebrated orator.

6 The Chaldæan magicians, and the professors of judicial astrology, willing to be deemed men of real science, called themselves mathematicians; and that name frequently occurs in Tacitus. The decree made on this occasion was not a new regulation, but a revival of ancient laws.

7 The ancient usage, *more majorum*, is explained by Suetonius. The custom, he says, was to strip the criminal stark naked, and lash him to death, with his head fastened within a forked stake. Suet. in Nerone, s. 49.

8 The original has *vestis serica*, which is translated *silk* apparel. Lipsius makes a distinction between the *serica bombycina*. The former, he contends, was a texture of cotton that grew spontaneously on the trees in the country of the *Seres*; a people, according to Pomponius Mela, situated between India and the *Sinæ*, or the *Chinese*. The *bombycina vestis*, he says, was the produce of China, imported from the Persian merchants, before the Romans heard of so curious an animal as the silk-worm. But can it be supposed that a mere cotton manufacture could provoke the censure of the senate? *Ne vestis serico viros fœdaret.* It is more probable, that the silk of China was conveyed to Rome through the hands of the Seres, the Indians, and Persians, and then was found to be a dress too effeminate for the men. This opinion seems to be confirmed by Seneca, who mentions the *serica vestis*. If, says he, that can be called a dress which does not answer the purpose of modesty: a woman clad in that attire cannot safely swear that she is not naked. The finery is imported, at a vast expense, from nations unknown; and now the women do not exhibit more to their adulterers, in their private apartments, than they do to every eye in public. *Video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandæ sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut denique pudor possit; quibus sumptis, mulier parum laquido nudam se non esse jurabit. Hæc ingenti summa ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut matronæ nostræ ne adulteris quidem plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendant.* De Benef. lib. vii. s. 9.

fortune of a senator,[1] as settled by law, differs from the qualification of a Roman knight. Has nature made a distinction between them? No, it is civil policy that draws the line; and surely it is fit that they, who stand high in rank, in honours, and public station, should live in suitable splendour, not only furnished with the necessaries, but also with the elegances, of life. High station is at best a post of danger. Will any one argue, that men in office are to drudge in business, condemned to endless toil, without the means of repairing the waste of labour, and without a comfort to soothe anxiety?" The apologist of dissipation and luxury carried his point. With an audience of congenial manners, public vices, decorated with specious names, were public virtues. Tiberius closed the debate. The times, he said, were not ripe for a censor;[2] but if corruption went on increasing, there would be no want of vigour to reform abuses of every kind.

XXXIV. In the course of these debates, Lucius Piso broke out with vehemence against the reigning vices of the times, the spirit of intrigue that prevailed in the forum, the venality of the courts of justice, and the band of public informers, who were ever armed with accusations, and spread terror through all ranks and degrees of men. For his part, he abjured the city of Rome. In some remote corner of the world, he was determined to seek an obscure but safe retreat from the villany of abandoned men. He spoke, and left the senate-house. Tiberius heard him, but not without inward mortification. He endeavoured by every means in his power to appease his indignation; and exerted all his interest with Piso's relations in order to dissuade him from his purpose. In a short time after, the same eminent person gave another proof of his firmness. He had commenced a suit against Urgulania, a woman raised above the control of law by the friendship of Livia. Disdaining to answer the process, this haughty favourite took shelter in the imperial palace. Piso persisted in his demand, undismayed by the resentment of Livia, who considered his obstinacy as an affront to herself. Tiberius thought fit to temporize with the passions of his mother. He promised to attend the hearing of the cause, in favour of Urgulania; and that mark of filial compliance, he thought would not be considered as a stretch of power.[3]

He set out accordingly from the palace, his guards following at a distance. He proceeded slowly through the streets, amidst a concourse of people, with an air of calm composure, occasionally loitering in conversation. Piso's friends tried all in their power to make him desist from his suit; but nothing could shake that resolute temper. To end the controversy, Livia thought good to pay the whole of his demand. Piso by his firmness did honour to his character, and Tiberius gained the popular applause. Urgulania continued, notwithstanding, to tower above the condition of a citizen; insomuch that, being summoned as a witness in a matter depending before the senate, her pride would not suffer her to appear. A prætor was sent to take her examination in private; though, by ancient usage, the attendance of the vestal virgins, whenever cited to give their testimony, was never dispensed with, either in the forum or the tribunals of justice.

XXXV. Part of this year was remarkable for a total suspension of all public business. Of this inactive state it would be scarce worth while to take notice, if the different sentiments of [4] Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus did not seem to merit attention. Tiberius gave notice, that he intended to absent himself for some time from Rome. Piso declared his opinion, that, in such a juncture, the senate ought to attend with greater assiduity to the despatch of business. The fathers and the Roman knights might still discharge their respective functions; "the dignity of the commonwealth required it." Asinius Gallus saw, with a jealous eye, that his rival had taken the popular side; and, to counteract his design, rose to oppose the motion. "Nothing," he said, "could be truly great, or worthy of the Roman people, unless conducted under the eye of the prince. The affairs of state, and the great conflux of people, not only from all parts of Italy but from the provinces, ought to be reserved for the presence of the emperor." Tiberius heard all that passed, but remained silent. A warm debate ensued. At length the fathers agreed to adjourn all business till the prince returned to Rome.

XXXVI. Upon another occasion the same Asinius Gallus had the spirit to clash even with the emperor. He moved, in form, that the election of civil magistrates should take place at the end of five years; that the officers who had the command of a legion, and discharged that duty before they attained the prætorship, should be declared prætors elect, without prejudice to the right of the sovereign to name twelve candidates. This motion, beyond all doubt, had a deeper aim, pointing directly at the policy of the times, and the secret maxims of the court[5]. Tiberius

1 The qualification of a Roman knight was four hundred thousand sesterces; that of a senator, in the time of the republic, eight hundred thousand, and under the emperors twelve hundred thousand. Suet. in Aug. s. 41.

2 The censor exercised his authority in the course of every fifth year. See what Tiberius says on the subject of luxury, book iii. s. 53 and 54.

3 The original has, *Hactenus indulgere matri civile ratus.* Gordon translates it, *he promised in civility to his mother.* The meaning is, to indulge his mother so far, he thought would be no more than the exercise of a civil right.

4 For more of Cneius Piso, see this book, s. 43.

5 It was the policy of the court to make all favours to the army issue immediately from the prince, as from the

affected to see a design to enlarge the sovereign authority; and, on that ground, replied, "that it was inconsistent with his moderation to take upon him so vast a charge. The power to choose, was a power to exclude; and the last was painful. The elections, even when annual, were attended with many inconveniences. The disappointed candidate was sure to repine at his want of success, and yet his disgrace was but of short duration: he consoled himself with hopes of better success in the following year. Defer the election for five years, and the man rejected for that length of time, will find his spirit more deeply wounded. Moreover, at the end of so long a period, who can answer that his character, his family connections, and his fortune, will be the same? To grow proud in office is the nature of man: extend his authority to the space of five years, and what will be the consequence? Every single magistrate will swell with the pride of five. The laws, which have wisely drawn the line, will be subverted; whereas, at present, the time for soliciting, as well as that of enjoying public honours, is fixed with precision."

XXXVII. By these specious arguments, delivered with a republican spirit, Tiberius strengthened the interests of despotism. His next measure was a grant of money to certain senators, whose fortunes were inferior to their rank. Nothing, however, in the midst of such liberal donations, struck the minds of men with so much wonder, as the high tone with which he rejected the application of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of distinction, but embarrassed in his circumstances. He was grandson to[5] Hortensius, the celebrated orator. To prevent the extinction of that illustrious family, Augustus pressed him to marry, and seconded his advice by a present of a thousand great sesterces. The senate was sitting in the emperor's palace. Hortalus attended. Having stationed his four children before the door, he rose in his place, directing his eyes first to the statue of Hortensius, among the famous orators, then to the statue of Augustus, and spoke to the following effect: "My children, conscript fathers, are now before you: you see their number, and their helpless infancy. They were not mine by choice: the command of Augustus made me a father. Let me add, the merit of my ancestors stood in so distinguished a light, that the line ought not to fail for want of issue. As to myself, the distraction of the times left me nothing but difficulties: involved in distress, destitute, without popular favour, and, above all, not endowed with eloquence, that peculiar gift and fortune of my family, I could have passed my days in humble content, resolved that poverty should neither make me a disgrace to my ancestors, nor a burthen to my friends. The advice of Augustus was a command: I obeyed, and married. Behold the issue of that alliance, the posterity of consuls and dictators. It is not the language of vain-glory that I utter; it is the voice of a father pleading for his children. Receive them, Cæsar, to your protection: under your auspicious smiles they may live to deserve your favour, and to merit public honours. In the meantime, let their tender years claim compassion; they are the grandchildren of Hortensius, and they were fostered by Augustus."

XXXVIII. This speech made an impression in his favour: but the inclination of the senate was sufficient to sour a temper like that of Tiberius. He replied to Hortalus nearly in the following words: "If the trade of begging is to be encouraged; if the poor are to come hither in crowds to solicit for their children; the public funds may be exhausted, and the craving of individuals will remain unsatisfied. To depart from the question before the senate, and open new matter for the public service, was no doubt the practice of our ancestors; but, under that sanction to introduce domestic concerns, with a view to private interest, is an abuse of the privilege, tending directly to reduce the senate, as well as the sovereign, to a painful dilemma. Whether we comply, or refuse our consent, either way we encounter prejudice. Besides, this mode of petitioning is not a modest humble request; it is a demand, brought on by surprise, while other business is before us. At such a time the petitioner comes, and, with the age and number of his children, assails the passions of this assembly: he does more; he makes a sudden transition to ourself, and by violence of prayer hopes to storm the treasury. But let us remember, that if, by our profusion, we exhaust the public stock, our crimes must replace it. You are not, Hortalus, now to learn, that the bounty of Augustus was his own voluntary act: he gave you money, but never intended that you should live a rent-charge upon the public. By false compassion we injure the community; industry will go to ruin; sloth will predominate, men will no longer depend upon themselves; but, having from their own conduct nothing to hope or fear, they will look to their neighbours for support: they will first abandon their duty, and then be a burthen on the public."

Such were the reasonings of Tiberius. His speech was well received by that class of men, who are ever ready to applaud the vices, no less than the virtues of their master: others heard

fountain of honours and rewards. Another rule was, to make new friends, by keeping men in expectation of preferment at the end of every year.

5 Hortensius, the great orator, and rival of Cicero, is said, by the elder Pliny, to have been a man of unbounded expense. He gave an enormous sum for a set of pictures of the Argonautic expedition, and placed them in a superb gallery, which he built for the purpose, at his country house. Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 11. No wonder, says Brotier, that his descendants were left in a state of indigence.

in silence, or, at most, with a murmur of disapprobation. Tiberius saw the impression on the minds of the fathers: he paused, and added, that what he had said was a reply to Hortalus; but if the senate judged it proper, he was willing to give two hundred great sesterces to each of his sons. The fathers expressed their thanks. Hortalus made no answer, perhaps through fear, or probably retaining still the spirit of his ancestors, unbroken by distress. From this time Tiberius never relented. While the house of Hortensius sunk into distress and poverty, he looked on with unconcern, and saw that illustrious family moulder into ruin.

XXXIX. In the course of this year, the daring genius of a single slave well nigh involved the empire in a civil war. The name of this man was Clemens, formerly retained in the service of Posthumus Agrippa. He was no sooner apprised of the death of Augustus, than he conceived the bold design of passing over to the isle of Planasia, with intent, by force or stratagem, to carry off Agrippa, and convey him to the German army. This enterprise, conceived by a slave, was no indication of a grovelling mind. He embarked on board a trading vessel, deeply laden, and, after a tedious passage, arrived too late: Agrippa was previously murdered. The man was now resolved to act a nobler part. Taking with him the ashes of the prince, he sailed to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, and there remained concealed in the sequestered parts of the country, till his hair and beard were grown into length. He was of his master's age, and in form and stature not unlike him. He began, by his friends and agents, to circulate a whisper that Agrippa was still living. The story, as is usual in the beginning of plots, was helped about by clandestine arts. By degrees, the tools of this bold adventurer grew more hardy; the weak and ignorant believed every thing; and the bold and turbulent, who wish for nothing so much as convulsions in the state, received the news with joy and exultation. While the report was gaining ground, the author of it withdrew with caution from the public eye. Truth, he was aware, is always brought to light by time and reflection; while the lie of the day lives by bustle, noise, and precipitation. The impostor was therefore resolved to keep the minds of men in constant ferment; he visited municipal towns, but always in the dusk of the evening; he went to one place, he flew to another, continually in motion, never long any where; but, as soon as he made his impression, leaving his fame behind him, or flying before it, to prepossess the people in some new quarter.

XL. The miraculous escape of Agrippa was currently reported all over Italy. At Rome the story was believed. The impostor landed at Ostia, amidst the acclamations of the rabble. Clandestine meetings were held in the capital. Tiberius was thrown into the utmost perplexity. Should he call forth the soldiers to subdue a slave? Were it not more advisable to leave the rumour to its own futility? On a sudden he was bent on vigorous measures, and nothing was to be slighted: he wavered, fluctuated, and to act with coolness seemed more advisable; to be alarmed at trifles was unworthy of the prince. The resolution of one moment gave way to the whim of the next, and pride and fear alternately distracted him. He resolved, and decided nothing. Weary of himself, he left the whole to Sallustius Crispus. That minister sent two of his creatures, (some say two soldiers) to join the fictitious Agrippa, as men devoted to his cause: he gave them full instructions to supply him with money, and profess themselves ready in his service, to encounter every danger. The men acted their parts; and in the dead of night, seizing their opportunity, fell with a strong party upon the adventurer. Having seized his person, they dragged him in fetters, with a gag in his mouth, to the imperial palace. Being there interrogated by Tiberius "how he came to be Agrippa," he is said to have answered, "As you came to be Cæsar." With undaunted resolution he refused to discover his accomplices. Tiberius, not choosing to hazard a public execution, ordered him to be put to death in a sequestered part of the palace. The body was privately conveyed away; and though, at the time, there was reason to believe, that many of the emperor's household, and even several of the Roman knights and senators, assisted the impostor with their advice and money, the affair was dropped without further inquiry.

XLI. Towards the end of the year, a triumphal arch was erected, near the temple of Saturn,[1] in memory of the Varian eagles retaken under the conduct of Germanicus, and the auspices of Tiberius. Several other public monuments were dedicated at the same time; a temple to Fortune, in the gardens on the banks of the Tiber, which Julius Cæsar had bequeathed to the Roman people; a chappel sacred to the Julian family; and a statue of Augustus in the suburbs, called *Bovillæ*.[2]

In the consulship of Caius Cæcilius and Lucius Pomponius, [A. U. C. 770. A.D. 17.] Germanicus, on the seventh before the calends of June, enjoyed the glory of a triumph over the Cheruscans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the rest of the nations extending as far as the Elbe. The spoils of the conquered, the prisoners of war, with various pictures of battles, mountains, and rivers, were displayed with great

1 The public treasure (*ærarium*) was kept in the temple of Saturn. See Cicero to Atticus, book vii. epist. 20 Lucan describes Metellus the tribune defending the doors of the temple against Julius Cæsar, who, notwithstanding, entered the place and seized the accumulated wealth of ages. Pharsalia, lib. iii. ver. 155.

2 The reason why a small village was honoured with a statue of Augustus, does not appear.

pomp and splendour. The war, though the general was not suffered to reap the full harvest of his glory, was considered by the populace as entirely finished. Amidst the grandeur of this magnificent spectacle, nothing appeared so striking as the graceful person of Germanicus, with his five children,[3] mounted on the triumphal car. The joy of the multitude was not, however, without a tincture of melancholy. Men remembered that Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the darling of the people, and yet proved unfortunate: they called to mind young Marcellus,[4] blessed with all his country's wishes, yet prematurely snatched away. It happened, they said, by some fatality, that whenever a favoured character was the delight of the Roman people, their affections ended always in a general mourning.

XLII. Tiberius gave a largess to the populace of three hundred sesterces[5] to each man, and ordered the distribution to be made in the name of Germanicus, at the same time declaring himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. These marks of good will were specious, but by no man thought sincere. He was now resolved to remove the favourite of the people. This, however, was to be done under colour of new honours. He framed a pretence, or took advantage of that which the posture of affairs presented to him. Archelaus,[6] during a space of fifty years, had swayed the sceptre of Cappadocia; but had the misfortune of being upon bad terms with the emperor, who, during his residence in the isle of Rhodes, had taken umbrage at the king's behaviour, and from that moment harboured the deepest resentment. Archelaus, it is true, had shown him no mark of respect; but that inattention did not originate in pride or arrogance. It was the conduct recommended by the confidential friends of Augustus, at a time when Caius Cæsar, flourishing in favour, was sent to arrange the affairs of the east. In that juncture, to court the friendship of Tiberius would have been highly impolitic.

After the failure of the Cæsarian line, and the elevation of Tiberius, letters to the eastern prince were despatched from the emperor's mother, avowing her son's resentment, but offering an entire remission of past offences, provided he came in person to solicit his pardon. Archelaus did not perceive the intended treachery; or, perceiving it, thought it prudent to dissemble. He risked a journey to Rome.

Tiberius received him with pride and sullen aversion. The king of Cappadocia was arraigned before the senate;[7] and though the charge was without foundation, a royal mind, not used to acknowledge an equal, much less to bend to the humiliating condition of a state-criminal, was naturally pierced to the quick. Worn out with grief, and drooping under the infirmities of age, the unhappy monarch died of a broken heart, or perhaps fell by his own hand. His kingdom was reduced to a Roman province. With this new source of wealth, Tiberius declared himself able to diminish the tax of the hundredth penny, and accordingly changed it to the two hundredth. About this time died Antiochus and Philopater; the former king of Commagena,[8] and the latter of Cilicia. By their deaths their kingdoms were thrown into violent convulsions. Two factions were at variance: one, which formed a large majority, was willing to submit to the government of Rome; the other contended for the independence of their monarchy. In the same juncture the provinces of Syria and Judea prayed to be relieved from the burthen of oppressive taxes.

XLIII. This state of affairs, and the commotions in Armenia, which have been already mentioned, Tiberius laid before the senate. His conclusion was, that to settle the troubles of the east, recourse must be had to the wisdom of Germanicus. As to himself, he was now in the vale of years, and Drusus had neither maturity of age nor experience. The provinces beyond the Mediterranean[9] were, by a decree of the senate, committed to Germanicus. He was made commander in chief, with supreme authority, wherever he went, over all other governors, whether appointed by lot, or the will of the prince. At that time, Creticus Silanus was the

3 The five children of Germanicus were, Nero and Drusus, whom we shall see cruelly murdered by Tiberius; Caligula, who was afterwards emperor; Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero; and Drusilla. Julia, his last child, was born afterwards in the isle of Lesbos. This book, s. 54.

4 The young Marcellus, who was married to Julia, the daughter of Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 18.

5 The value of three hundred sesterces to each man, Gordon says in a note on this passage, was seven crowns and a half. Others compute it differently. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.*

6 It seems to be agreed among the commentators that Archelaus was under considerable obligations to Tiberius, who had pleaded his cause in the reign of Augustus. Suet. in Tib. s. 8. The curious will find this matter fully discussed in Bayle's Dictionary, article Archelaus.

7 He was most probably charged with a design to render himself independent of the empire. To prove this, Dio Cassius says a witness was called, who, in his zeal against the prince, proved too much. He deposed, that Archelaus said, when he returned to his own dominions, he would show Tiberius that his nerves were strong and firm. This evidence astonished the fathers; they knew that Archelaus was disabled by the gout, and saw him, in a state of decrepitude, brought before them in a litter. The whole assembly burst into a fit of laughter. The prince escaped a sentence of condemnation, but died afterwards in the manner related by Tacitus. See Dio Cassius, book v.

8 For Commagene and Cilicia, see the Geographical Table.

9 Asia, Egypt, and the provinces in Africa.

governor of Syria. He had promised his daughter in marriage to Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus. For that reason Tiberius recalled him from the province, and in his place appointed Cneius Piso,[1] a man of violent passions, impatient of control, and fierce with all the spirit of his father, that famous republican, who in the civil wars took up arms against Julius Cæsar, and rekindled the flame in Africa. After that exploit he followed the fortunes of Brutus and Cassius. Being at length restored to his country, he disdained all public offices, till Augustus prevailed upon him to accept of the consulship. To the pride derived from such a father, the son united the insolence of wealth acquired by his marriage with Plancina,[2] who, besides her high descent, possessed immoderate riches. Proud of that connection, Piso thought himself scarcely second to Tiberius. The emperor's sons were beneath his rank. The government of Syria, he made no doubt, was given to him, as a bar to the hopes of Germanicus. For this purpose secret instructions were at the time said to have been given to him by Tiberius. Plancina, it is certain, had her lesson from Livia, with full instructions to mortify the pride of Agrippina with all the arts of female emulation.

The court of Tiberius, divided between Drusus and Germanicus, was a scene of domestic faction. The emperor, as was natural, gave the preference to his own immediate issue; but the preference had no other effect than that of attaching the friends of Germanicus more warmly to his interest. They considered him, by the maternal line, of higher birth than Drusus;[3] Mark Antony was his grandfather, and Augustus Cæsar his great-uncle. On the other hand Pomponius Atticus,[4] the great-grandfather of Drusus, having never risen above the rank of a Roman knight, seemed to tarnish the lustre of the Claudian line. The merit of Agrippina weighed greatly in the scale. She had brought to Germanicus a numerous offspring; and her character, free from blemish, placed her in a point of view superior to the younger Livia,[5] the wife of Drusus. The two brothers, amidst the heat of contending parties, lived in perfect harmony: their friends were at variance, but the princes loved each other.

XLIV. Drusus was soon after sent to command the army in Illyricum. In that school of military science he might improve in the art of war, and gain the affections of the army. The camp, Tiberius thought, would wean a young man from the dissolute manners of the capital. He had still another motive: while his two sons were at the head of the legions, he might live in security, free from danger, and every possible alarm. But the ostensible reason for the expedition of Drusus, was an application from the Suevians,[6] praying the assistance of Rome against the Cheruscans, who had turned their disappointed rage against their countrymen. The fact was, Germany being at that time evacuated by the Romans, the different nations of that country, no longer dreading a foreign invasion, began, according to the genius of Barbarians, to quarrel among themselves. The present difference was a struggle for power between two rival states. The strength on each side was nearly equal; the abilities of the chiefs much upon a balance: but the name of King was detested by the Suevians, and, by consequence, Maroboduus was unpopular. On the opposite side, Arminius, the champion of liberty, was the idol of his country.

XLV. Arminius took the field at the head of a considerable army. The Cheruscans, and a large body of allies, accustomed to fight under him, followed his standard. To these were added the Semnones and the Langobards,[7] two Suevian nations revolted from Maroboduus. By this defection the superiority had been decidedly with Arminius, had not Inguiomer thrown his whole weight into the opposite scale. For this conduct the pride of the man was the exciting motive. Arminius was the son of Inguiomer's brother; and the uncle, now a veteran soldier, disdained to serve under his nephew, and obey the orders of a boy. The two armies were drawn up in order of battle; on both sides equal ardour, and equal hopes of victory. The Germans no longer carried on a desultory war, in detached parties, and irregular bodies: their long conflict with the Romans had made them soldiers. Discipline was introduced; they followed the colours; they supported the broken ranks, and with prompt alacrity obeyed the word of command. Arminius appeared on horseback, rushing through the ranks, and animating his men to deeds of valour. He congratulated them on the recovery of their liberty; he gloried in the

1 Piso will be seen, in a short time, ruined by his headlong passions. His father was consul A. U. C. 731; before the Christian era 23.

2 Placina was the granddaughter of Lucius Munatius Plancus, a man distinguished in the history of the triumvirate. In the reign of Augustus, he commanded in Gaul, and, for some petty exploits, obtained a triumph. He founded the city of Lyons.

3 Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony by Octavia the sister of Augustus, was the mother of Germanicus; consequently Augustus was great-uncle to Germanicus, and Mark Antony was his grandfather. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, No. 32.

4 Atticus is well known by Cicero's Epistles. Pomponia, his granddaughter, was the first wife of Agrippa, and mother of Vipsania Agrippina, whom Tiberius married, and divorced by order of Augustus. Drusus, whom Tiberius acknowledged as his son, was the issue of that marriage. See the Genealogical Table of the Cæsars, No. 69.

5 She was sister to Germanicus, and was also called Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

6 For the Suevians, see the Geographical Table.

7 See the Geographical Table.

slaughter of Varus and his legions; he pointed to the spoils of victory, and the Roman weapons then in the hands of numbers; he called Maroboduus a coward and a fugitive, who never flashed his sword in battle, but fled for shelter to the Hercynian forest,[8] where, by negotiation, by bribes and embassies, he patched up an ignominious peace. A traitor to his country, and the slave of Cæsar, he was more an object of vengeance than Varus and his legions. He conjured them to remember the battles they had fought, and the glorious issue of all their labours. "The Romans," he said, "have abandoned Germany, they are exterminated; and if men desire to know who were the conquerors, the event of the war will tell."

XLVI. Maroboduus, in the meantime, was not inactive. Of himself he talked in magnificent terms, and of the enemy with contempt and indignation. Holding Inguiomer by the hand, "Behold," he said "in this brave warrior the support and glory of the Cheruscan name! To him they are indebted for the success of their arms. Arminius had no share in the conduct of the war; a rash presumptuous man, without knowledge or experience; he tears the laurel from another's brow, and founds his merit on fraud and murder: he fell by surprise upon three legions, and put an unsuspecting general, with his whole army, to the sword. All Germany has had reason to rue the carnage of that day; nor has Arminius any thing to boast. His wife and his son are languishing in Roman chains. Has my conduct produced so dreadful a catastrophe? Tiberius at the head of twelve legions,[9] advanced against me; but the glory of the German name suffered no diminution. The peace which followed was made on equal terms. For that treaty I have no reason to blush. Hostilities were suspended, and you gained time to deliberate which was most advisable, war with Rome, or a safe and honourable peace."

The two armies were in this manner animated by their respective chiefs. The several nations added their own private motives. The Cheruscans took the field to maintain their ancient glory, and the Longobards to defend their liberty recently recovered. The Suevians aimed at an extension of territory. No battle was ever fought with more inflamed resentment, and none with such equivocal success. The right wing on both sides was put to flight. A decisive action was expected; when Maroboduus drew off his forces, and encamped on the neighbouring hills; acknowledging, by his retreat, the superior strength of the enemy. Desertion in a little time thinned his army. He retired into the country of the Marcomanians,[10] and thence sent a deputation to Tiberius, in hopes of obtaining succours. The emperor's answer was, that Maroboduus, in the late war with the Cheruscans, had given the Romans no assistance; there was therefore no pretence for the present application. Drusus, notwithstanding, was despatched, in the manner already mentioned, to secure the frontiers from the incursions of the enemy, and to maintain the tranquillity of the empire.

XLVII. In the course of this year twelve principal cities in Asia were destroyed by an earthquake. The calamity happened in the night, and was for that reason the more disastrous; no warning given, and by consequence no time to escape. The open fields, in such dreadful convulsions, are the usual refuge; but the earth opening in various places, all who attempted to fly were buried in the yawning caverns. Hills are said to have sunk, and valleys rose to mountains. Quick flashes of lightning showed all the horrors of the scene. The city of Sardes[11] suffered most, and was relieved in proportion to the distress of the inhabitants. Besides a remission for five years of all taxes, whether due to the public treasury or the coffers of the prince, Tiberius promised a supply of one hundred thousand great sesterces. The city of Magnesia, situated near mount Sipylus, suffered in the next degree, and was considered accordingly. The inhabitants of Temnos, Philadelphia, Egæa, and Apollonia, with the cities of Hierocæsarea, Myrina, Cyme, Tmolus, as also the Mosthenians,

8 Maroboduus has been mentioned, this book, s. 26. note. To what is there said it will not be amiss to add that he was born among the Marcomanians, and went early to Rome, where he was distinguished by Augustus. Strabo, lib. vii. Endowed with great natural talents, he returned to his own country with an understanding above the level of Barbarians. The Mercomanians at that time inhabited an extensive territory in the district now called *Wirtemberg*, and in part of Suabia. He saw the Romans encroaching every day in the Lower Germany; and the progress of their arms he thought would, in a little time, reduce him to the condition of a sceptred slave. He removed from that dangerous neighbourhood to the Hercynian forest (see the Geographical Table), and, having expelled the Boians from the country, called *Boiohemum*, established his kingdom in that region. He extended his new dominions towards the south, and, by consequence, approached to the vicinity of the Romans. Tiberius was sent by Augustus to check the progress of the German king, who must have been crushed by the army employed against him, if a sudden revolt in Pannonia and Dalmatia had not caused a suspension of hostilities. Whether that insurrection was effected by the intriguing genius of Maroboduus, cannot now be known. He offered terms of accommodation, and the politic Tiberius (as mentioned in this book, section 26,) concluded a treaty of peace. From that time Maroboduus courted the alliance of Rome, and, by consequence, drew on himself the hatred of the German nations. See Cæsar De Bell. Gall. lib. vi. s. 24. and 25. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. s. 109.

9 The expedition of Tiberius was A. U. C. 759.

10 Tiberius considered him as a dangerous enemy, and therefore sent his son Drusus to extirpate him, not by open war, but by craft and insidious policy. See this book, s. 63.

11 See the Geographical Table.

and the people called the Macedonians of Hyrcania, were, for the like term of five years, exempted from all manner of imposts. The senate resolved to send a person of their own order to make an estimate of the mischief, and grant suitable relief. The affairs of Asia were at that time administered by a man of consular dignity. To avoid the jealousy incident to officers of equal rank, Marcus Aletus, who had risen no higher than the office of prætor, was the person commissioned to superintend the business.

XLVIII. Besides these acts of public munificence, Tiberius showed, in matters of a private nature, a spirit of liberality that did him the highest honour. The estate of Æmilia Musa,[1] who was possessed of a large fortune, and died intestate, leaving no lawful heir, was claimed to the prince's use by the officers of the imperial exchequer. Tiberius renounced his right in favour of Æmilius Lepidus, who seemed to stand in some degree of relation to the deceased. He gave up, in like manner, the rich possessions of Patuleius, a Roman knight; and, though a considerable legacy was left to himself, he resigned the whole to Marcus Servilius, upon the ground of a former will, duly attested, in which Servilius was constituted sole heir. For this disinterested conduct the reason assigned was, that the dignity of two such illustrious citizens deserved to be supported. In general, it was a rule with Tiberius, in all cases where he had no previous title from connection or friendship, not to accept any property as testamentary heir. When humour, caprice, or passion induced a stranger to disinherit his kindred, and make a disposition in favour of the prince, he declared it an inofficious testament. To honest and virtuous poverty he often showed himself a friend: to prodigality he was an inflexible enemy. In the class of spendthrifts he considered Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius. These men, undone by their own extravagance, were either expelled the senate, or allowed to vacate their seats.

XLIX. The plan undertaken by Augustus for the building of temples in the room of such as had been injured by time, or damaged by fire, was now completed. Tiberius dedicated the various structures to their respective deities; one near the Great Circus to Bacchus, Proserpine, and Ceres, originally raised in consequence of a vow made by Aulus Posthumius the dictator;[2] a temple to Flora, near the same place, formerly dedicated by Lucius and Marcus Publicius, during their ædileship; another to Janus, in the herb-market, founded by Caius Duillius,[3] the first who by a naval victory added lustre to the Roman name, and triumphed over the Carthaginians. The temple of Hope, vowed by Atilius in the same Punic war, was dedicated by Germanicus.

L. Meanwhile the law of violated majesty went on with increasing fury. A prosecution founded on that cruel device was set on foot against Apuleia Varilia,[4] descended from a sister of Augustus, and grand-niece to that emperor. She was charged with speaking defamatory words to the dishonour of Augustus, and uttering sharp invectives against Tiberius and his mother. Adultery was another head of accusation: though related to the Cæsarian family, she had, by her licentious conduct, brought disgrace on that illustrious name. The last article was thrown out of the case, as a matter within the provisions of the Julian law.[5] With regard to her calumnious language, Tiberius desired that a distinction might be made. If it appeared in proof, that she had spoken irreverently of Augustus, the law, he said, should take its course; but personalities levelled at himself might pass with impunity. A question was put by the consul touching the liberties taken with the emperor's mother. Tiberius made no reply. At the next meeting of the senate he informed the fathers that words affecting Livia were, by her own desire, never to be imputed as a crime. Varilia was acquitted on the law of majesty. With regard to the charge of adultery, Tiberius requested the fathers to soften the rigour of their sentence. In conformity to ancient practice, he was of opinion, that the relations of the offender might remove her to the distance of two hundred miles from Rome. This mode of punishment was adopted. Manlius, her paramour, was banished from Italy and Africa.

LI. The office of prætor becoming vacant by the death of Vipsanius Gallus, the appointment of a successor gave occasion to a warm and eager

1 Lipsius says, he will endeavour to take aim in the dark, and tell, as well as can be done at such a distance of time, who this woman was. He concludes that she was an enfranchised slave, and that her patron, who by law was entitled to the effects of his freedwoman dying intestate, not being clearly ascertained, her property went of course to the *fiscus*, or exchequer of the prince. Tiberius chose to waive his right, and grant the whole to Lepidus, who had some connection with the deceased.

2 Aulus Posthumius was dictator, A. U. C. 258.

3 Duillius obtained a signal victory over the Carthaginian fleet, A. U. C. 494.

4 See the Genealogical Table, No. 22.

5 The law against adultery was called *Lex Julia*, because Augustus, the author of it, had been adopted by Julius Cæsar. See Justinian's Institutes, lib. iv. tit. 18. The wife, who was found guilty, forfeited half her effects, and was banished to an island. By the old law, as stated by Livy, the woman convicted of a crime was delivered over to her relations to be punished in private. If there was nobody to whose custody she could be committed, she was punished in public. *Majores damnatas cognatis tradebant, ut ipsi in privato animadverterent. Si nemo erat idoneus supplicii exactor, in publico animadvertebatur.* Livy, lib. xxxix.

contest. Haterius Agrippa, nearly related to Germanicus, was declared a candidate. Drusus and Germanicus, both still at Rome, espoused his interest. It was, however, a settled rule, that the person who had the greatest number of children[6] should be deemed to have the superior title. From this line of decision many of the fathers were unwilling to depart. Tiberius saw with inward satisfaction the senate wavering between the law and the wishes of his sons. The law, as may be imagined, proved too feeble. The two princes carried the question, though not without a strong contention, and by a small majority. This, however, was no more than what often happened in better times, when laws were still in force, but had to struggle with power, and were often obliged to yield to superior interest.

LII. By the spirit of a bold and daring adventurer, a war was this year kindled up in Africa. This man, a Numidian by birth, and known by the name of Tacfarinas, had served in the Roman camp among the auxiliary troops. He deserted afterwards, and collected together a body of freebooters, accustomed to live by rapine, and by consequence addicted to a life of warfare. Tacfarinas had acquired some rudiments of military discipline. He formed his rash-levied numbers into companies of foot, and squadrons of horse. Having drawn over to his party the Musulanians,[7] a nation bordering on the wilds of Africa, where they led a roving life, without towns, or fixed habitations, he was no longer a chief of a band of robbers, but, with a higher title, the general of a people. The neighbouring Moors,[8] a race of savages, under the command of Mazippa, joined the confederacy. The two chiefs agreed to divide their troops into two separate bodies. Tacfarinas, with the flower of the army, formed a regular camp, arming his men after the Roman manner, and training them to the art of war; while Mazippa, at the head of his light-armed freebooters, ravaged the country, and marked his way with fire and sword. The Cinithians,[9] a nation by no means contemptible, were forced to enter into the league.

At length, Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, advanced to check the insurgents, at the head of a legion, and such of the allies as still remained under his command. With this handful of men, a slender force when compared to the numbers of the Moors and Numidians, the Roman general determined to hazard a decisive action. His chief care was, not to strike the enemy with terror. Their fears, he knew, would make them avoid an action, and protract the war. The Barbarians hoped to gain an easy victory, and, by their hopes, were led on to their destruction. Camillus drew up in order of battle. His legion formed the centre: in the wings were stationed the light cohorts, and two squadrons of horse. Nor did Tacfarinas decline the conflict. He engaged, and was totally routed. By this victory the name of Camillus, after an interval of many years, seemed to retrieve its ancient honours. From him, who was the deliverer of Rome,[10] and his son, who emulated the father's example, all military fame was transplanted to other families, till Camillus, the conqueror of Tacfarinas, once more revived the glory of his ancestors; but he did it without their talents. He had seen no service, nor was he considered as an officer. Tiberius, for that reason, was the more lavish in his praise. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to him by the senate; nor was he afterwards ruined by his merit. His moderation, and the simplicity of his manners, screened him from envy. He enjoyed his honours with impunity.

LIII. Tiberius and Germanicus were joint consuls for the following year; [A. U. C. 771. A. D. 18.] the former for the third time, and the latter for the second. Germanicus, in this juncture, was absent from Rome, at the city of Nicopolis in Achaia. He had passed into Dalmatia, on a visit to his brother Drusus. From that place he sailed along the coast of Illyricum; and after a tempestuous voyage in the Adriatic and the Ionian seas, arrived at Nicopolis, where he was invested with his new dignity. His fleet had suffered, and took some days to refit for sea. In the meantime, he seized the opportunity to view the bay of Actium, rendered famous by the great naval victory at that place. He saw the trophies[11] consecrated by Augustus, and the lines of Mark Antony's camp. To him, who was grandnephew to Augustus, and grandson to Mark Antony, the scene was interesting. Every object reminded him of his ancestors; and every circumstance awakened those tender sensations, in which the heart unites regret and pleasure. From Nicopolis he proceeded to Athens. In

6 By the law called *Papia Poppæa*, the candidate who had the greatest number of children was to be deemed duly elected. In consequence of this law, it became the common practice of men who had no issue, but were determined at all events, to secure their election, to adopt a competent number, and, as soon as they obtained the government of provinces, to renounce their fictitious children. The fraud was afterwards repressed. See Annals, xv. s. 19.

7 See the Geographical Table.

8 The *Mauri*, inhabitants of Mauritania, bordered on what is now called *Algiers*. See the Geographical Table.

9 See the Geographical Table.

10 M. Furius Camillus obtained a complete victory over the Gauls, and saved the city of Rome, A. U. C. 364.

11 Suetonius says, Augustus, to perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, built the city of Nicopolis, near the Bay; established the quinquennial games; and, having enlarged an old Temple of Apollo, adorned it with naval spoils, and dedicated it to Neptune and Mars. In Aug. s. 18.

that city, the seat of valour and of literature, and for many years in alliance with Rome, he showed his respect for the inhabitants by appearing without pomp, attended only by a single lictor. The Greeks exhausted their invention to do him honour: ingenious in the arts of flattery, they took care to blend with their compliments frequent mention of the renowned exploits and memorable sayings of their ancestors; and thus, by enhancing their own merit, they thought they gave refinement, and even value, to adulation.

LIV. From Athens Germanicus sailed to the island of Euboea, and thence to Lesbos, where Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, called Julia,[1] the last of her children. From Lesbos he pursued his voyage along the coast of Asia; and, after visiting Perinthus and Byzantium, two cities of Thrace, sailed through the straits of the Propontis, into the Euxine Sea, led by curiosity to visit all places renowned in story. In his progress he attended every where to the complaints of the inhabitants, whom he found distracted by their own intestine divisions, or labouring under the tyranny of the magistrates. He redressed grievances, and established good order, wherever he went.

On his return from the Euxine, he intended to visit Samothracia,[2] famous for its rites and mysteries; but the wind springing up from the north, he was obliged to bear away from the coast. He viewed the ruins of Troy, and the remains of antiquity in that part of the world, renowned for so many turns of fortune, the theatre of illustrious actions, and the origin of the Roman people. He landed next at Colophon, to consult the oracle of the Clarian Apollo.[3] The responses at this place were not delivered, like those at Delphos, by a Pythian maid: a priest officiates, chosen by custom out of certain privileged families, and generally a citizen of Miletus. From such as apply to him, he requires nothing but their number and their names. Content with these particulars, he descends into a cavern; and, after drinking from a secret spring, though untinctured with learning, and a stranger to poetry, he breaks out in a strain of enthusiastic verse, on the subject of every man's hopes and fears. He is said to have fortold the approaching fate of Germanicus, but in the oracular style, dark and enigmatical.

LV. Piso, in the meantime, impatient to execute his evil purposes, made his entry into Athens, and with the tumult of a rude and disorderly train alarmed the city. In a public speech he thought fit to declaim against the inhabitants, obliquely glancing at Germanicus, who, he said, by ill-judged condescensions, had impaired the dignity of the Roman name. The civility of the prince, he said, was shown, not to the men of Athens (a race long since extirpated,) but to a vile heterogeneous mass, the scum of various nations, at one time in league with Mithridates against Sylla, and afterwards with Mark Antony against Augustus. He went back to the times of Philip of Macedon; condemning, in terms of reproach, not only their feeble exertions in their struggle with that monarch, but also the ingratitude of a giddy populace to their best and ablest citizens. To this behaviour Piso was instigated by a private pique against the Athenians. It happened that one Theophilus was condemned for forgery by the judgment of the Areopagus:[4] Piso endeavoured to gain a pardon for this man, but that upright judicature was inflexible.

After this prelude to the scenes which he was still to act, Piso embarked, and, after a quick passage through the Cyclades, arrived at Rhodes. While he lay at the mouth of the harbour a storm arose, and drove the vessel on the point of a rock. Germanicus was then at Rhodes. He knew the hostilities that had been already commenced against himself, and might have left a man of that dangerous character to the mercy of the winds and waves; but, acting with his usual benevolence, he sent off boats and galleys to save even an enemy from destruction. Gratitude was not in the character of Piso. He spent but a single day with his benefactor; and, to take his measures beforehand, proceeded on his way to Syria. Having reached that place, he began by bribery, by intrigue and cabal, to draw to himself the affections of the legions. He caressed the lowest of the soldiers: he dismissed the centurions of

1 Before the birth of Julia, Germanicus had five children, who were exhibited to the people of Rome in their father's triumphal car. See in this book, s. 41.

2 An island in the Ægean sea (see the Geographical Table). The religious rites of the place were held in the highest veneration, and initiation into the mysteries was in as high repute as those of Eleusis, called the *Eleusinian* mysteries. Suidas says, it was generally believed, that such as visited Samothracia, and were iniated into the mysteries, were sure to be protected from all future danger. Brotier thinks this might be Germanicus's reason for wanting to visit that island.

3 A town of Ionia, in Asia, on a promontory of the Ægean sea. Pliny the elder mentions the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, and the sacred cave, where he, who drank from the spring, was inspired with prophetic fury, but shortened his days. *In specu lacuna est, cujus potu mira reddunturoracula, bibentium breviore vita.* Plin. lib. ii. s. 3.

4 The supreme court of judicature at Athens. It derived its name from the place where it was held, being a hill not far distant from the city, called Ἄρειος πάγος *Mars's* hill. Whether first instituted by Solon, or improved by him, is not certain, nor is it agreed what number of persons composed that venerable assembly. They heard and determined all causes at night, and in the dark. To laugh in their assembly was an unpardonable act of levity, and, by an express law, no member was to be the author of a comedy. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i. p. 101.

approved experience, and removed all the tribunes, who supported military discipline; substituting in their room his own dependants, and, still worse, the vile and profligate, who had nothing but their crimes to recommend them. Sloth prevailed in the camp; licentiousness diffused itself through the cities; and over the face of the country nothing was seen but a dissipated and disorderly band of soldiers. By these practices Piso rose into popularity, insomuch that he was hailed the *Father of the Legions*.

His wife Plancina forgot the decencies of the female character. She attended the troops in the field; she reviewed the cavalry; she railed with spleen and malice against Agrippina, and did not even spare Germanicus. This behaviour, it was generally believed, had the approbation and countenance of Tiberius. The consequence was, that not only the weak and profligate were alienated from Germanicus, but even the men of sober conduct, who were inclined to remain in their duty, went in a short time to pay their homage to the favourites of the emperor.

LVI. Germanicus was fully apprised of these proceedings; but Armenia claimed his first attention. He hastened without loss of time to regulate the affairs of that kingdom; a kingdom where caprice and levity marked the national character, and the situation of the country encouraged the inconstancy of the people. Armenia borders a great length of way upon the Roman provinces; then stretches, to a vast extent, as far as the territory of the Medes. Hemmed in by two great empires, that of Parthia[5] and of Rome, the Armenians are never steady to either; but, with their natural levity, alternately at variance with each; with the Romans, from rooted aversion; with the Parthians, from motives of ambition, and national jealousy. In the present juncture the throne was vacant. Vonones being expelled, the wishes of the people were fixed on Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus. The young prince had shown, from his earliest youth, a decided inclination to Armenian manners. The sports of the chase were his favourite amusement; he delighted in carousing festivals, and all the pastimes of savage life. For these qualities he was high in esteem, not only with the populace, but also the grandees of the nation. In this disposition of men's minds, Germanicus entered the city of Artaxata, and, amidst the acclamations of the people, placed the diadem on the head of Zeno. The Armenians paid homage to their new master, in the ardour of their zeal proclaiming him king, by the name of Artaxias,[6] in allusion to the place of his coronation. About the same time, the Cappadocians, who had been reduced to the form of a province,[7] received Quintus Veranius as their governor. The first measure of his administration was, to remit part of the taxes heretofore paid to their kings; that, from so mild a beginning, the people might conceive a favourable idea of Roman moderation. The Comagenians, in like manner, submitted to the government of a prætor, and Quintus Servæus was appointed to the office.

LVII. In this manner tranquillity was established in the east. The events were important, and such as might have given Germanicus reason to congratulate himself; but his joy was poisoned by the repeated hostilities and the insolence of Piso. This man had orders to march with a detachment of the legions into Armenia, or, at his option, to give the command to his son. He complied in neither instance. The prince met him at Cyrrum, the winter-quarters of the tenth legion. At that place they came to an interview, both with countenances adjusted to the occasion; Piso with an air of intrepidity, still disdaining a superior; and Germanicus with the serenity of a man, who wished to stifle his resentment. The gentle qualities of his nature inclined him at all times to moderation; but his friends, with the usual talent of men, who love to make bad worse, inflamed the quarrel. They aggravated what was true; they gave colour to falsehood; and omitted nothing to the disadvantage of Piso, Plancina, and their sons.

In the presence of a few select friends, Germanicus came to an explanation: his language was in that measured style, which anger and prudence, combating each other, usually inspire. Piso made an arrogant apology. The meeting broke up, and both retired with smothered resentment. From this time Piso rarely attended the tribunals of justice: whenever he appeared in court, his countenance plainly discovered ill-will, and sullen discontent. At a banquet given by the Nabathean king, a sudden expression fell from him, and betrayed his real temper. Golden crowns were presented to the company: two, for Germanicus and Agrippina, were of a ponderous size; while those for Piso and the rest were of inferior value. Piqued at the distinction, Piso exclaimed, "This feast is made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king." In the instant he threw the present made to himself, with peevish contempt, on the ground, declaiming with bitterness against the growth of luxury. Germanicus heard his rude invective, but still remained master of himself.

LVIII. About this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, with

5 See the Geographical Table.

6 Lipsius says, there had been many kings of the name of *Artaxias*, and the city was called *Artaxata* after one of them.

7 This vast country submitted to be a Roman province under Tiberius. The people of *Comagene* followed the example. Caligula restored the kingdom to Antioch, son of the last king. Vespasian finally reduced it to the form of a province.

instructions to mention, in terms of respect, the ancient alliance between Rome and Parthia, and the desire of the monarch to renew their former friendship. As an earnest of respect for Germanicus, Artabanus was willing to advance to an interview as far as the Euphrates; but he made it a condition, that Vonones should be removed from Syria, where his residence, in the neighbourhood of Parthia, gave him an opportunity to carry on secret negotiations with the nobles of the realm, and in time to stir up a revolt. Germanicus answered with condescension, yet with dignity. Of the alliance between Rome and Parthia he spoke with due regard, and the royal visit he considered as an honour to himself. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis on the coast of Cilicia, not so much to comply with the demands of the Parthian king, as to curb the insolence of Piso, then linked in ties of friendship with the exiled prince, who had contrived, by marks of respect and magnificent presents, to purchase the favour of Plancina.

LIX. In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, [A. U. C. 772. A. D. 19] Germanicus made a progress into Egypt, to view the monuments of antiquity so much celebrated in that country. For this journey the good of the province was his pretext. In fact, by opening the public granaries, he reduced the price of corn; and by pursuing popular measures, he gained the good-will of the inhabitants. He appeared in public without a guard; his feet uncovered, after the Greek fashion; and the rest of his apparel was also Greek. In these particulars he took for his model the conduct of Publius Scipio,[1] who, we are told, did the same in Sicily, while Rome was still convulsed by the distractions of the Punic war. Tiberius, as soon as he received advices from Egypt, condemned this affectation[2] of foreign manners, but without asperity. Another point appeared to him of greater moment. Among the rules established by Augustus, it was a maxim of state-policy,[3] that Egypt should be considered as forbidden ground, which neither the senators, nor the Roman knights, should presume to tread, without the express permission of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution. It was seen that, whoever made himself master of Alexandria, with the strongholds, which by sea and land were the keys of the whole province, might, with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and, by blocking up that plentiful corn-country, reduce all Italy to a famine. Germanicus, without authority, had entered Alexandria; and this, to the jealous temper of Tiberius, was little short of a state-crime.

LX. Meanwhile Germanicus, little suspecting that he had incurred the emperor's displeasure, determined to sail up the Nile. He set out from Canopus, a city built by the Spartans in memory of a pilot of that name, who was buried on the spot, at the time when Menelaus, on his return from Troy, was driven by adverse winds on the coast of Libya. From Canopus, the next place of note, was a mouth of the river dedicated to Hercules, who was born, as the inhabitants contend, in that country. He was, according to them, the first of the heroic line; and his name, being made another term for virtue, was by the voice of succeeding ages bestowed on all who emulated the example of the Egyptian worthy.[4] Germanicus proceeded to the magnificent ruins of the city of Thebes,[5] where still was to be seen, on ancient obelisks, a pompous description, in Egyptian characters, of the wealth and grandeur of the place. From the account of an elderly priest, who was desired to interpret the hieroglyphics[6] of his country, it appeared that Thebes, at one time, contained within her walls no less than seven hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms; that the whole army was called forth into the field by Rhamses,[7] one of

1 To go with the feet bare, or with sandals that did not cover them, *nexæ sine tegmine plantæ*, was an Egyptian custom, and from thence passed into Greece.

2 Scipio's conformity to foreign manners was censured by Fabius Maximus, as a dangerous example, tending to corrupt the Roman discipline. *Ipsius enim imperatoris non Romanus modo, sed ne militaris quidem cultus jactabatur; cum pallio, crepidisque inambulare in Gymnasio.* Liv. lib. xxix.

3 To visit *Sicily*, and the provinces of *Gaul* and *Spain*, was at all times permitted to the senators and other eminent citizens. Egypt, by the policy of Augustus, was a sequestered and prohibited province. The senate had no authority over it. The administration was altogether in the hands of the prince. Egypt was the great corn-country, from which Rome drew vast supplies, and it was thought advisable to keep it in the hands of the emperor, among the secret resources of the state, *inter arcana imperii*. The mouths of the Nile, and the isthmus of Suez, could be defended by a small force.

4 The Egyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, affirmed, that the Grecian Hercules was several thousand years posterior to the hero of their own country. See Herodotus in Euterpe.

5 A city in Upper Egypt, celebrated by ancient writers for its vast dimension and a hundred gates, all long since laid in ruins. Juvenal says, satire xv.

Atque vetus Thebæ centum jacet obruta portis.

The place, now called *Habou*, is the constant resort of travellers, who tell wonders of Egyptian grandeur, and the monuments of antiquity still remaining.

6 Before the invention of letters, the Egyptians expressed the ideas passing in the mind by the figures of animals and other emblematic forms. See an Account of the Origin of Letters, Annals, book xi. s. 14. And see Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. cap. 1.

7 Lipsius says, he has read nothing of this prodigious strength, nor is he willing to believe it. And yet Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. relates wonders of the riches, and the armies of Sesostris, who extended his conquests over Ethiopia and Asia, and at last penetrated into Thrace, where he erected a monument, with an inscription in Egyptian characters: "Sesostris, the king of kings, subdued this province." Pliny mentions king Rhamises, or Rhamses, who reigned at the time of the siege of Troy. Plin. lib. xxxvi. s. 8.

the kings of Egypt; and, under the auspices of that monarch, overran all Libya, Æthiopia, and in their progress subdued the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and the Scythians, with the extensive regions inhabited by the Syrians, the Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians. By this conquest, a tract of country, extending from Bithynia on the Pontic Sea to the coast of Lycia in the Mediterranean, was reduced to subjection. The inscription further stated the tribute paid by the conquered nations; the specific weight of gold and silver; the quantity of arms, the number of horses, the offerings of ivory and of rich perfumes presented to the temples of Egypt; the measure of grain, and the various supplies administered by every nation; making altogether a prodigious revenue, no way inferior to the taxes of late years, collected either by Parthian despotism, or the authority of Rome.[8]

LXI. In a country abounding with wonders, the curiosity of Germanicus was not easily satisfied. He saw the celebrated statue of Memnon,[9] which, though wrought in stone, when played upon by the rays of the sun, returns a vocal sound. He visited the pyramids, those stupendous structures raised by the emulation of kings, at an incredible expense, amidst a waste of sands almost impassable. He saw the prodigious basin,[10] formed, by the labour of man, to receive the overflowings of the Nile; and in other parts of the river, where the channel is narrowed, he observed a depth of water so profound,[11] that the curiosity of travellers has never been able to explore the bottom. The prince proceeded as far as Elephantinè and Syenè,[12] the boundaries formerly of the Roman empire, though now extended as far as the Red sea.

LXII. While Germanicus passed the summer in visiting the provinces of Egypt, Drusus, by his able conduct in Pannonia, acquired no small degree of reputation. He had the address to make the Germans turn their hostilities against themselves. The power of Maroboduus was in its wane; and his countrymen were, by consequence, encouraged to complete the ruin of that unfortunate prince. Catualda, a young man of rank, who was formerly compelled by the injustice of Maroboduus to fly his country, had taken refuge among the Gothones.[13] The season of revenge was at length arrived. At the head of a strong force he entered the territory of the Marcomanians. Having seduced the leading nobles to his party, he stormed the royal palace,[14] and took by assault a strong castle, nearly adjoining, where the Suevians had been accustomed to deposit their plunder. A considerable booty fell into his hands. He found, besides, a number of victuallers and traders from the Roman provinces; men who had been attracted to that part of the world by the liberty allowed to commerce, and by the love of lucre were induced to remain, till, by the force of habit, they lost all remembrance of their native land.

LXIII. Maroboduus, finding himself deserted by his people, had no resource but in the friendship of Tiberius. He crossed the Danube, where that river washes the confines of Noricum; and thence sent his despatches to Rome, not in the humble style of a prince driven from his throne, but, even in ruin, with an elevation of mind worthy of his former grandeur. The substance of his letters was, that the nations who knew his fame in arms had made him offers of friendship, but he chose rather to rely on the protection of the Romans. Tiberius promised him a safe retreat in Italy; with liberty, if his affairs took a favourable turn, to withdraw whenever his interest should invite him. To the fathers he talked a different language: Philip of Macedon,[15] he said, was not so much to be dreaded by

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8 It is to be regretted that Tacitus did not, in this place, state the amount of the Parthian and the Roman revenue. For more on this head, see Annals, book xiii. s. 30 and 51, note.

9 Strabo says, book xvii. that he saw this celebrated statue, and a little after sun-rise heard the sound. It is probable, therefore, that there was some contrivance or deception. Juvenal mentions it in his xvth satire, ver. 5.

Dimidio magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ.

Doctor Akenside has described it in the Pleasures of Imagination:

As Memnon's marble harp, renown'd of old
By fabling Nilus, to the quiv'ring touch
Of Titan's ray, with each repulsive string
Consenting, sounded through the warbling air
Unbidden strains, &c.

10 The lake *Mareotis*, which looks like a great sea to the south of Alexandria. Several channels are cut to receive the overflowings of the Nile. The wine of the adjoining territory is called *Mareoticum* by Virgil and Horace There is another lake (Mæris, or Mæridos) now called lake *Bathea*, in which, Brotier says, the remains of ancient pyramids are often discovered.

11 These reservoirs, with a number of subterraneous caves, which are so many receptacles for the waters of the Nile, are described by Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxii. cap. 15.

12 *Elephantine* is an island in the Nile, in the Higher Egypt, towards the borders of Æthiopia, not far from the town of *Syene*, which lies still more to the south. Strabo says, the Romans had a garrison at *Syene*, and there Tacitus places the boundary of the Roman empire in the reign of Tiberius and the following emperors, as low down as Trajan, whose enterprising spirit forgot the maxims of Augustus, and extended his conquests as far as the Red sea. See Annals, book i. s. 11, note, and Annals, book iv. s. 5.

13 For the Gothones, see the Geographical Table; and also the Manners of the Germans, s. 43, note.

14 There were no regular towns in Germany. When the word *civitas* occurs in the Latin historians, it generally means a people, or a state, not what is now called a city. Maroboduus, however, like our ancient Barons, had his castle or palace. Lipsius says, after Strabo, that it was called *Boriesmum*, in the Hercynian forest. Brotier and others are of opinion that it was near the city of *Prague*.

15 Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander the

the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus or Antiochus by the Roman people. His speech on this occasion is still extant; we there find him magnifying the fortitude of the German chiefs, and the ferocity of the nations over which he reigned with absolute power. He sets forth the danger of a powerful enemy so near the Roman frontier, and applauds himself for the wisdom of the measures that brought on the ruin of a great and warlike prince. Maroboduus was received at Ravenna; and there held up to the Suevians, if they dared to commence hostilities, as a prince that might once more ascend the throne. In the space, however, of eighteen years, Maroboduus never once stirred out of Italy. He grew grey in indolence; and clinging too long to a wretched life, survived his reputation.

Catualda experienced a like reverse of fortune, and found no better refuge. The Hermundurians, led on by Vibillius their chief, expelled him from the throne. The Romans fixed his residence at Foro-Julium, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The barbarians, who followed the fortunes of the two exiled kings, were not suffered to incorporate with the people of the provinces; but, to prevent the danger that might otherwise shake the public tranquillity, were conducted beyond the Danube, where they had allotments of land between the rivers Marus and Cusus, under the command of Vannius, a man born in the Quadian nation, and by Tiberius made king of the colony.

LXIV. The elevation of Artaxias to the throne of Armenia being about this time known at Rome, the senate decreed the lesser triumph to Drusus and Germanicus. Triumphal arches were raised near the Temple of Mars the Avenger, and the statues of the two princes were placed in a conspicuous point of view. Tiberius rejoiced at these events; and the more so, as they were the effect of policy, not of conquest. By the same insidious arts he now began to plan the destruction of Rhescuporis, king of Thrace. Rhæmetalces at one time reigned sole monarch over that whole country. After his death Augustus made a partition of the kingdom, assigning to Rhescuporis, the late king's brother, one moiety; and the other to Cotys,[1] son of the deceased monarch. In this division of the kingdom, the cultivated parts of the country, the fertile vales and flourishing cities, that lay contiguous to Greece, fell to the share of Cotys; the wilds and barren places, which were open to hostile incursions, were allotted to Rhescuporis. The genius of the two kings resembled their soil: the milder virtues distinguished the character of Cotys; ferocity, ambition, rapine, and impatience of an equal, were the prominent features of Rhescuporis. The princes preserved at first a show of mutual concord; in time Rhescuporis began to encroach on his nephew, not indeed with open violence, as he knew that Augustus, the founder of both kingdoms, might likewise prove the avenger of wrongs. During that emperor's life, he concealed his designs; but he no sooner heard that Rome had changed masters, than he threw off the mask, and avowed his ambition. With a band of freebooters he ravaged the country, razed to the ground the strongholds and castles, and by every act of hostility provoked a war.

LXV. To keep things, which were once settled, in the same unaltered state, was the principal care that occupied the anxious spirit of Tiberius. He despatched a centurion to restrain the Thracian kings from an open rupture. Cotys disbanded his forces. Rhescuporis resolved to act with craft and subtlety. He proposed a conference which, he had no doubt, would terminate all their differences. The time and place were fixed: a negotiation was opened, both princes seeming willing to remove all difficulties. Cotys brought to the meeting a conciliating spirit; the uncle meditated a stroke of perfidy. To ratify the preliminaries, he proposed a banquet. The parties met, and protracted their festivity to a late hour of the night. Amidst the joys of wine, and in the moment of revelry, Rhescuporis attacked his nephew, unsuspecting and unprovided. The deluded prince urged in vain the rights of kings, the laws of hospitality, and the gods of their forefathers. He was loaded with irons. His treacherous uncle made himself master of all Thrace; and immediately sent despatches to inform Tiberius that a dangerous conspiracy against his life had been defeated by timely vigilance. In the meantime, under colour of an enterprise against the Basternians and the Scythians, he made levies of horse and foot, determined, at all events, to be prepared for a defensive war.

LXVI. Tiberius returned for answer, that his conduct, if found to be free from reproach, would be his best protection; but neither the senate nor the emperor could prejudge the cause:

Great. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy A. U. C. 476; before the Christian æra 278. Antiochus III. king of Syria, was defeated by Lucius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Livy lib. xxxvii. s. 45.

1 Ovid has confirmed the character given by Tacitus of this prince. His ninth elegy, *De Ponto*, is addressed to Cotys, praying a safe retreat in his dominions. He says, he has seen verses by Cotys, and one poet owes protection to another.

Regia progenies, cui nobilitatis origo
Nomen in Eumolpi pervenit usque, Coty,
Fama loquax vestras si jam pervenit ad aures,
Me tibi finitimi parte jacere soli;
Supplicis exaudi, juvenum mitissime, vocem;
Quamque potes profugo (nam potes) affer opem.

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Ejusdem sacri cultor uterque sumus.
Ad vatem vates orantia brachia tendo,
Terra sit exilii ut tua fida meis.

De Ponto, epist. ix.

the guilt or innocence of men must arise out of the facts. He added, that Rhescuporis would do well to release his nephew, and make the best of his way to Rome in order to fix the criminality where it ought to fall. A letter to this effect from the emperor was forwarded to the Thracian king by Latinius Pandus, proprætor of Mysia. A band of soldiers went, at the same time, to demand that Cotys should be delivered into their custody. Rhescuporis, divided between hope and fear, fluctuated for some time; he chose, at length, rather to answer for an actual crime, than for the bare intention. He murdered Cotys, and spread a report that he died by his own hand. Tiberius heard the news without emotion, determined still to pursue his plan of fraud and treachery. Latinius Pandus died in the interval. Rhescuporis had always represented him as his inveterate enemy; but the government of Mysia being now vacant, Tiberius gave the administration of the province to Pomponius Flaccus,[2] a man of military experience, and upon the best terms with Rhescuporis. A friend, he knew, might prove in the end the most fatal enemy. That consideration determined his choice.

LXVII. Flaccus, without loss of time, arrived in Thrace. He found Rhescuporis in a state of violent agitation, conscious of his guilt, and overwhelmed with doubt and fear. He soothed him with gracious words, and by plausible promises inveigled him to hazard his person within the lines of a Roman garrison. Pretending there to do honour to the prince, he appointed a guard to attend him. The tribunes and centurions enticed him to go forward under their protection; till having drawn him a considerable way, they avowed their purpose, and Rhescuporis found that he was a prisoner in close custody. He was conducted to Rome, where the widow of Cotys accused him before the senate. His guilt was manifest: the senate decreed that he should pass the remainder of his days at a distance from his dominions. The kingdom of Thrace was once more divided. Rhœmetalces, son of the deposed king, and always adverse to his father's measures, had a portion of the realm; the rest was granted to the sons of Cotys, then under age. During their minority, Trebellienus Rufus, of prætorian rank, undertook the government of the kingdom in trust for the heirs of Cotys, according to the precedent of former times, when the senate sent Marcus Lepidus[3] to administer the affairs of Egypt in the capacity of regent and guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was conveyed to Alexandria; and there attempting to make his escape, or perhaps unjustly charged with that design, he was seized and put to death.

LXVIII. About the same time Vonones, who, as has been mentioned, was detained in Cilicia, made a like attempt, but with no better success. Having corrupted the guards, he intended to push his way into Armenia, and thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, flattering himself that he should be able to penetrate into Scythia, and there obtain protection from the reigning king, who was his near relation. With this intent he went on a hunting party; and having watched his opportunity, betook himself to flight. Turning off from the sea-coast, he struck into the woods, and rode at full speed towards the river Pyramus. The inhabitants, on the first alarm, demolished the bridges. The river was not fordable. Vonones was found wandering along the banks, and by order of Vibius Fronto, the commander of the cavalry, loaded with fetters. He did not long survive. Remmius, a resumed veteran, had been intrusted with the custody of his person. This man, in a sudden transport of pretended passion, drew his sword and ran the unhappy prince through the body. The secret cause of this violent act cannot now be ascertained;[4] the general opinion was, that the soldier had been bribed to favour the king's escape, and, rather than be detected as an accomplice, chose to be an assassin.

LXIX. Germanicus on his return from Egypt found all his regulations, in the civil as well as the military line, totally abolished, or changed to a system directly contrary to his intentions. Hence a new source of dissension. He condemned the conduct of Piso; and in return met with nothing but contumacy, and a spirit of opposition to all his measures. Piso was at length determined to evacuate Syria: hearing, however, that Germanicus was attacked by a sudden illness, he changed his resolution. He had soon after the mortification of learning that the disorder was abated. At Antioch the news diffused a general joy. The people of that place had offered vows for the recovery of the prince; and, having obtained the object of their wishes, began by solemn rites to discharge the obligations which they had imposed upon themselves. Enraged at this proceeding, Piso interrupted the ceremonies; by his lictors he drove the victims from the altars; he spread terror and confusion through the temples, and dispersed the congrega-

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2 During the administration of Pomponius Flaccus, Ovid says he lived in security on the banks of the *Ister*.

Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, et illo
Ripa ferox Istri sub duce tuta fuit.
De Ponto, lib. ix. epist. 9.

3 Ptolemy Philopater died A. U. C. 550. His son was an infant about five years old. The people of Alexandria craved the protection of Rome, and the senate sent Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, then chief pontiff, and a man of strict integrity, to act as guardian to the young king during his minority. Justin, lib. xxx. Valerius Maximus, lib. xii.

4 Remmius is called a *resumed* veteran. The original has *evocatus*, which was the word for a veteran who had quitted the service and returned to it again. See an account of the death of Vonones, Suet. in Tib. s. 49.

tion. After this exploit he withdrew to Seleucia. At that place, having advice that Germanicus was relapsed, he resolved to make some stay, in expectation of the event. The prince suspected that poison had been secretly conveyed by Piso, and that idea added to the malignity of his disorder.

A discovery was made of a singular nature. Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls,[1] a collection of human bones was found, with charms, and magic verses, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite consumed to ashes, were discovered in a putrid condition; with a variety of those magic spells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the souls of the living to the infernal gods. Amidst the confusion occasioned by these extraordinary circumstances, messengers were sent by Piso to inquire after the health of Germanicus; but those men were considered as spies, who came to watch for intelligence.

LXX. Germanicus was informed of all that passed. Fear and indignation took possession of him by turns. "If my doors," he said, "are to be besieged by my enemies; if interlopers are to see me at the point of expiration, what is the prospect that my wife has before her? and what are my children to expect? The poison is too slow in its operation for the wishes of my enemies; they want to hasten its effect; and the impatience of Piso has already swallowed up the province, with the command of the legions. But Germanicus is not yet deserted by all: his enemies may still have reason to repent; and the murderer will find that he has not long to enjoy the wages of his guilt." In this temper of mind he wrote a letter to Piso, in express terms disclaiming all friendship and connection with him: as some will have it, he commanded him to depart from the province. Piso, in fact, did not linger at Seleucia: he embarked immediately, but slackened his course; still willing to hover near the coast, in hopes that the death of Germanicus would leave the province open to his ambition.

LXXI. The disorder intermitting for a short time, Germanicus had an interval of hope. But the fatal moment was approaching: he sunk into a mortal languor; and, finding himself near his end, took leave of his friends in words to the following effect: "Were I to die a natural death, yet, thus cut off in the bloom of life from my family, my children, and my country, I might think it hard, and call the gods severe in their dispensations. Falling, as I now do, a victim to the iniquity of Piso and his wife Plancina, I leave with you, my friends, the request of a dying man. You know the indignities that provoked me beyond all enduring; you know the snares that have been laid for me, and you see the anguish of heart that brings me prematurely to my grave: relate the whole to my father and my brother.[2] The friends, whom prosperity connected with me; my relations, more closely united by the ties of blood, will hear the story with indignation: even envy, that never fails to persecute the living, will drop a tear over my remains. All will lament the fate of an unhappy prince, whom they saw flourishing in the smiles of fortune, a conqueror in so many battles, yet at last snatched away by the artifices of female malice.[3] It will be yours to appeal to the senate; yours to invoke the vengeance of the laws; and yours to show your friendship, not by unavailing tears, but by executing my last commands. In that consists the noblest duty, the best tribute to the memory of the dead. Even strangers who never saw me will be touched with sympathy; and you, my friends, if I was ever dear to you, if you followed my person, and not my fortune, you will revenge my fall. Show to the Roman people my afflicted wife, the granddaughter of Augustus; show my children, my six unhappy orphans. Compassion will be on the side of the prosecutors; and should my enemies attempt to screen themselves by pleading secret orders, mankind will either not believe them, or, believing, will not forgive them." The friends of the dying prince clasped his hand, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to revenge his death, or perish in the attempt.

LXXII. Germanicus turned to his wife, and fixing his eyes upon her, earnestly conjured her by the memory of her husband, and by their mutual children, to abate from the pride and fierceness of her disposition. To bend to the stroke of adversity, and at her return to Rome not to provoke, by vain competition, the resentment of enemies too high in power, was all that now was left.—Thus far with an audible voice: he then whispered a secret caution, which was supposed to point at the malignity of Tiberius. In a short time after he breathed his last. The provinces lamented their loss; he was honoured by kings, and regretted by the neighbouring nations; such was his equal behaviour to the allies of Rome, and such the humanity that endeared him even to the enemy. Graceful in his person, he charmed by his affability; beloved, when heard; admired, when only seen; and, in the highest elevation, great without arrogance,[4] he maintained the dignity of his rank, yet never gave envy reason to repine at his success.

LXXIII. The funeral was plain and simple,

1 Dio Cassius gives the same account.

2 Tiberius was his father by adoption; Drusus, the son of Tiberius, was of course his brother.

3 The malice of Livia, and Plancina, Piso's wife.

4 See the character of Germanicus in Suetonius, Life of Calig. s. 3.

without pomp or pageantry. No images[5] were carried in the procession. Fond remembrance, and the praises due to virtue, were the best decorations. Between him and Alexander men formed a parallel: his time of life, the graces of his person, the manner of his death, and the small distance between the places where both expired, gave room for the comparison. Both, it was observed, were of a comely form; both of illustrious birth; neither of them much exceeding the thirtieth year of his age; and both died in a foreign land, cut off by domestic treachery. But Germanicus had qualities peculiar to himself: he was mild and gracious to his friends, in his pleasures temperate, an affectionate husband, and by one wife the father of a numerous issue. Nor was his military character any way inferior: he had the bravery of Alexander, without his rashness; and, if he had not been recalled from Germany, where he gained so many signal victories, the entire conquest of that country had crowned his operations with immortal glory. The power of the state was never in his hands. Had he possessed the sole authority, with the royal title, and the prerogative of a prince, the progress of his arms would have made him equal to the conqueror of Darius; while, on the side of virtue, his clemency, his moderation, his temperance, and other amiable qualities, gave him a decided superiority. The body lay in state in the forum at Antioch, where the funeral ceremony was performed. Whether any symptoms of poison were discovered,[6] is uncertain. The people were divided into opposite parties, and their opinions varied accordingly. Some lamented the deceased prince, and, in minds so prepossessed, suspicion amounted to proof; others warped into the interests of Piso; and all pronounced according to the bias of their inclinations.

LXXIV. In this juncture, who was the fit person to govern the province, became the subject of debate. A council for this purpose was held by the commanders of the legions, and all of senatorian rank, then on the spot. A number of candidates appeared. After a short struggle, the contest lay between Vibius Marsus and Cneius Sentius. The question hung for some time in suspense. Marsus at length withdrew his pretensions; willing to yield to a senior officer, who showed himself ambitious of the honour. The first step of the new governor was to send to Rome a woman of the name of Martina, well known throughout the province for her practices in the trade of poisoning, and also for her intimacy with Plancina. This measure was adopted at the request of Vitellius,[7] Veranius, and a number of others, who were then actually busy in collecting evidence, and preparing the charge with as much assiduity, as if the prosecution had been already commenced in due form of law.

LXXV. Meanwhile Agrippina, pierced to the heart, and her health impaired by affliction, resolved, notwithstanding, to surmount every obstacle that might retard the hand of justice. She embarked for Italy with the ashes of Germanicus, and her orphan children. All eyes beheld her with compassion: all were grieved that a woman of the highest distinction, so lately happy with the best of men, and in the splendour of a court seen with universal homage, should undertake a melancholy voyage, with the urn of him she loved, not sure of a just revenge, alarmed for herself, and by the fruitfulness of her marriage-bed exposed to calamities yet unknown. Piso was at the isle of Coos. He there received advice that Germanicus was no more. Transported with joy beyond all bounds, he hastened to the temples, and offered victims as a public thanksgiving. Plancina was still more extravagant: she laid aside her mourning for a deceased sister, to celebrate in her gayest apparel an event so grateful to her heart.

LXXVI. The centurions flocked in crowds to Piso, assuring him that the legions were devoted to his service, and for that reason exhorted him to resume a command unjustly taken from him. Piso called a council of his friends: his son, Marcus Piso, was for his returning to Rome without delay. "What had been done, might well be justified: suspicions, unsupported by proof, would soon evaporate; and vague reports were of no moment. The long contention with Germanicus might perhaps be censured: it was unpopular, but could not amount to a crime. Piso had lost his government, and by that circumstance the rage of his enemies would be appeased. To return to Syria, were to enter into a civil war with Sentius. The centurions and soldiers were not to be trusted. The memory of Germanicus was still recent: and that affection for the Cæsarian family, which had taken root in the minds of all, would operate throughout the army."

LXXVII. Domitius Celer, the intimate friend

5 The family images were left at Rome.

6 Suetonius states this iniquity of magic spells and imprecations as a fact. Livid spots, he says, appeared all over the body; and when it was committed to the flames, the heart remained entire, being, according to the general opinion, proof against fire, when tainted with poison. Suet. in Calig. s. 1. La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, says he has been told by English gentlemen, that the heart of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was, in like manner, spared by the flames; but, if the fact were so, he is not willing to attribute it to the operation of poison, since it is not probable that Queen Mary, who ordered that prelate to be burnt at Oxford, poisoned him before he was publicly executed.

7 Publius Vitellius, uncle to Vitellius the emperor. See Annals, book i. s. 70.

of Piso, was of a contrary opinion. "The opportunity," he said, "should be seized without delay. Piso, and not Sentius, was the legal governor of Syria: the prætorian jurisdiction, the ensigns of mgistracy, and the command of the legions, were committed to his care. If the sword must be drawn, who had so much right on his side as the person who received his commission from the emperor? Public rumour should not be too soon encountered. Give the report of the day time to grow stale, and it dies of itself. In the first heat of prejudice, innocence itself has often fallen a victim to popular clamour. If Piso, at the head of an army, stood at bay with his enemies, new emergencies, which no wisdom could foresee, might unexpectly assist his cause. Why should he hasten to the capital? Was it his interest to enter Rome with Agrippina bearing the urn of Germanicus? Did he mean, unheard and undefended, to try the effect of female lamentation, or to be hurried to execution by the fury of a licentious rabble? Livia, it is true, is of your party, and Tiberius will favour you; but both will act in secret: and, in fact, none will grieve for Germanicus with so much ostentation of sorrow, as they who, in their hearts, rejoice at the event."

LXXVIII. The turbulent genius of Piso was easily satisfied with this reasoning. He despatched letters to Tiberius, charging Germanicus with pride and luxury; and farther complaining, that, with views of ambition, he had driven out of Syria the lawful governor, duly appointed by the emperor. That governor, he added, would now resume the command; and, by a faithful discharge of so important a trust, demonstrate his zeal for the public service. Thus determined, he ordered Domitius to sail for Syria; keeping as much as possible in the open sea, without touching at any of the islands, or approaching too near to the main land. Meanwhile, deserters crowded in from all quarters. Piso formed them into companies; he armed the lowest followers of the army, and with this hasty levy embarked for the continent. He had not long been landed, when a body of recruits, marching to the legions in Syria, fell in his way. He drew them over to his party, and by circular letters demanded succours from the petty kings of Cilicia. The younger Piso, though he had objected to the measure, was not inactive in his father's service.

LXXIX. Piso's fleet, and that which conveyed Agrippina, met near the coast of Lycia and Pamphilia. They beheld each other with animosity. Both parties were eager to come to action; but they passed each other, content with throwing out reproaches and opprobrious language. Vibius Marsus summoned Piso "to appear at Rome, and stand his trial." Piso answered with derision, "that he would be sure to attend, when the prætor, vested with jurisdiction in matters of poison, had cited the parties, and appointed a day." Meanwhile Domitius, who had landed at Laodicea, in the province of Syria, advanced towards the winter-quarters of the sixth legion; expecting, in that corps, to find the minds of the men ripe for mutiny and desertion. By the vigilance of Pacuvius, who commanded in those parts, the attempt was frustrated. Sentius, by letters to Piso, complained of these proceedings; at the same time warning him neither to corrupt the army, nor disturb the peace of the province. His next care was to draught from the legions all such soldiers as were known to be attached to Germanicus, or adverse to his enemies. He represented the attempt of Piso, as an invasion of the imperial dignity, and a war against the commonwealth. Having excited the ardour of his men, he marched into Cilicia, prepared to decide the dispute by force of arms.

LXXX. Piso found himself pressed on every side, and yet was determined not to abandon his enterprise. He seized a stronghold in Cilicia, called the castle of Celendris. With a body of deserters, incorporated with the recruits lately intercepted, and the auxiliaries sent by the kings of Cilicia, he threw himself into the place, resolved to hold out to the last. To his forces he added his own slaves, and those of Plancina, forming all together a number equal to a legion. To excite their courage, he complained aloud that he, the governor appointed by Tiberius, was driven out of the province, not by the legions for they invited him to return, but by Sentius who, with the specious colour of public motives varnished over his own private animosity. He told his troops, that they had only to show themselves in force, and the affair would be decided The soldiers of the adverse party, at the sight of Piso, whom they hailed the father of the legions, would lay down their arms, and submit to the man who not only had justice on his side but, if necessary, courage and resolution to maintain his rights. Having thus exhorted his people, he drew them out before the walls of the castle, on the summit of a craggy hill. The place was every where else surrounded by the sea. The veterans, under Sentius, advanced regular order. A body of reserve followed support them. On one side were seen skill and bravery: on the other, nothing but the advantage of the ground; no courage to incite; no hope to animate; and no warlike weapons, but only such rustic tools, as the men were able to snatch up in the first tumult of a dangerous enterprise. An engagement followed; but the victory was no longer in suspense, than while the Romans were employed in forcing their way up the ascent of the hill. The steep being surmounted the Cilicians fled for shelter to their fortifications.

LXXXI. The fleet under the command

Sentius lay at anchor under the walls of Celendris. Piso made a sally, with intent to seize the ships. Being repulsed, he showed himself before the works of the castle; he complained of cruel injustice, and tried by the force of pathetic language to soften the legions in his favour; he called upon individuals by name, and by ample promises hoped to raise a spirit of sedition. His success was such, that an eagle-bearer of the sixth legion deserted to him with his standard. Sentius resolved to carry the place by assault. The signal for the charge was given; scaling-ladders were advanced to the walls; the foremost in courage began to mount to the top of the works; while an incessant volley of darts, and stones, and flaming brands, was poured in upon the garrison. Piso desired to capitulate. He offered to lay down his arms, upon condition that he should remain in the castle till the emperor's pleasure touching the government of the province should be finally declared. The proposition was rejected. Sentius allowed him safe-conduct to Italy, and shipping for his passage: no other terms were granted.

LXXXII. The indisposition of Germanicus was known at Rome some time before his death. The news, like all distant intelligence, increased every moment, and bad was made worse by exaggeration. Grief and loud complaints filled every quarter of the city. "Was it for this, that Germanicus was sent to distant regions? For this, was the province of Syria assigned to Piso? This is the consequence of private interviews between Livia and Plancina! When Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died, it was observed by men of reflection, and observed with truth, that if the son of a despotic prince is the friend of civil liberty, his father never forgives his virtues. It was for this that Drusus and Germanicus were snatched away from the Roman people. They intended to restore the old constitution, and they perished in the cause." Such were the sentiments that prevailed at Rome. The fatal news at length arrived. In that moment the passions of men knew no bounds. Without waiting for an edict of the magistrates, or a decree of the senate, a cessation of all business took place; the courts of justice were deserted; houses were shut up; shrieks and groans burst out, and at intervals a deep and awful silence followed.

A general mourning covered the face of the city. The exterior forms of grief were observed, but the anguish of the heart surpassed all outward show. It happened, before Germanicus expired, that certain traders from Syria arrived at Rome with favourable accounts. What was wished, was easily believed. The news spread with rapidity; he who heard imperfectly made his report with additions; others did the same; and thus the story went on, gathering strength from mouth to mouth, and diffusing universal joy. The populace ran wild through the streets: they threw open the gates of the temples;[1] night came on; the hurry still continued; assertion grew more confident in the dark, and credulity listened with a greedy ear. Tiberius saw the delusion, but calmly left it to its own futility. Time disclosed the truth; the people renewed their sorrow with redoubled violence, as if the prince had been torn from them a second time.

LXXXIII. The senate met to decree honours to his memory. Friendship put itself to the stretch, and men of talent exhausted their invention. It was voted that the name of Germanicus should be inserted in the Salian Hymn,[2] that a curule chair, adorned with a civic crown, should be placed in the college of Augustan priests; that his statue, wrought in ivory, should be carried in the procession of the Circensian games; and that the vacancy made by his death in the list of flamens and augurs, should be filled from the Julian family only. Triumphal arches were ordered to be erected at Rome, on the Rhine, and mount Amanus in Syria, with inscriptions setting forth the splendour of his actions, and, in direct terms, declaring that he died in the service of his country. At Antioch, where his remains were burned, a mausoleum was ordered; and at Epidaphne, where he died, a tribunal in honour of his memory. Of the several statues, and the places where they were to be worshipped, it would be difficult to give a regular catalogue. It was farther proposed that a shield of pure gold,[3] exceeding the ordinary

1 The public demonstrations of joy were so loud and violent, that Tiberius was wakened in the night, and had the mortification of hearing the people sing, "Rome is safe, our country is safe, Germanicus is safe." *Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.* Suet. in Calig. s. 6.

2 The Salian priests, called *Salii* from *salire*, were instituted by Numa. They were twelve in number; all dedicated to the worship of Mars, the God of War, whom they celebrated, with song and dance, in a solemn procession through the streets of Rome. See Livy, lib. i. s. 20. Their hymns were at first in honour of the gods; but we find that the ambition of men soon aspired to have their names inserted in the *Carmen Saliare*. See Plutarch in the Life of Numa. To intermix the name of any man with the gods, was a kind of Apotheosis, and that honour was what the senate intended for Germanicus. As to the curule chair, that distinction, which was at first granted to the living only, became in time a monument to the memory of departed virtue.

3 Pliny the elder says, that the images of eminent men were represented on the shield which they had been used to wear; and thence the images in honour of their memory were usually called Shields. Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 3. Why the shield of Germanicus was to be placed among the orators, we learn from Suetonius, who says that Germanicus, among other works of genius, left Greek comedies written by himself. See Life of Caligula, s. 3. Ovid dedicated his Fasti to Germanicus, whom he celebrates as an orator and a poet.

size, should be dedicated to him in the place allotted to orators of distinguished eloquence. Tiberius overruled the motion, declaring his intention to order one of the common size, and the usual metal. Superior rank, he said, did not confer superior eloquence. A place among the great writers of antiquity would be sufficient honour. The equestrian order came to a resolution, that the troop called the youthful squadron should for the future take its name from Germanicus; and that his image should be carried at the head of their annual cavalcade, on the ides of July. Of these several institutions, many are still subsisting; some fell into disuse; and others, by length of time, have been abolished.

LXXXIV. While the tears of the public still flowed for Germanicus, Livia, the sister of that prince, and the wife of Drusus, was delivered of two sons at a birth. In families of inferior rank, events of this kind are rare, and always matter of joy. Tiberius was transported beyond measure. He had the vanity to boast before the senate, that so singular a blessing had never happened to any Roman of equal dignity. It was the policy of that subtle spirit to extract from every occurrence, and even from chance, something that tended to his own glory. The people, however, did not sympathise with the emperor. They saw, with regret, the family of Drusus increasing, and that of Germanicus in danger of being eclipsed.

LXXXV. In the course of this year, several decrees against the licentiousness of female manners passed the senate. It was ordained by a law, that no woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was a Roman knight, should be allowed to make her person venal. The profligacy of Vistilia, descended from a father of prætorian rank, gave rise to this regulation. She presented herself before the ædiles, and in form made a public profession of lewdness [1] according to the rule established in ancient times, when women, registered as harlots by the magistrate, had the privilege of leading a life of debauchery. The principle of that law was, that the very act of professing the character of a prostitute would be a punishment, and perhaps operate as a restraint. Titidius Labeo, the husband of Vistilia, was cited to assign a reason why so abandoned a woman had not been brought to condign punishment. To exculpate himself, he alleged, that the sixty days [2] allowed by law for the consultations necessary in matters of that nature, were not elapsed. Satisfied with the answer, the fathers thought it sufficient to proceed against the adulteress. She was banished to the isle of Seriphos. The Egyptian [3] and Jewish ceremonies were the next subject of debate. By a decree of the senate, four thousand of that description, the descendants of enfranchised slaves, all infected with foreign superstition, and of age to carry arms, were transported to the island of Sardinia, to make war upon the freebooters, who plundered the inhabitants, and ravaged the country. If the whole number died in that unwholesome climate, the loss, it was said, would be of no kind of moment. The remaining sectaries were ordered, at a certain day, to depart out of Italy, unless before that time they renounced their impious worship.

LXXXVI. The choice of a vestal virgin, in the room of Occia, who had been, with the greatest sanctity of manners, president of the order during the space of fifty-seven years, was by Tiberius referred to the senate. Fonteius Agrippa, and Domitius Pollio, made each of them an offer of his daughter. The emperor commended their zeal for the public service. The daughter of Pollio was preferred. Her mother had never known but one husband, and, still continuing to live with him, gave an example of conjugal fidelity; whereas the divorce of Agrippa was considered as a blemish in the family. That reason, and that only, determined the present choice. The repulse of the dissappointed candidate was softened by a present of a thousand great sesterces, granted by Tiberius.

LXXXVII. To appease the clamours of the people about the exorbitant price of corn, the sum to be paid by the purchaser was ascertained, Tiberius undertaking to grant a bounty of two sesterces on the measure,[4] as an encouragement to the vender. On this, as on former occasions, he refused the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. He even censured, with a degree of asperity, the zeal of those who gave him the appellation of LORD AND MASTER, and wanted to dignify his administration with the epithet of DIVINE.[5] In

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Quæ sit enim culti facundia sensimus oris,
Civica pro trepidis cum tulit arma reis.
Scimus et, ad nostras cum se tulit impetus artes,
Ingenii currant flumina quanta tui.
FAST. lib. I. ver. 21.

1 Women of inferior rank were allowed, in ancient times, to exempt themselves from the penalties of the law, by entering themselves as prostitutes in the register of the Ædiles. Suetonius says it began in the reign of Tiberius; but, if we believe Tacitus, the meaning must be, that the custom was then, for the first time, adopted by women of illustrious birth.

2 By the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis*, sixty days from the commission of the crime were allowed to the husband to prepare for the prosecution.

3 Tacitus seems to confound the Egyptian and Jewish religion; and, indeed, it does not appear in his account of the Jewish nation (Hist. book v.) that he ever made it his business to investigate the history of that people. For the proceedings against the Jews and Egyptians, see Suetonius in Tib. s. 36.

4 Gordon calls it fourteen pence a measure. Whether this calculation be right, the curious in such matters will judge for themselves.

5 The word *dominus* implied at first the master of slaves. Tiberius knew how to mask his arbitrary power under the mild, but deceitful, import of republican names. He was used to say, "I am the general of the

this manner, eloquence was confined within narrow limits. What topic could be safely handled? The emperor was the enemy of civil liberty, and he detested flattery.

LXXXVIII. In the memoirs of some of the senators of that day, and also in the works of contemporary writers, mention, I find, is made of letters from Adgandestrius, prince of the Cattians, which were read in the senate. They contained a proposal to despatch Arminius, provided poison for that purpose were sent from Rome. The answer was magnificent: the German was told that the Roman people were in the habit of waging war, not by fraud and covert stratagem, but sword in hand, and in the field of battle. In this instance, Tiberius vied with the generals of ancient Rome, who with scorn rejected the scheme of poisoning Pyrrhus,[6] and even delivered up the traitor who harboured that base design.

Arminius, however, did not long survive. The Roman army being withdrawn from Germany, and Maroboduus ruined, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. The independent spirit of his countrymen declared against him. A civil war ensued. Arminius fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations: a man of warlike genius, and, beyond all question, the deliverer of Germany. He had not, like the kings and generals of a former day, the infancy of Rome to cope with: he had to struggle with a great and flourishing empire; he attacked the Romans in the meridian of their glory. He stood at bay for a number of years with equivocal success; sometimes victorious, often defeated, but in the issue of the war still unconquered. He died at the age of thirty seven, after twelve years of fame and power. In the rude poetry of the Barbarians,[7] his name is celebrated to this hour; unknown indeed to the annalists of Greece, who embellish nothing but their own story. Even amongst the Romans, the character of this illustrious chief has met with little justice, absorbed as the people are in their veneration of antiquity, while, to the virtue of their own times, they remain insensible and incurious.

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army, the first of senators, and lord and master of my slaves only." In some time after, when the fathers expressed an inclination to give the name of Tiberius to the month of November, "What will you do," said he, "when you have a thirteenth emperor?" A collection of the popular maxims of despotic princes would form a curious book of royal apophthegms. Notwithstanding the artful refusal of Tiberius, the word *Dominus* grew into use as a term of respect to a superior. Seneca says, ad Lucilium, When we meet a person whose name we do not remember, we salute him by the title of *Dominus*. *Obvios, si nomen non succurrit. Dominos salutamus.* Martial, in the time of Domitian, calls the edict of the emperor, the edict of our Lord, our Master, our God. *Edictum Domini, Deique nostri;* lib. v. epig. 8. Adulation continued to offer incense; and the word which Tiberius held to be applicable only to the owner of domestic slaves, was, by common consent, transferred to the emperors. Of this we have a remarkable proof in the epistles of the younger Pliny. The tenth book is a collection of his letters to Trajan, and almost every one of them runs in the style of a man addressing his *Lord and Master*. DOMINE is repeated, till the reader, who knows the epistolary style of the ancient Romans, turns from it with disgust.

6 This war with Pyrrhus was A. U. C. 476. See Valerius Maximus, lib. vi. cap. 5. The letter of Fabricius the consul, to Pyrrhus, warning him against so foul a treachery, is recorded by Plutarch in the life of Pyrrhus.

7 We are told by Tacitus, that old songs and ballads were the only memorials of antiquity among the Germans; and their war song, when rushing to battle, was always a commemoration of some ancient hero. Poets, who sung the praises of deceased warriors, at the tables of kings, are often mentioned by Homer. The Scandinavians had their *scalds;* the Gauls and Germans, their bards; the savages of America, their rude verses; and all those different nations had their "youths who died to be by poets sung." See Manners of the Germans, s. 2, note; and s. 3, note.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

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These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
773	20	M. Valerius Messala, C. Aurelius Cotta.
774	21	Tiberius, 4th time; Drusus, his son, 2d time
775	22	D. Haterius Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Galba.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

Agrippina pursued her voyage without intermission. Neither the rigour of the winter, [A. U. C. 773. A. D. 207.] nor the rough navigation in that season of the year, could alter her resolution. She arrived at the island of Corcyra, opposite to the coast of Calabria. At that place she remained a few days, to appease the agitations of a mind pierced to the quick, and not yet taught in the school of affliction to submit with patience. The news of her arrival spreading far and wide, the intimate friends of the family, and most of the officers, who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the municipal towns, some to pay their court, others, carried along with the current, pressed forward in crowds to the city of Brundusium, the nearest and most convenient port. As soon as the fleet came in sight of the harbour, the sea-coast, the walls of the city, the tops of houses, and every place that gave even a distant view, were crowded with spectators. Compassion throbbed in every breast. In the hurry of their first emotions, men knew not what part to act: should they receive her with acclamations? or would silence best suit the occasion? Nothing was settled. The fleet entered the harbour, not with the alacrity usual among mariners, but with a slow and solemn sound of the oar, impressing deeper melancholy on every heart.

Agrippina came forth, leading two of her children,[1] with the urn of Germanicus in her hand, and her eyes steadfastly fixed upon that precious object. A general groan was heard. Men and women, relations and strangers, all joined in one promiscuous scene of sorrow, varied only by the contrast between the attendants of Agrippina, and those who now received the first impression. The former appeared with a languid air; while the latter, yielding to the sensation of the moment, broke out with all the vehemence of recent grief.

II. Tiberius had ordered to Brundusium two prætorian cohorts. The magistrates of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, had it in command to pay every mark of honour to the memory of the emperor's son. The urn was borne on the shoulders of the centurions and tribunes, preceded by the colours, not displayed with military pomp, but drooping in disorder, with all the negligence of grief. The fasces were inverted. In the colonies through which they passed, the populace in mourning, and the knights in their purple robes, threw into the flames rich perfumes, spices, and garments, with other funeral offerings, according to the ability of the place. Even from distant towns the people came in crowds to meet the procession: they presented victims; they erected altars to the gods of departed souls, and by their lamentations, marked their sense of the public calamity. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina, accompanied by Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and the children[2] of the deceased prince that had been left at Rome. The consuls, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who a little before had entered on their magistracy, with the whole senate, and a numerous body of citizens, went out to meet the melancholy train. The road was crowded; no order kept, no regular procession; they walked, and wept, as inclination prompted. Flattery had no share in the business; where the court rejoiced in secret, men could not weep themselves into favour. Tiberius indeed dissembled, but he could not deceive. Through the thin disguise the malignant heart was seen.

III. Neither the emperor nor his mother appeared in public. They imagined, perhaps, that to be seen in a state of affliction, might derogate from their dignity; or, the better reason was, that a number of prying eyes might unmask their inmost sentiments. It does not appear, either in the historians of the time, or in the public

1 The two children of Germanicus probably were, Caligula, who, according to Suetonius, accompanied his father into the east; and Julia, who was born in the isle of Lesbos. See book ii. s. 54.

2 These were Nero and Drusus, Agrippina and Drusilla. But it is not probable that the two daughters went so far to meet their father's funeral.

journals, that Antonia,[1] the mother of Germanicus, took any part in the funeral ceremony. Agrippina, Drusus, Claudius, and the rest of the prince's relations, are registered by name: but of Antonia no mention is made. She was probably hindered from attending by want of health, or the sensibility of a mother might be unequal to so severe a trial. To speak my own opinion, I am inclined to believe that nothing but the emperor and his mother could restrain her from the last human office to her son. If all three absented themselves, equal affliction might be inferred; and the uncle and grandmother might be supposed to find a precedent in the conduct of the mother.

IV. The day on which the remains of Germanicus were deposited in the tomb of Augustus was remarkable for sorrow in various shapes. A deep and mournful silence prevailed, as if Rome was become a desert; and at intervals the general groan of a distracted multitude broke forth at once. The streets were crowded; the Field of Mars glittered with torches; the soldiers were under arms; the magistrates appeared without the ensigns of their authority; and the people stood ranged in their several tribes. All, with one voice, despaired of the commonwealth; they spoke their minds without reserve, in the anguish of their hearts forgetting the master that reigned over them. Nothing, however, touched Tiberius so near, as the decided affection of the people for Agrippina, who was styled the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, and the last remaining model of ancient manners. With hands upraised, the people invoked the gods, imploring them to protect the children of Germanicus from the malice of pernicious enemies.

V. There were at that time men of reflection who thought the whole of the ceremony short of that funeral pomp which the occasion required. The magnificence displayed in honour of Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was put in contrast to the present frugality. "Augustus, in the depth of winter, went as far as Ticinum to meet the body; and, never quitting it afterwards, entered the city in the public procession. The bier was decorated with the images of the Claudian and the Livian families: tears were shed in the forum; a funeral oration was delivered from the rostrum; and every honour, as well of ancient as of modern invention, was offered to the memory of the deceased. How different was the case at present! Even the distinctions usually granted to persons of illustrious rank, were refused to Germanicus. The body was committed to the funeral pile in a foreign land; that was an act of necessity; but, to compensate for the first deficiency, too much could not be done. One day's journey was all that a brother performed. The uncle did not so much as go to the city-gate. Where now the usage of ancient times? Where the bed on which the image of the deceased lay in state? Where the verses in honour of departed virtue? Where the funeral panegyric, and the tear that embalms the dead? If real tears were not ready to gush, where, at least, were the forms of grief? and where the decency of pretended sorrow?"

VI. Tiberius was not ignorant of what passed. To appease the murmurs of the people, he issued a proclamation, in which it was observed, "that eminent men had at various times fallen in the service of their country, though none were so sincerely lamented as Germanicus. The regret shown on the present occasion, did honour to the virtue of the people, and the imperial dignity; but grief must have its bounds. That which might be proper in private families, or in petty states, would ill become the grandeur of a people[2] who gave laws to the world. Recent affliction must have its course. The heart overflows, and in that discharge finds its best relief. It was now time to act with fortitude. Julius Cæsar[3] lost an only daughter; Augustus saw his grandsons prematurely snatched away; but their grief was inward only. They bore the stroke of affliction with silent dignity. If the authority of ancient times were requisite, conjunctures might be mentioned, in which the Roman people saw, with unshaken constancy, the loss of their generals, the overthrow of their armies, and the destruction of the noblest families. Whatever may be the fate of noble families, the commonwealth is immortal. Let all resume their former occupations; and, since the[4] Megalesian games were near at hand, let the diversions of the season assuage the general sorrow."

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1 For the character of Antonia, see Supplement to book v. s. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 42.

2 The Romans called themselves the masters of the world, and wherever their legions could penetrate, the nations owned their superiority. The ambassadors sent to Rome by Pyrrhus being asked, at their return, what they thought of the Romans: The city, they said, appeared to be a temple, and the senate a convention of kings. Florus, lib. i. cap. 18. Cicero, in the Oration *pro Domo sua*, calls the Roman people the masters of kings, the conquerors and commanders of all other nations. *Ille, ille populus est dominus regum, victor atque imperator omnium gentium.*

3 Julia was the daughter of Julius Cæsar by his wife Cornelia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 6.

4 The *Megalesian* games were so called from μεγαλη θεα, the great goddess, or *magna mater*. They were celebrated in the month of April, and lasted seven days. Germanicus died in the preceding month of November. The grief of the people at Rome was so violent, that even the *Saturnalian* games, which were towards the end of December, could not put a stop to the general sorrow. See Suet. in Calig. s. 6. The mourning, we find from Tacitus, continued to the month of April following.

VII. The vacation from public business was now concluded. The people returned to their ordinary functions, and Drusus set out for the army in Illyricum. At Rome, in the meantime, all were impatient to see Piso brought to justice. That an offender of such magnitude should be suffered to roam at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Achaia, roused the general indignation. By such contumacy the law was eluded, and the evidence was growing weaker every day. The fact was, Martina, that notorious dealer in poison, whom Sentius, as has been mentioned, ordered to be conveyed to Rome, died suddenly at Brundusium. Poison was said to have been found in the tangles of her hair, but no trace of suicide appeared on any part of her body.

VIII. Piso, taking his measures in time, sent his son to Rome with instructions to prepossess the emperor in his favour. He went himself to seek an interview with Drusus; persuaded that he should find the prince not so much exasperated at the loss of a brother, as pleased with an event that delivered him from a rival. The son arrived at Rome. Tiberius, to show that nothing was prejudged, gave the youth a gracious reception; adding the presents usually bestowed on persons of rank on their return from the provinces. Drusus saw the elder Piso, and frankly told him that if what was rumoured abroad appeared to be founded in truth, the charge demanded his keenest resentment; but he rather hoped to find the whole unsupported by proof, that no man might deserve to suffer for the death of Germanicus. This answer was given in public; no private audience was admitted. The prince, it was generally believed, had his lesson from Tiberius; it being improbable that a young man of a free and open disposition, unhackneyed in the ways of business, could have acted with that guarded reserve, which marked the veteran in politics.

IX. Piso crossed the gulf of Dalmatia,[5] and, leaving his ships at Ancona, went forward to Picenum. From that place he pursued his journey on the Flaminian road, and on his way met a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome, in order to proceed from thence to serve in Africa. This incident was variously canvassed by the people. A criminal, it was said, presumes to join the soldiers on their march, and even waylays them at their quarters, to curry favour with his military friends. Piso heard of these complaints, and, to avoid suspicion, or because it is the nature of guilt to be always wavering and irresolute, at Narni he embarked on the Nar, and, sailing down the Tiber, landed on the Field of Mars, near the tomb of the Cæsars. This was another cause of popular discontent; in open day, amidst a crowd of spectators, he and his wife Plancina made their appearance; the former surrounded by a tribe of clients, and the latter by a train of female attendants; all with an air of gaiety, bold, erect, and confident. Piso's house overlooked the forum; preparations were made for a sumptuous entertainment; the scene was adorned with splendid decorations; and, from the nature of the situation, nothing could remain a secret. The whole was exposed to the public eye.

X. On the following day Fulcinius Trio exhibited an accusation before the consuls. To this proceeding Vitellius Veranius, and others, who had attended Germanicus into Asia, made strong objections; alleging, that Trio had not so much as a colour to entitle him to the conduct of the prosecution. As to themselves, they did not mean to stand forth as accusers; but they had the last commands of Germanicus, and to the facts within their knowledge intended to appear as witnesses. Trio waived his pretensions, but still claimed a right to prosecute for former misdemeanors. That liberty was allowed. Application was made to the emperor, that the cause might be heard before himself. The request was perfectly agreeable to the accused party, who was not to learn that the senate and the people were prejudiced against him. Tiberius, he knew, was firm enough to resist popular clamour; and, in conjunction with Livia, had acted an underhand part in the business. Besides this, the truth he thought would be better investigated before a single judge, than in a mixed assembly, where intrigue and party-violence too often prevailed. Tiberius, however, saw the importance of the cause, and felt the imputations[6] thrown out against himself. To avoid a situation so nice and difficult, he consented to hear, in the presence of a few select friends, the heads of the charge, with the answers of the defendant; and then referred the whole to the consideration of the senate.

XI. During these transactions, Drusus returned from Illyricum. For the captivity of Maroboduus, and the prosperous events of the preceding summer, an ovation had been decreed by the senate; but he chose to postpone that honour, and entered the city as a private man. Piso moved that Titus Arruntius, T. Vinicius, Asinius Gallus, Æserninus Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius, might be assigned as advocates to defend his cause. Under different pretexts they all excused themselves; and in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Livineius Regulus, were appointed. The whole city was big with expectation. It remained to be seen how far the friends of Germanicus would act with firmness; what resources Piso had left; and whether

5 Now the gulf of Venice.

6 For an account of these suspicions, see Suetonius in Tib. s. 52.

Tiberius would speak his mind, or continue, as usual, dark and impenetrable. No juncture had ever occurred in which the people were so warmly interested; none, when in private discourse, men made such bitter reflections; and none, when suspicion harboured such gloomy apprehensions.

XII. At the next meeting of the senate, Tiberius, in a premeditated speech, explained his sentiments. "Piso," he observed, "had been the friend and chosen lieutenant of Augustus; and was lately named, with the approbation of the senate, to assist Germanicus in the administration of the eastern provinces. Whether, in that station, he had made it his business, by arrogance and a contentious spirit, to exasperate the prince; whether he rejoiced at his death; and, above all, whether he was accessary to it; were questions that called for a strict, but fair inquiry. If he, who was only second in command, exceeded the limits of his commission, regardless of the duty which he owed to his superior officer; if he beheld the death of Germanicus, and the loss which I have suffered, with unnatural, with fell delight; from that moment he becomes the object of my fixed aversion. I forbid him to enter my palace; he is my own personal enemy. But the emperor must not revenge the private quarrels of Tiberius. Should murder be brought home to him, a crime of that magnitude, which in the case of the meanest citizen calls aloud for vengeance, is not to be forgiven: it will be yours, conscript fathers, to administer consolation to the children of Germanicus; it will be yours to assuage the sorrows of an afflicted father, and a grandmother overwhelmed with grief.

"In the course of the inquiry, it will be material to know whether Piso endeavoured, with a seditious spirit, to incite the army to a revolt. Did he try by sinister arts to seduce the affections of the soldiers? Was his sword drawn to recover possession of the province? Are these things true, or are they the mere suggestions of the prosecutors, with intent to aggravate the charge? Their zeal, it must be owned, has been intemperate. By laying the body naked at Antioch, and exposing it to public view, what good end could be answered? Why were foreign nations alarmed with a report of poison, when the fact is still problematical, and remains to be tried! I lament the loss of my son, and shall ever lament it: but, notwithstanding all my feelings, it is competent to the defendant to repel the charge; he is at liberty to bring forward whatever may tend to establish his innocence, and even to arraign the conduct of Germanicus, if any blame can be imputed to him. It is not for me to abridge any part of the defence. My affections, it is true, are interwoven with the cause: but you will not, for that reason, take imputations for guilt, nor allegations for conclusive proof. And since either the ties of consanguinity, or motives of friendship, have engaged able advocates to patronize the party accused, let them exert their zeal, their talents, and their eloquence. In the same manner I exhort the prosecutors let them act with the same constancy, with equal ardour. The only distinction which the prerogative of the prince can grant, is, that the cause shall be tried in this court, and not in the forum; in the presence of the senate, not before the common tribunals. In all things else let the forms of law be observed. The tears of Drusus, and my own affliction, are foreign to the question: let no man regard our interest; throw it out of the case, and discard from your minds the little calumnies that may glance at myself."

XIII. Two days were allowed to the prosecutors to support their charge, six to prepare the defence, and three for hearing it. Fulcinius Trio began. The ground he took was the avarice and tyranny, with which Piso conducted himself, during his administration in Spain. This was starting from a period too remote. Though convicted on that point, the defendant might still repel the present charge; and, if acquitted, he might be guilty of higher crimes. Fulcinius was followed by Servæus, Veranius and Vitellius; all three exerting themselves with equal zeal, but the latter with superior eloquence. The points insisted upon were—"That Piso incited by malice to Germanicus, and his own ambitious views, diffused a spirit of licentiousness through the Roman army. He corrupted the soldiery, and suffered the allies of Rome to be plundered with impunity. In consequence of those pernicious practices, the vile and profligate hailed him FATHER OF THE LEGIONS. But his conduct was hostile to all good men, and more directly to the friends of Germanicus. To fill the measure of his iniquity, he had recourse to magic arts, and the prince was destroyed by poison. Piso and his wife Plancina were known to have assisted in superstitious rites and impious sacrifices. And yet the prisoner did not stop there; he was guilty of rebellion: he appeared in arms against the state; and, before he could be brought to justice as a citizen, he was conquered as an enemy."

XIV. The defence in every article, except that which related to the crime of poison, was weak and ineffectual. The charge of debauching the soldiers by bribery, the rapacity of his creatures, and the insults offered to Germanicus, were stubborn facts, and could not be denied. The crime of poisoning seemed to be sufficiently answered. It was left on weak ground by the managers of the prosecution. All they had to urge in support of that article, was a bare allegation, that Piso, at an entertainment given by Germanicus, being placed on a couch above the prince, had contrived, with his own hands, to mingl

poison with the victuals. An attempt of the kind, in the midst of servants not his own, under the eye of numbers, and in the very presence of Germanicus, seemed improbable, and indeed absurd. To refute it altogether, Piso made a tender of his slaves to be questioned on the rack, demanding, at the same time, that the domestics of Germanicus, who waited that day at table, should undergo the like examination. But nothing made an impression on the judges. For different reasons they were all implacable; Tiberius, on account of the war levied in Syria; the senators, from a full persuasion that treachery had a hand in the death of Germanicus. A motion was made for the production of all letters written to the criminal by Tiberius and Livia. This was opposed with vehemence, not only by Piso, but also by the emperor. The clamours of the populace, who surrounded the senate-house, were heard within doors. The cry was, if Piso escaped by the judgment of the fathers, he should die by the hands of the people. They had already seized his statues, and, in their fury, dragged them to the place of execution called the Gemoniæ,[1] with intent to break them into fragments. By order of Tiberius they were rescued out of their hands. Piso was conveyed home in a litter, guarded by a tribune of the prætorian bands: but whether that officer was sent to protect him from the populace, or to see justice executed, was left to conjecture and vague report.

XV. Plancina, no less than her husband, was an object of public detestation; but, protected by court favour, she was thought to be out of the reach of her enemies. What Tiberius would do was uncertain. While she supposed herself involved in the fate of Piso, without a gleam of better hope, her language was that of a woman willing to share all chances with her husband, and, if he was doomed to fall, determined to perish with him. Having, in the meantime, by the interest of Livia, obtained her pardon, she began to change her tone, and pursue a separate interest. Finding himself thus abandoned, Piso despaired of his cause. Without further struggle, he intended to resign himself to his fate; but, by the advice of his sons, he resumed his courage, and once more appeared before the senate. The prosecution was renewed with vigour; the fathers spoke in terms of acrimony; every thing was adverse; and the prisoner plainly saw that his fate was decided. In this distress, nothing affected him so deeply as the behaviour of Tiberius, who sat in sullen silence, neither provoked to anger nor softened by compassion, with his usual art, stifling every emotion of the heart. Piso was conducted back to his house. He there wrote a few lines, in appearance preparing his defence for the ensuing day, and having sealed the paper, delivered it to one of his freedmen. The usual attentions to his person filled up his time, till, at a late hour of the night, his wife, having left the room, he ordered the door to be made fast. In the morning he was found dead; his throat cut, and his sword lying near him on the ground.

XVI. I remember to have heard from men advanced in years, that a bundle of papers, not produced at the trial, was often seen in the hands of Piso, containing, as his friends attested, the letters of Tiberius, full of instructions hostile to Germanicus. These documents would have transferred the guilt to the emperor; but, by the delusive promises of Sejanus, they were all suppressed. It was also confidently said that Piso did not lay violent hands on himself, but died by the stroke of an assassin. For the truth of these assertions I do not mean to be answerable; I state the facts as I heard them related by men with whom I conversed in my youth; and the anecdotes of such men may be deemed worthy of attention.

Tiberius attended the next meeting of the senate. He there complained, with seeming anxiety, that the death of Piso was intended to reflect dishonour on himself. He sent for the freedman, who had received the paper sealed up, as already stated, and inquired particularly about his master: how he passed the last of his days? and what happened in the course of the night? The man answered in some instances with caution, and in others off his guard. The emperor produced Piso's letter, and read it to the senate. It was nearly in the following words: "Oppressed by the malice of my enemies, and falling under a load of imputed guilt, without a friend to espouse the truth, or shelter innocence, I call the immortal gods to witness, that to you, Cæsar, I have, through life, preserved my faith inviolate. For your mother I have ever felt the sincerest veneration. I conjure you both to take my sons under your protection. Cneius Piso is innocent. Nothing that happened in Asia can be imputed to him, since he remained, during the whole time, at Rome. His brother Marcus, when I returned to the province of Syria, was strenuous against the measure. Would to Heaven that I had yielded to the advice of a young man, and that my authority had not silenced all opposition. For him I offer up my fervent prayers: let not the errors of the father bring down ruin on the son. If in the course of five and forty years I have been devoted to your service; if Augustus made me his colleague in the consulship;[2] if the remembrance of our early friendship can now avail:

1 The *Gemonia Scala* were a flight of steps at the bottom of the Capitoline Hill, where the bodies of malefactors were exposed, and then dragged by a hook fixed in the throat, and thrown into the Tiber.

2 Piso had been joint consul with Augustus, A. U. C. 731, and afterwards with Tiberius, A. U. C. 747.

by all those ties I implore your mercy for my unhappy son. It is the request of a dying father; the last I shall ever make." He made no mention of Plancina.

XVII. Tiberius declared his opinion, that Marcus Piso, being under the control of his father,[1] ought not to be answerable for the civil war. He mentioned the regard due to an illustrious house, and even lamented the unhappy lot of the deceased, though brought upon him by misconduct. He spoke in favour of Plancina, but with an air of embarrassment, conscious of his own duplicity. The intercession of his mother was a colour for the part he acted; but thinking men were by no means satisfied. On the contrary, their hatred of Livia was more embittered than ever. They exclaimed without reserve, "Shall the grandmother admit to her presence a woman stained with the blood of her grandson? Shall she converse in familiar freedom with a murderess? Must she receive to her arms an abandoned woman, and by her influence rescue her from the vengeance of the senate? The laws protect the meanest citizen; but in the case of Germanicus they have lost their vigour. Vitellius and Veranius poured forth their eloquence in the cause of a prince cut off by treachery, while the emperor and his mother side with Plancina. That pernicious woman may now with impunity continue her trade of poisoning; she may practise her detestable arts on the life of Agrippina and her children; she may proceed in her iniquity, and, with the blood of an illustrious, but unhappy family, glut the rage of a dissembling uncle and a worthless grandmother." For two days together Rome was amused with a mock-trial of Plancina. Tiberius, in the meantime, exhorted Piso's sons to stand forth in defence of their mother. The charge was opened; the witnesses were examined, and the orators spared neither zeal nor eloquence in support of the prosecution: no reply was made; the wretched condition of a helpless woman began to operate on the feelings of the fathers, and prejudice was melted into pity. Aurelius Cotta, the consul, was the first that gave his vote, according to a settled rule,[2] whenever the question was put by the emperor. The opinion of Cotta was, that the name of Piso should be razed out of the public registers, that part of his estate should be confiscated, and the rest granted to Cneius Piso, upon condition that he changed the family name; and that his brother Marcus, divested of all civil honours, should be condemned to banishment for the space of ten years, with a sum, however, of fifty thousand great sesterces for his support. In deference to the solicitations of Livia, it was proposed to grant a free pardon to Plancina.

XVIII. This sentence, in many particulars, was mitigated by Tiberius. The family name, he said, ought not to be abolished, while that of Mark Antony, who appeared in arms against his country, as well as that of Julius Antonius,[3] who, by his intrigues, dishonoured the house of Augustus, subsisted still and figured in the Roman annals. Marcus Piso was left in possession of his civil dignities and his father's fortune. Avarice, as has been already observed, was not the passion of Tiberius. On this occasion, the disgrace incurred by the partiality shown to Plancina, softened his temper, and made him the more willing to extend his mercy to the son. Valerius Messalinus moved, that a golden statue might be erected in the temple of Mars the avenger. An altar to vengeance was proposed by Cæcina Severus. Both these motions were overruled by the emperor. The principle on which he argued was, that public monuments, however proper in cases of foreign conquest, were not suited to the present juncture. Domestic calamity should be lamented, and, as soon as possible, consigned to oblivion.

Messalinus added to his motion a vote of thanks to Tiberius and Livia, to Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, for their zeal in bringing to justice the enemies of Germanicus. The name of Claudius[4] was not mentioned. Lucius As-

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1 Tiberius was willing to make the apology of a young man. He could not mean, in the latitude here laid down, that the son is bound in all cases to obey the father's orders. Quintilian has well observed, that parents are not to be obeyed in every thing. To receive benefits, he adds, would be highly dangerous, if by obligations men were bound to every kind of service. They would in that case be in the worst state of thraldom. *Non omnia præstanda parentibus. Alioquin nihil est perniciosius acceptis beneficiis, si in omnem nos obligant servitutem.* See Grotius De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 26.

2 In the time of the republic, the consul, who presided in the senate, put the question to the fathers in every debate; but he neither called upon his colleague, nor the prætors, nor any of the acting magistrates. He addressed himself to the prince of the senate, the consuls elect, and after them to the members of consular rank and in regular succession to the rest of the senate. The reason of this arrangement seems to have been an idea that the magistrates, if they took the lead, would have too much influence on the rest of the assembly. After the change of government, the same practice continued with this difference; if the emperor attended the debates in the senate, he, of course, was the supreme magistrate and in that case it was his to collect the voices. He began with the consuls actually in office, and proceeded to the other magistrates according to their rank. See a Dissertation, entitled, "The Roman emperor in the Senate;" Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol xxvii. 4to edit.

3 Julius Antonius was son to Antony the triumvir. He was found guilty of adultery with Julia the daughter of Augustus, and punished with death. Annals, book iv. s. 44.

4 It is unnecessary to repeat, that Claudius was brother to Germanicus. He was, at this time, neglected and despised. See Suet. in Claud. s. 2; and see Supplement to book v. s. 24.

prenas desired to know whether that omission was intended. The consequence was, that Claudius was inserted in the vote. Upon an occasion like this, it is impossible not to pause for a moment, to make a reflection that naturally rises out of the subject. When we review what has been doing in the world, is it not evident, that in all transactions, whether of ancient or of modern date, some strange caprice of fortune turns all human wisdom to a jest? In the juncture before us, Claudius figured so little on the stage of public business, that there was scarce a man in Rome, who did not seem, by the voice of fame and the wishes of the people, designed for the sovereign power, rather than the very person, whom fate, in that instant, cherished in obscurity, to make him, at a future period, master of the Roman world.

XIX. The senate, a few days afterwards, on the motion of Tiberius, granted the sacerdotal dignity to Vitellius, Veranius, and Servæus. Falcinius Trio received a promise of the emperor's favour in his road to honours, but was, at the same time, admonished to restrain the ardour of his genius, lest, by overheated vehemence, he might mar his eloquence. In this manner ended the inquiry concerning the death of Germanicus; a subject which has been variously represented, not only by men of that day, but by all subsequent writers. It remains, to this hour, the problem of history. A cloud for ever hangs over the most important transactions, while, on the one hand, credulity adopts for fact the report of the day; and, on the other, politicians warp and disguise the truth: between both parties two different accounts go down from age to age, and gain strength with posterity.

Drusus thought it time to enjoy the honours of a public entry. For this purpose he went out of the city, and, having assisted at the ceremony of the auspices, returned with the splendour of an *ovation*. In a few days after he lost his mother Vipsania:[5] of all the children of Agrippa, the only one that died a natural death. The rest were brought to a tragic end; some, as is well known, by the murderer's stroke; and others, as is generally believed, by poison or by famine.

XX. In the same year Tacfarinas, the Numidian chief, whom we have seen defeated by Camillus in a former campaign, once more commenced hostilities in Africa. He began by sudden incursions; depending for his safety on the rapidity of his flight. Emboldened by success, he attacked several towns and villages, and went off enriched with plunder. At length, at a place near the river Pagida,[6] he hemmed in a Roman cohort, and held them closely besieged. Decrius, a gallant and experienced officer, who commanded the fort, considered the blockade as a disgrace to the Roman arms. Having exhorted his men to face the enemy on the open plain, he marched out, and formed in order of battle. At the first onset the Barbarians made an impression. The cohort gave way. Decrius braved every danger. Amidst a volley of darts, he opposed his person to stop the flight of his men; he called aloud to the standard-bearers, charging them not to incur the shame and infamy of yielding to an undisciplined rabble, a vile collection of runaways and deserters. His efforts were ineffectual. Covered with wounds, and one eye pierced through, he still persisted with undaunted valour, till at last, abandoned by his troops, he died bravely sword in hand.

XXI. Lucius Apronius, who had succeeded Camillus as proconsul of Africa, received the account of this defeat with indignation. The disgrace of the Roman arms touched him more than the glory that accrued to the Barbarians. He resolved to expiate the infamy by a dreadful punishment, founded, indeed, upon ancient precedent, and recorded in history; but in modern times fallen into disuse. He ordered the cohort, whose behaviour had been so ignominious, to be decimated:[7] every man upon whom the lot fell, died under repeated blows of the cudgel. The consequence of this severity was, that a body of five hundred veterans, stationed in garrison at Thala,[8] maintained their post against the attempts of Tacfarinas, and even routed the troops lately flushed with victory. In this action Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, obtained the glory of saving the life of a Roman citizen. He was rewarded by Apronius with a spear and collar. Tiberius ordered the civic crown to be added, observing, at the same time, that the proconsul had the power of granting that reward: yet he censured the omission without asperity, pleased that something was reserved for himself.

Tacfarinas, finding his Numidians unwilling, after their defeat, to undertake a siege, changed his plan of operations. He chose a roving kind of war; if the Romans advanced, quick in retreat, and, as soon as the pursuit was over, wheeling round to hang upon the rear. By this desultory mode of skirmishing, the wily African baffled and fatigued the Roman army, till, having ravaged the country near the sea-coast, and

5 She was the daughter of Agrippa, married to Tiberius, and divorced from him. See Genealogical Table, No. 62.

6 See the Geographical Table.

7 Appius Claudius, consul A. U. C. 259, commanded in the war against the *Volsci*. The soldiers, regardless of discipline and subordination, paid no respect to their officers, and, in consequence of their contumacy, suffered a defeat. As soon as they returned to their camp, Claudius punished the ringleaders with death, and decimated the rest of his army. *Cætera multitudo, sorte decimus quisque, ad supplicium lecti.* Liv. lib. ii. s. 59. See also Polybius, book vi. cap. 2.

8 A town in Numidia. See the Geographical Table.

loaded his men with booty, he was obliged to pitch his camp. In that situation Apronius Cæsianus, son of the proconsul, at the head of the cavalry, the auxiliary cohorts, and a body of light infantry draughted from the legions, gave battle to the Numidian, and, having gained a complete victory, obliged him to fly to his wilds and deserts.

XXII. At Rome, in the meantime, a prosecution was carried on against Lepida,[1] a woman of illustrious birth, descended from the Æmilian family, and great granddaughter both to Sylla and Pompey. She was married to Publius Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his estate. The wife was charged with an attempt to pass a supposititious child for his legitimate issue. Other articles were added; such as adultery, dealing in poison, and consultations with Chaldean astrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family. Her brother, Manius Lepidus, undertook her defence. Quirinius had repudiated her; and yet, after his divorce, attacked her with implacable resentment. This circumstance, notwithstanding the guilt and infamy of Lepida, rendered her an object of compassion. In the course of the proceeding, the real sentiments of Tiberius eluded all discovery. Fluctuating between opposite passions, he mixed and shifted mercy and resentment in such quick succession, that where he would fix it was impossible to guess. He desired that the crime of violated majesty might be thrown out of the case, and, in a short time after, ordered Marcus Servilius, of consular rank, and the rest of the witnesses, to prove the very facts over which he pretended to draw a veil. He removed the slaves of Lepida, who had been placed under a military guard, to the custody[2] of the consuls: nor would he suffer them to be examined under the torture upon any point that concerned himself or his family. He exempted Drusus, though consul elect, from the rule, that required him to give the first vote. This, by some, was considered as a true republican principle, that the fathers might give their voices, free and uninfluenced by the example of the prince. Others called it a stroke of subtle cruelty; it being by no means probable, that Drusus would decline to speak in order of time, if a sentence of condemnation had not been already fixed.

XXIII. The celebration of the public games suspended the trial for some days. In that interval, Lepida, accompanied by a train of illustrious women, entered the theatre;[3] in a pathetic strain she invoked her ancestors; she called on Pompey in his own theatre (that monument of grandeur,) and addressed herself to the images of that illustrious man. Her grief made an impression; tears gushed from the eyes of the people, and, indignation soon succeeding, bitter execrations were thrown out against Quirinius; "a superannuated dotard, sprung from a mean extraction, to whom, in the decline of life, a noble dame, formerly intended to be the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and, by consequence, the granddaughter of Augustus, was joined in wedlock, that he, good man! might raise heirs to his estate." Notwithstanding these clamours, the slaves of Lepida were put to the question. Their evidence amounted to full proof of her guilt; and, on the motion of Rubellius Blandus, she was forbid the use of fire and water. Even Drusus gave his assent, though a milder sentence would have been agreeable to the wishes of a considerable number. By the interest of Scaurus, her former husband, who had a daughter by her, the confiscation of her property was remitted. At the close of the proceedings, Tiberius informed the fathers, that he had examined the slaves of Quirinius, and their evidence left him no room to doubt of a formed design to poison her husband.

XXIV. The families of the first consequence at Rome began to feel, with regret, that their numbers were thinned by repeated misfortunes. The Calpurnian house had lately suffered by the loss of Piso, and the Æmilian was impaired by the condemnation of Lepida. In order to make some amends, Decius Silanus was restored to the Junian family. The particulars of his case seem to merit some attention. The life of Augustus was variously chequered: he was successful against his country, and in his family often unhappy. The intrigues of his daughter[4] and granddaughter embittered his days. He ordered them both to depart from Rome, and punished the[5] adulterers with death or banishment. To

1 Lepida's ancestors were allied to the Æmilian family. Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator, was her father; and Pompeia, daughter of Pompey the Great, was her mother. Suetonius says, *Condemnatam et generosissimam fœminam, Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini, consularis prædivitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam e matrimonio, post vigesimum annum, veneni olim in se comparati arguebat.* Life of Tiberius, s. 49.

2 There were at Rome four different ways of detaining the accused in custody: viz. the common jail; commitment to a military guard; commitment to the care of the consuls or other magistrates, in their own houses, which Sallust, in Catilina, sect. 47. calls *liberas custodias;* and lastly, sureties for the person's appearance, which is what we call *being out upon bail.*

3 The *Theatre* of Pompey, dedicated A. U. C. 699. For a further account of that magnificent structure, capable, according to Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 15, of holding forty thousand persons, see Annals, book xiv. s. 20.

4 Julia married to Agrippa, and their daughter Julia married to Lucius Æmilius Paulus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 46 and 52.

5 Julius Antonius, for his adulterous connection with Julia the daughter of Augustus, was put to death: and Silanus, for the like offence with Julia the granddaughter was condemned to banishment. For Julius Antonius, see Annals, book iv. s. 44

the commerce natural between the sexes, that emperor gave the name of sacrilege and violated majesty; and, under colour of this new device, forgot at once the lenity of former times, and even the laws enacted by himself. But the tragic issue that befel offenders of this kind, with other memorable events of that period, shall be the subject of a distinct history, if, when the work now in hand is finished, my life shall be protracted in health and vigour for a new undertaking.

With regard to Silanus, who had a criminal connection with the granddaughter of Augustus; his offence drew upon him no greater vengeance, than a total exclusion from the friendship of the emperor. That exclusion, as Silanus understood it, implied a sentence of banishment. He retired into voluntary exile, and never, till the reign of Tiberius, presumed to apply, either to the prince or senate, for permission to return to his country. For the favour extended to him, he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Marcus Silanus, who added to his high rank the fame of distinguished eloquence. Marcus prevailed with the emperor, and, in a full meeting of the senate, expressed his sense of the obligation. Tiberius answered, that "the return of Decius Silanus, after a long absence, was an event agreeable to all. It was, however, no more than his legal right. No law had abridged his liberty; no decree of the senate was in force against him. And yet it was impossible for the prince to forget the wrongs done to Augustus; nor could the return of Silanus either efface his crime, or cancel what had been settled by an injured emperor." From this time, Decius Silanus lived at Rome, a private citizen, without honours or preferment.

XXV. The next care of the senate was to soften the rigour of the law Papia Poppæa;[6] a law made by Augustus in the decline of life, when the Julian[7] institutions were found ineffectual. The policy was, to enforce, by additional sanctions, the penalties of celibacy, and thereby increase the revenue. Marriage, however, was not brought into fashion. To be without heirs[8] was still considered as a state that gave great advantages. Prosecutions multiplied, and numbers were every day drawn into danger. Informers were the interpreters of justice; and chicane and malice wrought the ruin of families. The community laboured, at first, under the vices of the times, and, afterwards, under the snares of law. From this reflection if we here go back to trace the origin of civil institutions, and the progress of that complex system which has grown up to harass mankind, the digression will not be incurious, nor altogether foreign to our purpose.

XXVI. In the early ages of the world,[9] men led a life of innocence and simplicity. Free from irregular passions, they knew no corruption of manners; and void of guilt, they had no need of laws. In the natural emotions of the heart they found incitements to virtue, and rewards were unnecessary. Having no inordinate desires, they coveted nothing, and pains and penalties were unknown. In process of time, when all equality was overturned, and, in the place of temperance and moderation, ambition and violence began to trample on the rights of man; then monarchy was established, in several nations unlimited, absolute, and flourishing at this hour. Some states, indeed, in their first formation, or, at least, soon after they had made an experiment of kings, preferred a government by law; and law, in its origin, was, like the manners of the age, plain and simple. Of the several political constitutions known in the world, that of Crete, established by Minos; that of Sparta, by Lycurgus; and that of Athens, by Solon, have been chiefly celebrated. In the latter, however, we see simplicity giving way to complication and refinement. At Rome, the reign of Romulus was the reign of despotism. His will was the law. Numa Pompilius introduced the rites and ceremonies of religion, and, by establishing forms of worship, strengthened the civil union. Some improvements were added by Tullus Hostilius, and some by Ancus Martius. But the true legislator was Servius Tullius; the author of that best policy, which made even kings the subjects of the laws.

XXVII. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the

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6 The law *Papia Poppæa* derived its name from the two consuls who were the authors of it; namely, Marcus Papius Mutilus, and Quintus Poppæus, A. U. C. 762, the ninth of the Christian era. Dio observes that the two consuls had neither wife nor children; and for that reason a law which imposed penalties on celibacy, and rewarded the married state, was the more acceptable, because disinterested.

7 In the time of the republic, laws were finally passed by the people, who were asked, Is it your will and order that this shall be a law? The question was called Rogatio. Cicero, in his Oration *pro Domo sua*, gives the form of words: *Velitis, jubeatis, Quirites, ut M. Tullio aqua et ignis interdicantur?* This being the manner of enacting laws, Rogatio and Lex became synonymous terms. Florus uses Rogatio in that sense, lib. iii. c. 17. Julius Cæsar passed several laws to encourage population, but without effect.

8 The luxury of the times occasioned so much extravagance that men did not choose the additional expense of rearing children. See Manners of the Germans, c. 18. note.

9 It may be made a question, whether a period of pure simplicity and innocence ever existed. Seneca expatiates in praise of those times, epist. xc. and the poets have been lavish in their description of the golden age; but the history of mankind has no proofs of the fact. An ingenious writer says, Who were those men that lived in so much innocence? The first man who was born into the world, killed the second. When did the times of simplicity begin?

people, to secure their rights from powerful factions in the senate, and to prevent the effects of civil discord, were obliged to modify the constitution by new regulations. With this view, the decemvirs were created. Those magistrates, by adopting from the wisdom of other nations what appeared worthy of selection, framed a body of laws, entitled the Twelve Tables. All sound legislation ended there. It is true that, after that time, new statutes were enacted; but, if we except a few, suggested by the vices of the times, and passed on the spur of the occasion, they were, for the most part, made in the conflict of parties, and for the worst of purposes; in some instances, to lay open to ambition the road to honours; in others, to work the downfall of illustrious citizens: and, in general, with pernicious motives. Hence the Gracchi,[1] and the Saturnini, those turbulent demagogues; and hence the violent spirit of Drusus,[2] that famous partisan of the senate, who, by largesses and open bribery, supported the claims of the nobility, and, by specious promises, induced the allies of Rome to espouse his cause, deceiving them at first, and, between the senate and the popular leaders, making them in the end, the bubble of contending factions. Hence a wild variety of contradictory laws. In the social war,[3] which involved all Italy, and the civil commotions that followed, new ordinances were established, but with the same contentious spirit, till at length Lucius Sylla,[4] the dictator, by repealing several laws, by amending others, and by organizing a code of his own, gave a check to the rage of legislation. But the respite was but short. The fiery genius of Lepidus[5] preferred a number of seditious decrees, and the tribunes[6] of the people, resuming their ancient powers, alarmed the state with tumult and popular commotions. The general good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared in the great scene of public business, and new statutes were enacted. In a corrupt republic vice increased, and laws were multiplied.

XXVIII. Pompey, at length,[7] in his third consulship, was chosen to correct abuses, and introduce a reformation of manners. His remedies were more pernicious than the mischief. He made laws, and broke them; he had recourse to arms, and by force of arms was ruined. From that time, during a period of twenty years, the rage of civil discord threw every thing into confusion. Justice was silent; the manners were corrupted; vice triumphed with impunity, and virtue met with sure destruction. At length, Augustus,[8] in his sixth consulship, finding himself established without a rival, repealed the acts passed by himself during the triumvirate, and gave a new system, useful indeed to the public tranquillity, but subversive of the constitution; fit only for the government of one. The chains of slavery were closely riveted,[9] and spies of state

1 The two Gracchi were leaders of the popular party in opposition to the senate and the patrician order. Tiberius Gracchus was the great factious demagogue, A. U. C. 621; his brother Caius adopted the same measures A. U. C. 633. See an account of them, Florus, lib. iii. cap. 14 and 15. See also the dialogue concerning Eloquence, s. xviii. note. Apuleius Saturninus endeavoured to enforce the laws of the Gracchi, and was killed in the contention, A. U. C. 654. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 16.

2 M. Livius Drusus was a grand corrupter in the name of the senate. He carried the arts of bribery beyond all former example. He died A. U. C. 663. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 17.

3 Florus (lib. iii. cap. 18.) calls this the *Social War*; but as it involved all Italy, it is called by Tacitus the *Italic War*. It was in the year of Rome 663. The civil war, which followed, was between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 666. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

4 Sylla usurped the authority of dictator A. U. C. 672, and exercised those extraordinary powers till the year 675. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21 and 23. He then abdicated the dictatorship, and died A. U. C. 676.

5 Lepidus was for abrogating all the laws of Sylla. See Florus, lib. iii. s. 23.

6 Sylla saw that the tribunes made an ill use of their power, and therefore reduced those magistrates within due bounds. Pompey, in his consulship, A. U. C. 681, re-established the tribunitian power. Speaking of this act Cicero says he was in the habit of mentioning Pompey, upon all occasions, with the highest commendation; but, with regard to the tribunitian power he chose to be silent. He was not willing to condemn that measure, and to approve was not in his power. *Pompeium nostrum cæteris rebus omnibus semper amplissimis summisque effero laudibus. De tribunitia potestate taceo; nec enim reprehendere libet, nec laudare possum.* Cicero De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 9. The translation of what follows, it must be acknowledged, is not exact. The words are *The public good was no longer thought of: new characters appeared, and new statutes were enacted.* The original says, *Jamque non modo in commune, sed in singulos homines latæ quæstiones.* The true meaning seems to be, Laws were made, not for the public only, but also, with a view to individuals. The last was against the spirit and positive institutions of the Roman republic. Laws respecting particular persons were called *Privilegium*, from *priva lex*, a private law, which was forbidden, says Cicero, De Legibus, lib. iii. cap. 4. by the Twelve Tables; *Privilegia ne irrogantō;* and again, in the Oration *pro Domo sua, Vetant leges sacratæ, vetant XII Tabulæ leges privatis hominibus irrogari; id est enim privilegium.* Cicero is more explicit and diffuse against particular laws in the case of individuals, in the Oration Pro Sextio, s. 30. They were not unlike the *ex post facto* laws, and bills of attainder, which have been heard of in this country, it is to be hoped to revive no more.

7 Pompey's third consulship was A. U. C. 702; before the Christian era 52. One of his rules was, that no magistrate should be governor of a province, before the end of five years after the expiration of his office; and then he took upon himself the government of Spain for the additional term of five years. Dio. lib. xl.

8 The twenty years of civil distraction are to be computed from the death of Pompey, A. U. C. 706. Augustus was consul for the sixth time, A. U. C. 726; before the Christian era 28.

9 Informers were encouraged, by the law of *Papia Poppæa*, to hold a strict watch over such as lived in a state of celibacy.

were appointed. To excite and animate the diligence of those new officers, the law Papia Poppæa held forth rewards. By that law, the people, under the fiction of universal parent, were declared heirs to the vacant possessions of such as lived in celibacy, regardless of the privileges annexed to the paternal character. To enforce this regulation, informers were encouraged. The genius of those men knew no bounds: they harassed the city of Rome, and stretched their harpy-hands all over Italy. Wherever they found a citizen, they found a man to be plundered. Numbers were ruined, and all were struck with terror. To stop the progress of the mischief, Tiberius ordered a set of commissioners, to be drawn by lot; five of consular rank, five prætorians, and a like number from the body of the senate. Under their direction the law was explained; ensnaring subtleties were removed; and the evil, though not wholly cured, was palliated for the present.

XXIX. About this time Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, was entering on the state of manhood. Tiberius recommended him to the favour of the senate, adding his request, that the young prince might be excused from serving the office of the vigintivirate,[10] with leave, five years earlier than the time limited by law, to stand candidate for the quæstorship. As a precedent for this indulgence, he cited the example of Augustus, who had made the like application for himself and his brother Drusus. The proposal was a mockery, and accordingly, men heard it with derison. Even in the reign of Augustus there were, in all probability, numbers who laughed in secret at the new way of commanding by petition. The artifice, however, was, at that time, not impolitic: the grandeur of the Cæsars was in its infancy, and the forms of the old republic still were remembered. With regard to the request made by Tiberius, it may be observed, that the relation between the step-father and the sons of his wife did not create so tender an interest, as the natural affection of a grandfather for his grandson. The senate not only granted what was asked, but added a seat in the pontifical college. The day on which the young prince made his first appearance in the forum, was distinguished by a largess to the people, who saw with pleasure a son of Germanicus rising to the state of manhood. His marriage with Julia,[11] the daughter of Drusus, was soon after celebrated, and diffused a general satisfaction. But another match, then in contemplation, between the son[12] of Claudius and a daughter of Sejanus, was received by the people with every mark of discontent. Men objected, that the lustre of the imperial family would be tarnished, and the ambition of Sejanus, already suspected, would, when strengthened by that connexion, tower above the rank of a citizen.

XXX. Towards the close of the year died two men of distinguished character, namely, Lucius Volusius, and Sallustius Crispus. The former was of an ancient family, at all times highly honoured, though never raised above the prætorian rank. The deceased was the first of his house that rose to the consulship. When it was afterwards necessary to regulate the classes of the equestrian order, he was, for that purpose, advanced to the dignity of censor. In the course of his time he accumulated an immoderate fortune, and laid the foundation of that rank and splendour, in which his family flourished after him.

The ancestors of Crispus were of equestrian rank.[13] By the maternal line, he was grand-nephew to Caius Sallustius, the accomplished Roman historian. Being adopted by that illustrious writer, he assumed the family name; and, though the road to honours lay open before him, the example of Mæcenas was the model on which he formed his conduct. Never aspiring to the rank of senator, he lived in a degree of splendour that eclipsed the consular magistrates, and even the commanders of armies, who had triumphed for their victories. The austerity of ancient manners was not to his taste. In his apparel and equipage he was gay and costly; in his style of living fond of elegance, and even of luxury. Uniting in his character opposite qualities, he was at once a man of pleasure, and a statesman of consummate ability. The vigour of his mind, though often relaxed in indolence, was such as qualified him for the most arduous affairs. When occasion called, he returned to business with an elastic spring, that showed he gained new

10 Dio informs us, that while Augustus, after all his victories, was still absent from Rome, the senate, by a decree, established a new magistracy, consisting of twenty, to superintend the police and good government of the city. Their duty was divided into different departments: three to sit in judgment; three to direct the coinage; four to superintend the public ways; and ten to preside in such causes as were tried by the centumviri. The office was continued by Augustus, and became the previous step to the higher magistracies. The time for entering on the quæstorship was at the age of twenty-four; consequently Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, might begin his career of honours when turned of nineteen.

11 Drusus, the son of Tiberius. He married *Livia*, otherwise *Livilla*, the daughter of Drusus, who was brother to Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, No. 70 and 71.

12 Claudius, afterwards emperor, was brother to Germanicus. He had a son named Drusus, who died very young. The intended marriage never took place. See the Genealogical Table, No. 102.

13 Sallustius Crispus, the minister privy to the death of Agrippa Posthumus, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. s. 6. His gardens, and other articles of luxury, are described by Pliny, lib. vii. s. 16; and lib. xxxiv. s. 2.

strength from inactivity. While Mæcenas lived and flourished, Crispus acted the second character. Succeeding afterwards to that minister, he took the lead in the cabinet, the first in favour, and in all secret transactions, the confidential manager. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off under his direction. In the decline of life he retained the appearance of power, without the reality; a reverse of fortune which had been felt by Mæcenas, and which, by some fatality, is the usual end of all who bask in the sunshine of a court. Between the prince and his favourite, weariness and satiety succeed to the ardour of affection, and both begin to wean themselves from each other; the prince, when the power of giving is exhausted; and the minister, when avarice has no more to crave.

XXXI. The year, [A. U. C. 774. A. D. 21.] which we are now to open, stands distinguished by the joint consulship of the father and the son; Tiberius, for the fourth time, and Drusus, the second. It is true that, two years before, Germanicus shared the same honour; but their union was not founded in sincerity and mutual esteem. Throughout that year Tiberius beheld his colleague with a malignant eye. The tie of affinity between them was not so close as the present. Tiberius had scarce entered on the office in conjunction with Drusus, when, pretending to recruit his health, he removed into Campania, perhaps even then meditating that long retreat, which was afterwards his plan of life: perhaps, intending to give Drusus the honour of discharging the consular functions, without the assistance of his father. An incident soon occurred, in itself of little moment, but by the heat of parties it kindled to a flame, and afforded to the young consul an opportunity to gain the popular esteem. A complaint was made to the senate by Domitius Corbulo, formerly one of the prætors, stating that Lucius Sylla, a youth of illustrious rank, had refused, in a late show of gladiators, to give place to his superior in point of years. The grave and elderly were on the side of Corbulo. They saw the rights of age infringed, and the example of ancient manners treated with contempt. Mamercus Scaurus and Lucius Arruntius undertook the defence of Sylla, and with the rest of his relations formed a party in his favour. A warm debate ensued. The practice of good times was stated, and several decrees, enforcing the reverence due to age, were cited as decisive authority. Drusus, by a qualifying speech, allayed the ferment. Corbulo declared himself satisfied with the apology made by Mamercus Scaurus, who was uncle as well as father-in-law[1] to Sylla, and, besides, the most eloquent orator of his time. That business being thus amicably settled, the state of the public roads was made the subject of debate by the same Corbulo. The highways, he said, were in a bad condition throughout Italy, neglected every where, and in some places impassable. He imputed the mischief to the fraudulent practices of contractors, and the inattention of the magistrates. He was desired to superintend the business; but the advantage, whatever it was, that accrued to the public, did not counterbalance the ruin of individuals, who suffered, both in reputation and fortune, by the harsh decisions of Corbulo, and the confiscation of their effects.

XXXII. In a short time after, the senate received despatches from Tiberius, with intelligence that Africa was again alarmed by the incursions of Tacfarinas. The occasion, the emperor said, required a proconsul of military talents, and vigour equal to the fatigues of war; but the choice was left to the judgment of the fathers. Sextus Pompeius seized this opportunity to launch out in a bitter invective against Marcus Lepidus, whom he styled, a man void of courage, destitute of fortune, a disgrace to his ancestors, and by no means fit to be entrusted with the government of Asia,[2] which had then fallen to his lot. The senate was of a different opinion. What was called want of courage, according to them, was mildness of disposition; his indigence was a misfortune, not a disgrace; nor could it be deemed a fair objection to a man, who, in narrow circumstances, supported the dignity of his ancestors, and lived in honourable poverty, with an unblemished character. He was, therefore, declared proconsul of Asia. The choice of a governor to command in Africa was, by a decree, reserved for the decision of the emperor.

XXXIII. In the course of the debate, a motion was made by Cæcina Severus, that the governors of provinces should be no longer accompanied by their wives. He prefaced the business with repeated declarations, that between him and his wife, who had brought him six children, the truest harmony subsisted; and yet the law, which he now proposed, had ever been the rule of his own conduct; insomuch that, in a series of forty years, during which time he had served as many campaigns, his wife always remained in Italy. "It was with good reason," he said, "that in former times, women were

1 For more of Mamercus Scaurus, a man famous for his talents at the bar, but detested for his vicious course of life, see Annals, book vi. s. 29.

2 It has been already mentioned that Augustus, having reserved some provinces for his own management, resigned the rest to the senate. Asia and Africa were in the number assigned to the fathers, and were always considered as consular governments. Two, who had discharged the office of consul, were named, and the province of each was decided by lot. That rule however was waived in sudden emergencies, and a proconsul was sent without any form of election or ballot.

neither allowed to visit the allies of Rome, nor to have any intercourse with foreign nations. The softer sex brought many inconveniences; in times of peace they were prone to luxury, and in war, easily alarmed. A female train, in the march of a Roman army, presented an image of savage manners: it had the appearance of Barbarians going to battle.

"That women are by nature feeble, and soon overcome by hardship, was not the only objection: other qualities entered into the female character, such as pride, revenge, and cruelty, and ambition. The love of power is the predominant passion of the sex, and in the exercise of it they know no bounds. They appear in the ranks; they march with the troops; and they entice the centurions to their party. We have seen, in a late instance, a woman[3] reviewing the cohorts, and directing the exercise of the legions. Have we forgot, that as often as rapacity and extortion have been laid to the account of the husband, the wife has proved the principal offender? She no sooner enters the province, than her party is formed. The unprincipled attend to pay their homage. She becomes a politician; she takes the lead in business, and gives a separate audience. The husband and the wife appear in public with their distinct train of attendants. Two[4] tribunals are established, and the female edict, dictated by caprice and tyranny, is sure to be obeyed. By the Oppian[5] and other laws, the wife was formerly restrained within due bounds; at present, all decorum is laid aside; women give the law in families; they preside in the tribunals of justice, and aspire to be commanders in chief."

XXXIV. To this speech a small number assented; the rest received it with a murmur of disapprobation. The business, they said, was not in form before the fathers, and a question of that importance ought not to be drawn into debate by a self-created censor like Cæcina. His argument was answered by Valerius Messalinus; a man who derived from his father Messala,[6] the celebrated orator, no inconsiderable share of eloquence. "The rigour," he said, "of ancient manners has taken a milder tone. The enemy is not at the gates of Rome, and the provinces have no hostile intentions. In favour of the tender sex some concessions ought to be made, especially since it is now known by experience that the wife, so far from being a burden to the province, is scarcely felt in the private economy of the husband. She is no more than a sharer in his splendour and dignity. In time of peace what danger from her presence? War, indeed, calls for vigour; and men should go unencumbered to the field. When the campaign is over, where can the general so well repose from toil and labour as in the bosom of a wife, whose tenderness relieves his pain, and sweetens every care? But women, it has been said, are prone to avarice and ambition: what shall be said of the magistrates? Have they been always free from irregular passions? and if not, will it follow that men are to be no longer trusted with the administration of the provinces? We are told, that the vices of the wife have their influence on the manners of the husband: and is it therefore true, that in a life of celibacy we are sure of finding unblemished honour?

"The Oppian laws were formerly deemed expedient: the policy of the times required them; but the manners have varied since, and with the manners the law has been modified. We strive in vain, under borrowed terms, to hide our own defects: the truth is, if the wife exceeds the bounds of the female character, the blame falls on the husband. In two or three instances we may have seen that the men were weak and too luxurious: and shall we for that reason take from the commander of armies the most endearing comforts of marriage, the mutual joy in prosperity, and, in affliction, the balm that heals his sorow? By the restraint now proposed, the weaker sex will be left in a state of destitution, the sport of their own caprice, and a prey to the passions of the profligate seducer. The presence of the husband is scarce sufficient to guard the sanctity of the marriage-bed: what must be the consequence, if they are separated, and, as it were, divorced for a number of years? In that interval, the nuptial union may be obliterated from the mind. Let us, if we can, prevent disorder in the provinces; but let us not forget the manners of the capital."

In this debate Drusus delivered his sentiments. He touched upon the subject of his own marriage, and added, that the princes of the imperial house were liable to the frequent necessity of visiting distant provinces. How often did it happen that Augustus made a progress in the west, and in the east, accompanied by Livia his wife! As to himself, he had commanded in Illyricum, and was ready, if the state required it, to serve in any part of the empire; but he should serve with regret, if he was to be torn from an affectionate wife,[7] the faithful

3 Plancina, the wife of Piso.

4 The tribunal where the consuls sat in judgment was called Prætorium.

5 Caius Oppius, tribune of the people A. U. C. 541. was the author of a law by which the women were laid under several restrictions in the articles of dress and other expenses. That law was repealed, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Cato the censor, A. U. C. 559. See Livy, lib. xxxiv. s. 38. But still it was thought necessary that the female sex should be held within due bounds, and other sumptuary laws were enacted.

6 For Corvinus Messala, who flourished in the time of Augustus, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 12, note.

7 He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

mother of all his children. In consequence of these reasonings, Cæcina's motion fell to the ground.

XXXV. The senate at their next meeting received letters from Tiberius, in which, after complaining obliquely that the burden of all public business was thrown on himself, he named Manius Lepidus and Junius Blæsus for the proconsulship of Africa; leaving the choice of one of them to the determination of the fathers. Both were heard: Lepidus, with a degree of earnestness, desired to be excused; alleging the infirmities of his constitution, and the care due to his children, who, except a daughter then fit for the married state, were all of tender years. Lepidus had still a better reason, but he chose to suppress it: it was, nevertheless, well understood that Blæsus was uncle to Sejanus, and of course had the prevailing influence. Blæsus in his turn declined the office, but with affected coyness. Flattery knew on which side its interest lay; and, by consequence, the slaves of power knew how to conquer such feeble reluctance. Blæsus was of course appointed.

XXXVI. A public grievance, which had long been felt with secret discontent, was soon after brought before the fathers. A licentious spirit of defamation prevailed at Rome, and reigned without control. The vile and profligate launched out with virulence against the best members of society, and the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name found protection. The freedmen, and even the slaves, poured out a torrent of abuse; and, after lifting their hands against their patrons, or their masters, resorted to the same asylum, where they grew more formidable in their insolence. Caius Cestius, a member of the senate, complained of this enormity: "Princes," he said, "represented the gods; but the gods lent a favourable ear to none but the just. Neither the capitol nor the temples were places of refuge, where guilt might find a shelter, and even encouragement. In a late prosecution Annia Rufilla was found guilty of manifest fraud; and if such a woman might with impunity, in the forum, and even in the portal of the senate, insult him with opprobrious language, and even with menaces; if such contumacy were permitted, and the emperor's statue gave a sanction to evil practices, insomuch that he could obtain no redress; all good order was at an end, and the laws were no better than a dead letter." Others spoke to the same effect. Facts still more atrocious were stated, and, with one voice, the whole assembly called on Drusus for exemplary punishment. Rufilla was cited to appear; and, being convicted, the fathers ordered her to be imprisoned in the common jail.

XXXVII. Confidius Æquus and Cælius Cursor, two Roman knights, who had preferred a false charge of violated majesty against Magius Cæcilianus, then one of the prætors, were for that offence condemned, at the desire of Tiberius. From this act of justice, as well as the sentence against Rufilla, Drusus derived no small share of popularity. Men were willing to allow that, by residing at Rome, and by mixing in social meetings, he made some atonement for the dark and sullen spirit of his father. The luxurious passions of a young man were easily excused: Let him, said the people, indulge his taste for pleasure; let him pass his day in the glare of public spectacles, and his night in social revelry, rather than live sequestered from mankind, without a joy to cheer him, in painful vigils and the gloom of solitude brooding over his cares, and thinking only to engender mischief.

XXXVIII. The ruin of eminent citizens had not yet appeased the rage of Tiberius and his crew of informers. An accusation was preferred by Ancharius Priscus against Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, for peculation and violated majesty. The last article was, at that time, the burden of every prosecution.[1] Antistius Vetus, a man of the first consequence in Macedonia,[2] had been accused of adultery, and acquitted. This gave umbrage to Tiberius. He censured the judges, and ordered Vetus to be tried on the usual charge of violated majesty. He represented him as a man of a turbulent spirit, and an accomplice with Rhescuporis, at the time when that Barbarian, having put his nephew Cotys to death, was on the eve of a war with Rome. Vetus fell a sacrifice. He was interdicted from fire and water, with an additional sentence, that he should be confined to some island not contiguous either to Macedonia or Thrace.

Since the partition of the latter kingdom between Rhæmetalces and the sons of Cotys, to whom Trebellienus Rufus was appointed guardian, that country continued in a state of tumult and hostility to Rome. The people saw, with minds exasperated, the grievances inflicted on the natives, and, having no prospect of redress, accused Trebellienus no less than Rhæmetalces. In the same juncture the Cælaletans, the Odrysæans, Dians, and other adjacent states, in one general revolt, had recourse to arms. They took the field under their own respective chiefs, men of no consideration, and all by their meanness and incapacity reduced to one common

1 Pliny the younger, in his panegyric on the emperor Trajan, says that neither the laws enacted in the consulship of Voconius, nor the Julian law, conduced so much to enrich the exchequer of the prince and the public treasury, as the charge of violated majesty, too often the only charge against those who were free from every crime. *Locupletabant et fiscum et ærarium non tam Voconiæ et Juliæ leges, quam majestatis singulare et unicum crimen eorum qui crimine vacarent.* Pliny, in Paneg. s. 42.

2 It is probable that Antistius was a Roman by birth, who had settled in Macedonia, and there became a man of the first consequence.

level. Hence no concerted plan, no spirit of union. By one party the country was laid waste; another passed over Mount Hæmus, with a design to draw distant nations into their confederacy; while the most numerous and best disciplined troops sat down before Philippopolis, (a city founded by Philip of Macedon), and there held Rhæmetacles closely besieged.

XXXIX. On the first intelligence of his revolt, Publius Velleius,[3] who commanded an army in the neighbourhood, sent a detachment of horse and light infantry in pursuit of the insurgents, who spread themselves over the country, either with a view to plunder, or to reinforce their numbers. He himself marched in force to raise the siege. He was successful in every quarter: the freebooters were put to the sword; and dissensions breaking out among the besiegers, Rhæmetalces made a sally in the moment when the Roman army came up to his relief. The Barbarians abandoned the place. Of these events, however prosperous, there is no room to speak in the pomp of military language: a rabble of savages without discipline, and almost without weapons, cannot be called an army; nor was that a battle, where the enemy was cut to pieces, without the effusion of Roman blood.

XL. In the course of the same year a rebellion broke out among the cities of Gaul, occasioned by the load of debt that oppressed the common people. The principal leaders of the revolt were Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir; the former a man of weight among the Treviri, and the latter among the Æduans. They were both of illustrious birth. Their ancestors had deserved well of the Romans, and, for their services, received the freedom of the city, at a time when that privilege was rare, and the reward of merit only. By these incendiaries secret meetings were held; the fierce and daring were drawn into the league together with such as languished in poverty, or, being conscious of their crimes, had nothing left but to grow desperate in guilt. Florus undertook to kindle the flame of rebellion in Belgia; and Sacrovir to rouse the neighbouring Gauls. The plan thus settled, they caballed in private, held frequent meetings, and left no topic untouched that could inflame the minds of the people. "Tributes," they said, "were levied with unabating rigour; usurious interest oppressed the poor, and their haughty masters continued to lord it over them with pride and arrogance. By the murder of Germanicus, disaffection was diffused among the legions, and the opportunity to strike the blow for liberty was now arrived. Reflect on the numbers we can bring into the field: remember the impoverished state of Italy. At Rome every warlike principle is extinguished. The strength of their armies is mouldered away. They have no national strength, but depend altogether on foreign nations to fight their battles."

XLI. A general spirit of revolt prevailed in every part of Gaul. Scarce a city was free from commotion. The flame blazed out among the Andecavians and the people of Tours; but by the diligence of Acilius Aviola,[4] who marched from Lyons at the head of a cohort, the insurgents in the former province were reduced to obedience. The same commander with a legionary force, detached by Visellius Varro, from the Lower Germany, marched into the territory of Tours, and quelled the insurrection. In this expedition some of the principal chiefs in Gaul joined the Roman army, not with zeal for the cause, but pretending friendship, in order, with surer effect, to be traitors in the end. Even Sacrovir fought with the Romans: he was seen in the heat of action with his head uncovered, in order, as he gave out, to signalize his courage and fidelity; but in truth, as was afterwards collected from the prisoners, to avoid being aimed at by the darts of his countrymen. An account of these disturbances was transmitted to Tiberius. He doubted the intelligence, and by his indecision prolonged the war.

XLII. Julius Florus, in the meantime, continued to exert his most vigorous efforts. A regiment of horse, raised formerly among the Treviri, but trained to the Roman discipline, happened to be quartered at Treves. He tampered with those troops, in hopes of beginning the war by a general massacre of the Roman merchants. A small number listened to his advice, but the rest continued in their duty. Florus was followed by a rabble of debtors, and a number of his own dependants. He marched towards the forest of Arden,[5] but was intercepted by the legions detached by Visellius and Caius Silius from the two armies on the Rhine. A party of those troops was ordered forward under the command of Julius Indus, a native of Treves, who was then at variance with Florus, and, for that reason, burned with impatience to encounter his enemy. He gave battle to the rebels, and over an ill-appointed and undisciplined multitude gained a complete victory. Florus lay for some time concealed in lurking-places; but at length finding himself unable to elude the search of the Roman soldiers, and seeing the defiles and passes guarded on every side, he died by his own sword. The people of Treves, after this event, returned to their duty.

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3 Some of the commentators will have the person here mentioned to be Velleius Paterculus the historian; but the prænomen Publius seems to denote a different man.

4 Being thought dead, some years afterwards, and laid on his funeral pile, he waked from his lethargy, but, for want of assistance was consumed in the flames. Pliny, lib. vii. s. 52. Valerius Maximus, lib. i. cap. 8.

5 See the Geographical Table.

XLIII. The Æduan commotions were not so easily quelled. The state was rich and powerful, and the force necessary to subdue the insurrection lay at a considerable distance. Sacrovir strained every nerve to support his cause. He seized the city of Augustodunum, the capital of the Æduans, and took into his custody the flower of the young nobility, who resorted thither from all parts of Gaul, as to a school of science and liberal education. By detaining those pledges, he hoped to attach to his interest their parents and relations. He supplied the young men with arms, which had been prepared with secrecy by his directions. His numbers amounted to less than forty thousand, a fifth part of which were armed after the manner of the legions; the rest carried hunting-poles, knives, and other instruments of the chase. He had, besides, pressed into his service a body of slaves reared up to the trade of gladiators, and, according to the custom of the country, clad with an entire plate of iron. In the language of Gaul they were called CRUPELLARIANS. Their armour was impenetrable to the stroke of the enemy, but, at the same time, rendered the men too unwieldy for the attack. The adjoining provinces had not taken up arms: but a number of individuals caught the infection, and joined the rebel army. Sacrovir gained a further advantage from the jealousies subsisting between the Roman generals.[1] Each claimed to himself the conduct of the war; and the dispute continued till Varro, finding himself impaired by age, gave up the point to Silius, who was then in the vigour of his days.

XLIV. Meanwhile a report prevailed at Rome, that not only the Æduans and the Treviri, but several other cities of Gaul, to the number of sixty-four, had thrown off the yoke. Germany, it was added, had joined the league; and Spain was wavering. The rumour, as usually happens, was magnified by the credulity of the populace. Good men felt for their country: the greater part, detesting the present system, and wishing for nothing so much as a change, enjoyed the confusion, and triumphed in the common danger. Invective did not spare Tiberius. "In a difficult and alarming crisis, he was busy in settling the forms of some new prosecution. Did he mean to proceed by way of information against Julius Sacrovir? Was that chieftain to be accused of violated majesty? The revolt plainly showed that there still existed men of undaunted valour, who were resolved, at the point of the sword, to defy his letters written in blood to the senate; and war, with all its dangers, was preferable to a sanguinary peace, under a despotic tyrant." Amidst these murmurs of discontent, Tiberius appeared with an unruffled temper, never once changing his look, his place of abode, or his habits of life. Is this to be ascribed to magnanimity? or did he know, by secret intelligence, that the whole was either false, or magnified beyond the truth?

XLV. Silius, in the meantime, having sent before him a body of auxiliaries, marched at the head of two legions into the territory of the Sequanians, a people at the extremity of Gaul, bordering on the Æduans, and confederates in the war. He laid waste the country, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Augustodunum. Nothing could equal the ardour of the legions: the standard-bearers with emulation gave every proof of their alacrity; the common soldiers declared, with one voice, that they wanted no repose; the night ought not to be lost in sleep; let them but see the enemy, they asked no more; victory was sure to follow. At the distance of twelve miles from Augustodunum, Sacrovir appeared in force. His line of battle was formed on the open plain. The gladiators, in complete armour, were stationed in the centre; his cohorts in the two wings, and his half-armed multitude in the rear. He was himself mounted on a superb horse, attended by a number of chiefs. He rode through the ranks, haranguing his men: he called to mind the glory of their ancestors,[2] their brave exploits against the Romans, and the eternal honour of succeeding in the cause of liberty. A defeat, he said, would bring with it infamy, and chains, and bondage.

XLVI. The speech was short, and the soldiers heard it without emotion. The legions advanced in regular order. A band of raw recruits, lately levied in the towns of Gaul, could not sustain a sight so terrible. The faculties of eyes and ears were lost in confusion. By the

1 Vitellius Varro commanded on the Lower Rhine, and Caius Silius on the Upper.

2 The Gauls, under the conduct of Brennus, stormed the city of Rome, A. U. C. 364; before the Christian era 390. Livy, lib. v. s. 35. They fought no less than thirty battles with Julius Cæsar. Brotier, in his note on this passage, is at great pains to retrieve the fame of the ancient Gauls, who have been in his opinion, too much neglected, and indeed consigned to oblivion, by the irruption of the FRANKS. But the Gauls, he says, were a great and powerful nation, while Rome, under Tarquinius Priscus, was yet in its infancy; and though the name of FRANKS has been adopted by his countrymen, yet the nature of the first inhabitants has not been extinguished. The Gallic mind, the Gallic genius, and the Gallic manners, have been transmitted from age to age, insomuch, that what Julius Cæsar said of the people almost two thousand years ago, is true at this hour. So far Brotier. Those who are fond of researches into remote antiquity, and, as Doctor Goldsmith somewhere expressed it, who love to pursue the chase when the dews of the morning have passed away, will find in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 367, 8vo edit. an elaborate history of the ancient Gauls. But whether, in the history of those barbarous times, any thing can be found to equal the carnage, blood, and massacre, which have lately disgraced their descendants, and excited the horror and indignation of all Europe, may be made a question.

Romans victory was already anticipated. To exhort them was unnecessary, yet Silius thought proper to inflame their ardour. "The disgrace," he said, "would be great, if the victorious legions, who had conquered in Germany, were now to consider the Gauls as an equal enemy. The rebels of Tours have been chastised by a single cohort; a detachment of the cavalry crushed the insurgents at Treves; and a handful of this very army gave the Sequanians a total overthrow. The Æduans are now before you; not an army, but an effeminate race, abounding in wealth, and enervated by luxury. Charge with valour, and to pursue the runaways will be your only trouble." This speech was received with a general shout. The rebels were soon hemmed in by the cavalry: the front of their line gave way at the first onset of the infantry, and the wings were put to flight. The men in iron armour still kept their ranks. No impression could be made by swords and javelins. The Romans had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes. With these, as if battering a wall, they fell upon the enormous load, and crushed both men and armour. Some attacked with clubs and pitchforks. The unwieldy and defenceless enemy lay on the ground, an inanimate mass, without an effort to rise. Sacrovir threw himself into the town of Augustodunum, but in a short time, fearing to be given up a prisoner, withdrew, with his most faithful adherents, to a villa in the neighbourhood, where he put an end to his life. His followers, having first set fire to the place, turned their swords against themselves, and perished in one general carnage.

XLVII. Tiberius, at length, thought fit to write to the senate on the subject of these commotions. In one and the same letter he gave an account of the war begun and ended. He neither magnified nor disguised the truth, but in plain terms ascribed the whole success to the valour of his officers, and the wisdom of his councils. Why he did not go in person, or send his son Drusus, the same letter explained his reasons: "The extent and majesty of the empire claimed his utmost care. It was not for the dignity of the prince, on the revolt of one or two cities, to relinquish the seat of government. But now, since he could not be supposed to be under any kind of alarm, it was his intention to show himself to the provinces, in order, by his presence, to allay the ferment, and restore the public tranquillity." Vows for his return, and solemn festivals, with other usual ceremonies, were decreed by the senate. Dolabella, intending to display his genius in the trade of flattery, succeeded so far as to show his meanness and absurdity. He proposed that the emperor, on his return from Campania, should enter the city with the splendour of an ovation. This occasioned a letter to the senate from Tiberius, wherein he observed, "that after conquering fierce and warlike nations, and having in his youth received and declined triumphal honours, he was not such a novice to glory as to desire, in the evening of his days, the vain parade of a public entry, for an excursion that was little more than a party of pleasure to the suburbs of Rome."

XLVIII. About this time Tiberius wrote to the senate, requesting that a public funeral might be decreed to Sulpicius Quirinius;[3] a man no way related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii. He was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town: he distinguished himself by his military services, had considerable talents for business, and was raised by Augustus to the honour of the consulship. Having afterwards stormed and taken the strong-holds of the Homonadensians in Cilicia, he obtained triumphal honours. He attended Caius Cæsar in his expedition to Armenia, was the chief director of his councils, and made use of that opportunity to pay his court, with secrecy, to Tiberius, while that prince resided in the isle of Rhodes. This anecdote Tiberius mentioned in his letter; declaring himself, in gracious terms, well pleased with the good offices of Quirinius, and, at the same time, reflecting with a degree of acrimony on Marcus Lollius, to whose conduct he imputed the dissensions between himself and Caius Cæsar. But the character of Quirinius was held in no esteem; his unrelenting prosecution of Lepida, already related, was still remembered; and the sordid avarice of the man, even in old age, and in the height of power, left a stain upon his memory.

XLIX. The year closed with a prosecution of a singular nature. Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, was the author of an applauded poem on the death of Germanicus, and, for his composition had received a reward from Tiberius. The crime laid to his charge was, that, when Drusus lay ill, he prepared another elegy, from which he hoped, if the young prince died, to derive still greater emolument. With the vanity of a poet Lutorius read his verses at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, the mother-in-law of that senator. Several women of distinction were of the party. As soon as the prosecutor opened the heads of his accusation, the confidential friends of the author were struck with terror. The fact was admitted by all, except Vitellia: she had the memory of a liberal-minded women, and could recollect nothing. Credit, however, was given to the rest of the evidence. Haterius Agrippa, consul-elect, was the first to give his opinion: he proposed that the unfortunate poet should suffer death.

L. Manius Lepidus opposed the motion. He

3 The same Quirinius who has been mentioned in this book, s. 22.

spoke as follows: "If in our deliberations, conscript fathers, we advert to nothing but the flagitious sentiments, by which Lutorius has discovered the malignity of his heart and wounded the ear of others, neither the dungeon, nor the rope, nor the torments, which the law ordains for slaves, would be adequate to the enormity of his guilt. But on the other hand, however great the depravity of mankind, there are degrees of punishment. The clemency of the prince interposes often to mitigate the rigour of the law; the wisdom of our ancestors has delivered down to us a system of justice founded in mercy, and you have, on many occasions, followed their example. If between error in judgment and malignity of heart a distinction is to be made; if words and criminal actions are not to be confounded, the case before us admits a sentence, which at once will reach the offence, and leave us no reason to blush either for our moderation or our severity. The complaints of the emperor, when the guilty, by a voluntary death, have prevented the effect of his clemency, have been heard by us all. Lutorius lives; and should he continue to do so, will the state be in danger? His death will neither promote the public interest, nor serve as an example to others. Productions such as his, the effusions of a wild and irregular fancy, may well be left to flutter for a time, and then, like all frivolous things, to be forgotten. Nothing serious or important is to be expected from him, who betrays himself, not in the hearing of men, but in a circle of women. And yet my voice is against him: let him be condemned to exile; let his effects be confiscated; let fire and water be interdicted. This is my opinion, the same as I should give, had he been in due form convicted on the law of violated majesty."

LI. Rubellius Blandus, of consular rank, was the only person that assented to the opinion of Lepidus. The rest concurred with Agrippa. The poet was hurried away, and strangled in a dungeon. Concerning these proceedings, Tiberius wrote to the senate in his usual style, ambiguous and inexplicable. He commended the zeal of the fathers, even in a matter of no importance, but desired that, for the future, words alone should not be punished with so much precipitation. He praised the humanity of Lepidus, yet found no fault with Agrippa. This produced a decree, by which it was enacted, that no sentence of condemnation should, for the future, be sent to the treasury, till the tenth day after passing it; and, in the interval, execution was to be suspended. The fathers, however, were not to have the power of rejudging their own acts, or revoking their sentence. The appeal was to be to Tiberius, and no time could soften that implacable temper.

LII. Caius Sulpicius and Decimus Haterius were the next consuls [A. U. C. 775. A. D. 22.] The year was free from foreign commotions; but at Rome new laws were expected to check the growth of luxury, and that apprehension spread a general alarm. The prodigality[1] of the times had risen to the highest pitch. In many articles of expense, and those the heaviest, the real price might be concealed; but the cost of the table was too well understood. The profusion, with which luxury was maintained, could not remain a secret. It was therefore apprehended, that a prince, addicted to the frugality of ancient manners, would endeavour by severe regulations to control the mischief.

The subject was opened in the senate by Caius Bibulus, one of the ædiles: his colleagues joined to support him. They stated that the sumptuary laws were fallen into contempt. The extravagance in furniture and utensils, though prohibited, grew every day more enormous, insomuch that, by moderate penalties, the mischief was not to be cured. The senate, without further debate, referred the whole to the consideration of the emperor. Tiberius weighed every circumstance: he knew that passions, which had taken root, could not be easily weeded out of the heart: he considered how far coercive measures might be a public grievance. If an unsuccessful attempt gave a victory to vice, the defeat he saw would be a disgrace to government; and the necessity of waging continual war against the characters and fortunes of the most eminent citizens, was what he wished to avoid. After mature deliberation, he sent his thoughts in writing to the senate, in substance as follows:

LIII. "Upon any other question, conscript fathers, it would perhaps be expedient that I should attend the debate in person, and, in my place, lay before you what I conceive to be for the advantage of the commonwealth. At present, it may be better that my eyes should not survey the scene. In so mixed an assembly, many, no doubt, by their looks and manner, might be apt to betray a consciousness of their own vicious habits. The attention of the senate would naturally fix upon such men, and I

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1 The particular instances of Roman luxury, and the wealth and profusion of individuals, would lead to a long digression. Apicius, and others of that class of epicures, are well known. Lucan has given a general account of the origin and progress of luxury:

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto
Intulit, et rebus mores cessere secundis,
Prædaque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinæ,
Non auro tectisve modus; mensasque priores
Aspernata fames; cultus gestare decoros
Vix nuribus, rapuere mares; fœcunda virorum
Paupertas fugitur, totoque accersitur orbe
Quo gens quæque perit. Longos tum jungere fines
Agrorum, et duro quondam sulcata Camilli
Vomere, et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
Longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.

PHARSALIA, lib. i.

should, of course, be led to watch their behaviour: in that case, the guilty would, as it were, be taken in the fact. Had the ædiles, whose zeal deserves commendation, applied in the first instance to me, I should, perhaps, have thought it advisable to connive at vices that have gathered strength from time, rather than expose to the world the inveteracy of the mischief, and the feebleness of legal remedies. Those magistrates, it must be acknowledged, have performed their duty with a spirit which every civil officer would do well to emulate. As to myself, to remain silent, were a desertion of the public; and to speak out, may be impolitic. The part which I sustain is neither that of ædile, prætor, nor consul. From the emperor something more than the minute details of business is expected. The pre-eminence is painful, while individuals claim the merit of all the good that is done, and, if men transgress, the blame is transferred to the prince. At the expense of one, all are guilty. If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin, and how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times? Must I abridge your villas, those vast domains, where tracts of land are laid out for ornament? Must I retrench the number of slaves, so great at present that every family seems a nation in itself? What shall be said of massy heaps of gold and silver? of statues wrought in brass, and an infinite collection of pictures, all indeed highly finished, the perfection of art? How shall we reform the taste for dress, which, according to the reigning fashion, is so exquisitely nice, that the [2] sexes are scarce distinguished? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and, in particular, with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the empire of its wealth, and sends in exchange for bawbles, the money of the commonwealth to foreign nations, and even to the enemies of Rome?

LIV. "That these abuses are the subject of discussion at every table, and the topic of complaint in all private circles, I am not now to learn. And yet, let a law be made with proper sanctions, and the very men, who call for a reform, will be the first to make objections. The public peace, they will say, is disturbed; illustrious families are in danger of ruin; and all, without distinction, must live in dread of rigorous inquiries, and the harpies of the law. It is with the body politic as the body natural: in the latter, chronical disorders, in time grown obstinate, call for harsh and violent remedies. Just so in the distempers of the mind: the heart, sick to the very core with vice, corrupted and corrupting, requires an antidote as strong as the poison that inflames our passions. Many wholesome laws were made by our ancestors, and many by Augustus: the former are grown obsolete; and the latter (to the disgrace of the age) are fallen into contempt, and, by consequence, luxury riots without control. The reason is obvious; while there is no law in force to prevent abuses, men proceed with caution, that the magnitude of the mischief may not provoke the authority of the legislature; but when positive instructions are found inadequate, the case is very different: unbridled passions take their course with impunity, and all transgress without fear or shame.

"Why was frugality the practice of ancient times? Because each individual was a law to himself: because he knew how to moderate his desires; because we were then the inhabitants of a single city. Even Italy, when reduced to subjection, afforded but few incentives to luxury. Foreign victories taught us to dissipate the property of others; and the civil wars made us prodigal of our own. But after all, is the mischief, which the ædiles make the ground of their complaint, the worst of our grievances? Compare it with other evils, and it vanishes into nothing. Italy stands in need of foreign supplies, and yet no reformer tells us, how much the commonwealth is every day at the mercy of the winds and waves. The produce of colonies is imported to maintain our pride and luxury, to feed the master of the soil, and to supply his slaves with the necessaries of life. Should these resources fail, will our groves, our villas, and our spacious pleasure-grounds be sufficient to satisfy our wants? That care is left to the sovereign. Should he neglect that essential duty, the commonwealth is lost. With regard to other evils, the remedy is in the breast of every individual. Men of rank may be restrained by principle, the poor by indigence, and the rich by satiety. These are my sentiments. If, notwithstanding, any magistrate should be of the opinion that more may be done; if he feels within himself vigour and industry to oppose the torrent; I honour the firmness of his character, and cheerfully resign to abler hands a great part of

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2 Tiberius, who writes this letter to the senate, was so well known to be fond of his glass, that, instead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was called Biberius Caldius Mero. But though he was addicted to wine, he showed no disposition to the prevailing luxury of the times, till his excesses broke out in the isle of *Capreæ*. What Tiberius says of the fashionable style of dress, common to both sexes, is confirmed in the passage above quoted from Lucan:

——— Cultus gestare decoros
Vix muribus, rapuere mares.—

Horace describes a Roman lady in her silk dress from the isle of Coos, so thin, that it might be said to be transparent.

——— Cois tibi pæne videre est,
Ut nudam.

Pliny the elder tells us, that the men in the summer season did not blush to follow their example; and were so little inclined to wear the military breast-plate, that their very clothes were a burthen. *Non puduit has vestes assumere etiam viros, levitatem propter æstivum. In tantum a lorica gerenda discessere mores, ut oneri sit etiam vestis.* Pliny, lib. xi. c. 22. See in this book, c. 33, note.

my own solicitude. But when he has declaimed against corruption, if his zeal is to evaporate in a florid speech; if the violence of party resentments, which his patriot cares have roused, is to point at me, while the censor of the manners enjoys the fame of his eloquence; believe me, conscript fathers, I am not more than another ambitious of making enemies. To encounter animosities, for the most part unprovoked, and often unjust, is too much my lot at present; and yet, for the interest of the community, it is a tax which I am willing to pay. But if I deprecate new hostilities, permit me, with your consent, to avoid all such as may be excited without due consideration, useless to the state, and to me big with every disadvantage."

LV. This letter being read, the senate released the ædiles from all farther care about the business. Luxury went on with boundless profusion. It began soon after the battle of Actium,[1] and continued to flourish, for the space of a century, down to the time when Galba attained the imperial dignity. At that period the manners changed, and temperance became the fashion. Of this revolution in the modes of life a short account will not be improper. While the old constitution still subsisted, pomp and splendour were often the ruin of the most illustrious families. To conciliate the favour of the populace, and of the allies of Rome, including even kings and princes, was the great object of a Roman citizen. In proportion to his wealth, his grandeur, and the magnificence of his retinue, his importance rose, and with it the number of his clients. But when the best blood in Rome was spilt by imperial tyranny, and to be eminent was to be marked out for destruction; it became the interest of the great to lay aside all vain ostentation, and adopt a more humble plan of life. At the same time, a new race of men from the municipal towns, the colonies, and the provinces, found their way, not only to Rome, but even into the senate. The strangers, thus incorporated, brought with them their natural parsimony. In the course of a long life many of them, either by their own frugality, or a tide of success in their affairs, accumulated immoderate riches; yet even in affluence avarice was their ruling passion. But the cause, which, above all others, contributed to the revival of ancient economy, was the character of Vespasian; a man of primitive temperance and rigid austerity. All agreed to imitate so excellent a model. Respect for the prince did more than all the pains and penalties of the law. And yet, it may be true, that in the nature of things there is a principle of rotation, in consequence of which the manners, like the seasons, are subject to periodical changes. Nor is it certain that, in the former ages of the world, every thing was better than in the times that succeeded. The present age has produced, in moral conduct and the liberal arts, a number of bright examples, which posterity will do well to imitate. May the contest with antiquity continue! but let it be a generous emulation for superior virtue; and may that spirit go down to future times!

LVI. Tiberius gained by these proceedings a considerable share of popularity. His moderation, in the business of the intended reform, gave satisfaction to all ranks and conditions. The people saw, with pleasure, the tribe of informers disappointed in their views. In this favourable moment, Tiberius, by letters to the senate, desired that his son Drusus might be invested with the tribunitian dignity. That specious title, importing nothing less than sovereign power, was invented by Augustus, at a time when the name of king or dictator was not only unconstitutional, but universally detested. And yet a new name was wanted to overtop the magistrates and the forms of the constitution. In that power usurped, Marcus Agrippa became his colleague; and, after his death, Tiberius Nero succeeded. By the last promotion, it was the policy of Augustus to mark out the line of succession, and thereby check the views of aspiring men. He was sure that Tiberius would act an under part, and, besides, his own name was a tower of strength. Tiberius, in the present juncture, followed the precedent left by Augustus. During the life of Germanicus, he held the balance even between the two young princes, reserving to himself the power of deciding when he should see occasion. In the letter, which opened the matter to the senate, after invoking the gods, and fervently praying, that the measure might be of advantage to the commonwealth, he introduced the character of Drusus, but in a guarded style, never exceeding the bounds of truth. The prince, he said, had a wife and three children, and was then of the age, which he himself had attained[2] when raised by Augustus to the same honour. Nor could the favour now requested, be deemed premature. Drusus had gone through a probation of eight years: the proofs of his merit were, seditions quelled, wars happily terminated, the splendour of a triumph, and two consulships. There was, therefore, no danger that he would be a novice in public busines.

LVII. The senate was not taken by surprise: the emperor's intention had been foreseen, and flattery was ready with her servile strain. Invention, notwithstanding, was at a loss for novelty. Statues were decreed to Tiberius and his

1 The battle of Actium was A. U. C. 722. Galba was murdered A. U. C. 823.

2 Lipsius observes that Drusus, according to this account, was six and thirty years of age. Tiberius was born A. U. C. 712, and was invested with the tribunitian power by Augustus A. U. C. 748.

son; altars were raised to the gods; temples were built, and triumphal arches erected, with other honours of a similar nature. Marcus Silanus aimed at something new. Willing, at the expense of the consular dignity, to pay a compliment to the princes, he proposed that, in all public and private registers, the year should no longer take its date from the names of the consuls, but from the persons invested with the tribunitian power. Quintus Haterius went still farther: he moved that the decrees of that day should be fixed up in the senate house in letters of gold. His motion was treated with contempt and ridicule. The fathers saw with indignation a superannuated senator, who, on the verge of life, could incur present infamy, without a prospect of future wages.

LVIII. Amidst these transactions, the government of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus. The proconsulship of Asia, happening then to be vacant, was demanded by Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. In support of his claim, he contended, "that the inability of a priest, in his station, to go out of Italy, was a vulgar error. The order, to which he belonged, differed in nothing from that of Mars and Romulus. If the priests of the two last were eligible to foreign governments, whence arose his incapacity? No prohibitory law was ever passed by the people: the books of religious ceremonies are silent on the subject. In particular cases, when the ministers of Jupiter were detained, either by illness or by public business, one of the pontiffs officiated in his place. After the tragical death of Cornelius Merula,[3] a space of no less than seventy-six years elapsed, without any nomination to the office: did the interest of religion suffer in the mean time? During that whole period, the sacerdotal function was suspended, without prejudice to the established worship; and why should not his absence be excused during the year of his proconsular government? That some of his predecessors had been restrained by the authority of the chief pontiff was a fact not to be controverted; but the restraint, in those cases, was the effect of private animosity. At present, by the indulgence of the gods, the chief pontiff is the chief of men; a stranger to all petty jealousies; uninfluenced by the cabals of a party, and superior to the little motives of a private station."

LIX. Lentulus the augur, and several other senators, opposed the motion. A debate ensued, with so much diversity of opinion, that the question was referred to the decision of the supreme pontiff.[4] Tiberius was not in haste to determine the point. In his letters to the senate, he mentioned nothing but the honours decreed to Drusus on his elevation to the tribunitian power; and those he thought good to modify with certain restrictions. He censured, in direct terms, the resolution proposed by Silanus, and likewise the motion of Haterius, for fixing up the decrees in letters of gold; condemning both as unconstitutional, and repugnant to ancient usage. Letters from Drusus were, at the same time, read in the senate, modest in the style and turn of expression, but, in the general opinion, denoting pride and arrogance. "Rome," they said, "was reduced to an humble condition, when a young man, raised to the highest dignity, declines to return thanks to the gods in their own temples; when he disdains to honour the senate with his presence, and refuses to attend the usual auspices in his native city. Was it war that detained him? or did he dread the inconvenience of a long journey, when he was only visiting the coast of Campania, or pursuing his pleasures on the lakes? This is the education of him, who is to be the future master of the Roman world! He is tutored in the political school of his father! Tiberius may have his reasons for withdrawing himself from the public eye: the infirmities of age, and the labours of his life, afford a colourable pretext; but for Drusus what apology can be made? Pride, rank pride, is his only motive."

LX. To strengthen the foundations of his own power was the constant policy of Tiberius. Intent on that object, he still preserved the forms of the constitution, and amused the senate with a phantom of liberty. All petitions from the provinces were referred to that assembly. About this time, the right of having sanctuaries,[5] and of multiplying the number without limitation, was assumed by all the cities of Greece. The temples in that country were crowded by the most abandoned slaves; debtors screened them-

3 The death of Cornelius Merula deserves particular notice. He saw Marius and Cinna in possession of Rome, and the most illustrious citizens bleeding in one general massacre. He abdicated his office of consul, and, opening his veins, sprinkled with his blood the very altar, where, in his character of priest of Jupiter, he had frequently offered up his prayers for the peace and happiness of his country. With his last breath he poured forth his execration of Cinna, and, having invoked the vengeance of the gods on that traitor's head, closed a life of honour and virtue. *Merula autem, qui se sub adventum Cinnæ consulatu abdicaverat, incisis venis superfusoque altaribus sanguine, quos pro salute reipublicæ Flamen Dialis precatus erat Deos, eos in execrationem Cinnæ partiumque ejus tum precatus, optime de republica meritum spiritum reddidit.* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 22. This was A. U. C. 667. From that time no priest of Jupiter was appointed till the year of Rome 743, when Augustus revived the office. Dio, lib. liv. The interval was a space of seventy-six years.

4 The emperor was not only commander in chief of the armies of Rome, in his character of Imperator, and the sole director of all civil business, by his tribunitian power; but he was also, as high pontiff, at the head of the religion of his country.

5 For a full account of the origin and progress of sanctuaries, see Grotius, De Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. ii. cap. 21. See also Seanheim, De Usu Numismatum, cap. 9.

selves from their creditors, and criminals fled from justice. The magistrates were no longer able to control a seditious populace, who carried their crimes, under a mask of piety, to the altar of their gods. An order was therefore made, that the several cities should send their deputies to Rome, with a state of their respective claims. Some places, finding their pretensions brought to the test, thought proper to decline the inquiry. The rights of others were founded on traditional superstition; and superstition was not willing to renounce her errors. Some of the cities relied on the merit of their ancestors in the service of Rome. The business came at length to a hearing. A day more august and splendid cannot be figured to the imagination. We now behold a Roman senate sitting in judgment on the grants of the old republic; discussing the treaties and conventions of confederate nations; deliberating on the acts of kings, while kings were able to make a stand against the power of Rome; and, above all, reviewing the various systems of religion, which had been for ages established in the belief of mankind. These were the important subjects; and to give still greater dignity to the scene, the senate met, as was the practice in good times, with authority to inquire, and liberty to determine.

LXI. The case of the Ephesians was the first brought forward. It was stated in their behalf, that Diana and Apollo were not, as generally supposed, born in the isle of Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, on the banks of the river Cenchris, which flows within the territories of Ephesus. In that secret recess, Latona, taking shelter under an olive-tree, was delivered of those two deities. The tree was still to be seen in a flourishing state, and the grove became a consecrated spot. It was there that Apollo, after having slain the Cyclops, found a retreat from the vengeance of Jupiter; it was there that Bacchus, after his victories, gave a free pardon to such of the Amazons as fled for protection to the altar; and it was there that Hercules, having conquered Lydia, established a temple, with rites and ceremonies, which neither the Persian kings, nor the Macedonian conqueror, presumed to violate. The Romans at all times paid the strictest regard to the sanctity of the place.

LXII. The Magnesians were the next in order. They relied on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio,[1] confirmed and ratified by Lucius Sylla; the former victorious over Antiochus, and the latter over Mithridates. In the wars which were waged under their conduct, the Magnesians adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome; and, to reward their services, the temple of Diana Leucophrynè was, by those commanders, declared a sanctuary. The people of Aphrodisium, and also of Stratonicè, produced a decree of Cæsar the dictator, and another of Augustus, commemorating the zeal, with which those states withstood the Parthian invasion, and preserved to the last their attachment to the interest of Rome. The Aphrodisians claimed the temple of Venus; the Stratoniceans worshipped Jupiter and Diana Trivia. The city of Hierocæsarea deduced their ceremonies from remote antiquity, alleging that they had for ages adored a Persian Diana, in a temple consecrated by Cyrus.[2] Several orders made by Perpenna,[3] by Isauricus, and other Roman generals, were also cited, whereby it appeared that those sanctuaries, with a precinct two miles round, were declared holy ground. The inhabitants of Cyprus claimed three sanctuaries; the first and most ancient, dedicated by Aerias[4] to the Paphian Venus; the second, by Amathus, the son of Aerias, in honour of the Amathusian Venus; and the third, to the Salaminian Jove, by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when that hero was obliged to fly from the rage of his father.

LXIII. Several other cities appeared by their deputies; but the senate, weary of the number, and of the party-spirit, with which different places were espoused, came to a resolution, to refer the whole to the consuls, and wait their report on the merits of each distinctive case. The consuls went through the inquiry. Besides the temples already mentioned, they found at Pergamos the sanctuary of Æsculapius, confirmed by authentic proof. The titles of other places, being all deduced from ages too remote, were lost in the darkness of antiquity. In this number was the oracle of Apollo, by which it was pretended, that the people of Smyrna were commanded to build a temple to Venus Stratonice;[5] and another of the same god, directing a temple and a statue to Neptune, in the isle of Tenos. The Sardians, and the people of Miletus, were content with a more modern date. The former relied on the privileges granted by Alexander; and the latter, on the authority of Darius. Diana was the tutelar deity in one

1 Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus A. U. C. 564. Mithridates was driven out of Asia by Lucius Sylla A. U. C. 670.

2 The Persian monarchy was founded by Cyrus A. U. C. 195; before the Christian era 559.

3 Marcus Perpenna conquered Aristonicus, who made an irruption into Asia A. U. C. 624. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. s. 4. Publius Servilius, in the year of Rome 679, conquered the pirates of Cilicia, and after reducing the principal cities of their country, stormed the citadel called Isauros, and thence took the name of Isauricus. *Unde, conscius sibi magni laboris, Isaurici cognomen adamavit.* Florus, lib. iii. s. 6.

4 For king Aerias, see History, book ii. s. 3.

5 The *Venus Stratonice* was so called after *Stratonice* grandmother of *Seleucus II.* who mounted the throne of Syria A. U. C. 507. Whoever desires to know more about the worship paid to this goddess, will find a particular account in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. p. 413, 4to edit.

of those cities, and Apollo in the other. The statue of Augustus was held to be a sanctuary by the inhabitants of Crete. Several decrees were passed, with due attention to the religous tenets of the people, yet limiting the number of sanctuaries. These regulations were ordered to be engraved in brass, and fixed up in the respective temples, as lasting monuments, to ascertain the rights now established, and prevent the future claims of national pride, or blind superstition.

LXIV. About this time a fit of illness threatened the life of Livia. Her danger was so alarming, that it occasioned the emperor's return to Rome. Hitherto the mother and son had lived on terms of mutual regard, or, at worst, with hatred well disguised. Livia, not long before had raised a statue to Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus. In the votive inscription her own name preceded that of the emperor. To the jealous temper of Tiberius this was an offence against the imperial dignity. His resentment, however, was suppressed, and, for that reason, was thought to have sunk the deeper. The senate proceeded to order supplications for the recovery of Livia, with solemn games on the occasion; in which the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, with that of the septemvirs, and the sodality of Augustan priests, were to conduct the ceremonies. Lucius Apronius moved that the heralds[6] at arms should likewise officiate. Tiberius opposed the motion. It proceeded, he said, on a mistaken principle. He mentioned the distinct functions of the several orders of the priesthood, and made it clear, from ancient precedents, that the heralds had never been admitted to that participation of honour. The fraternity of Augustan priests was called forth with good reason, since that order belonged, in a peculiar manner, to the family, for which public vows were to be offered.

LXV. To give, in detail, the several motions and resolutions of the time, is not within the plan of this work. And yet, when virtue and fair integrity do honour to the heart, or when a slavish spirit brands the character, in either case, it is my intention to select the particular instances. In this, I apprehend, consists the chief part of the historian's duty. It is his to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be snatched from oblivion, and that the author of pernicious counsels, and the perpetrator of evil deeds, may see, beforehand, the infamy that awaits them at the tribunal of posterity. In general, a black and shameful period lies before me. The age was sunk to the lowest depth of sordid adulation; insomuch that not only the most illustrious citizens, in order to secure their pre-eminence, were obliged to crouch and bend the knee, but men of consular and prætorian rank, and the whole body of the senate,[7] tried with emulation which should be the most obsequious slave. We are informed by tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went from the senate-house, was used to say in Greek, "Devoted men! how they rush head-long into bondage!" even he, the enemy of civil liberty, was disgusted with adulation: he played the tyrant, and despised the voluntary slave.

LXVI. From acts of base compliance, the next step of degenerate men was to deeds of horror. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, was accused of rapine and extortion by the people of the province. The conduct of the cause was undertaken by Mamercus Scaurus, of consular rank; by Junius Otho, at that time prætor; and Brutidius Niger, one of the ædiles. The complaint was aggravated by an additional charge of irreverence to the divinity of Augustus, and disaffection to Tiberius. Mamercus affected to grace himself by citing the bright examples of a former day:[8] Scipio Africanus, he observed, prosecuted Lucius Cotta; Cato, the censor, appeared against Servius Galba, and Marcus Scaurus against Publius Rutilius; as if those great and excellent men had instituted prosecutions for constructive crimes like the present; as if Scaurus, the grandfather of the prosecutor, had descended to so vile an office. It was reserved for Mamercus to degenerate into an informer, and tarnish the lustre of his ancestors. Junius Otho, another prosecutor, had been by profession the teacher of a school.[9] Raised from that obscurity by the patronage of Sejanus, he obtained a seat in the senate, and hoped by flagitious deeds to efface the meanness of his origin. Brutidius was a different character. Adorned with liberal accomplishments, and formed for great things, he was sure of reaching the first honours of the

All questions of war and peace, the suspension of hostilities, and treaties of alliance, were referred to their decision. *Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum oratores fœciales judicesque sunto.* Cicero, De Legibus, lib. ii. c. 9.

7 The original says, Etiam *pedarii senatores:* that is, the senators, who, when the sense of the assembly was taken *per discessionem*, i. e. *when the house divided*, walked over to the side of those with whom they agreed. This was, according to Sallust in Catil. *pedibus in sententiam ire.* Hence the verse of Laberius the satirist: A head without a tongue, is a pedestrian opinion. Caput sine lingua, pedaria sententia est.

8 Scipio Africanus accused Lucius Cotta A. U. C. 622. Cotta was acquitted, lest the weight and dignity of the prosecutor should be thought to influence the judges. See Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. cap. 1. Galba had been governor of a province of Spain, and was impeached by Cato the censor, A. U. C. 604. See Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 2; and Cicero, De Claris Orat. c. 23. Rutilius was a candidate for the consulship against Marcus Scaurus, A. U. C. 645. Being disappointed of his election, he accused the successful candidate, and was, in his turn, prosecuted by Scaurus. Cicero, De Clar. Orat. c. 30.

9 Seneca mentions Otho and Brutidius; Controversiæ, lib. ii. c. 9.

state, had he been willing to walk in the paths of virtue. His impatience ruined him. Eager to outstrip his equals, and then to rise over his superiors, he enlarged his views, and began to soar above his most flattering hopes: but his ambition led him to the precipice from which good men have often fallen, when, not content with slow, but sure success, they have hurried on with too much ardour, and ended their career in ruin.

LXVII. Gellius Poplicola, who had been quæstor to Silanus, and Marcus Paconius, his lieutenant, listed on the side of the prosecution. Silanus, beyond all doubt, was guilty both of rapine and oppression; but in his case a number of circumstances, dangerous even to innocence, conspired against him. Besides the persons already mentioned, the most able orators of Asia, men who were chosen on account of their eloquence, united their strength. Against that powerful combination, Silanus stood alone, obliged, without any powers of oratory, to make his own defence with fear and trembling; a situation that might disarm the noblest talents. Tiberius helped to increase his difficulties. With a stern tone of voice, and a contracted brow, he pressed the defendant with sudden questions, never suffering him to pause a moment, either to repel or elude the charge. Silanus was obliged to admit several points, rather than seem to refute or baffle the inquiry of the emperor. His very slaves, to make them competent witnesses, were sold by auction to the public officer; and, to make destruction sure, Tiberius added the crime of violated majesty, that none of the prisoner's family or friends might presume to assist in the defence. Silanus desired an adjournment of a few days. In that interval, abandoning all his hopes, he sent a memorial to Tiberius, in a style sufficiently humble, but still with the spirit of a man who felt himself oppressed, and dared to speak the language of reproach.

LXVIII. Tiberius remained inflexible: but, to give the colour of precedent to his final sentence, he ordered the proceedings against Volesus Messala [1] (who had also been proconsul of Asia), with the record of Augustus, and the decree made on that occasion, to be read. He then collected the votes, beginning with Lucius Piso. That senator, after some flourishes in praise of the emperor's clemency, concluded, that Silanus should be interdicted from fire and water, and banished to the isle of Gyarus.[2] The fathers concurred in the same opinion, when Cneius Lentulus proposed, by way of mitigation, that the estate which descended to Silanus from his mother, should not be included in the general forfeiture, but vested in the grandson. Tiberius agreed to the amendment. The business seemed to be at an end, when Cornelius Dolabella rose to show, that his servile spirit had not deserted him. He launched out into a sharp invective against the morals of Silanus, grafting on it a motion, that no man of dissolute manners should be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this incapacity the emperor should be the sole judge. When a crime is committed, "the law takes cognizance of it, and inflicts the punishment. But a law to prevent the offence, would be at once an act of mercy to bad men, and a blessing to the provinces."

LXIX. Tiberius spoke in reply: "To the reports," he said, "which were current to the disadvantage of Silanus, he was no stranger. But laws ought to have a better foundation than public rumour. The governors of provinces had often disappointed the hopes, and sometimes the fears, of mankind. By important scenes of action the powers of the mind are roused; the heart expands to meet the occasion; while, on the other hand, feeble spirits shrink from a great opportunity, and grow less by elevation. The prince can never be fully informed; and it is not fit that he should see with the eyes of others. The arts of ambitious rivals may deceive him. In human affairs nothing can be foreseen with certainty, and without facts, laws can have no operation. Till men have acted, they cannot be judged. It was the wisdom of our ancestors to keep the sword of justice in the scabbard, till actual offences drew it forth. In a system so just in itself and so long established, innovations ought not to be rashly made. The cares of government are a burthen to the sovereign, and his prerogative wants no enlargement. Extend his authority, and you abridge the rights of the subject. When the laws in being are sufficient, there is no occasion to resort to the will of the prince."

This was, no doubt, a constitutional speech. From a man little studious of popularity, it was received with universal approbation. Tiberius did not stop here: when his own private resentment was not provoked, he knew that moderation was the best policy: with that view he thought proper to add, that Gyarus was a dreary island, uncultivated, and inhospitable. In honour, therefore, of the Junian family, and from motives of lenity to a man who was a member of the senate, he proposed to change the place of banishment to the isle of Cythera: and this, he said, was the request of Torquata, sister to Silanus, and a vestal virgin of distinguished sanctity. The fathers complied, and a decree was passed accordingly.

LXX. The Cyrenians presented a charge of rapine against Cæsius Cordus. Ancharius Priscus conducted the prosecution, and sentence of

1 He was, in the time of Augustus, proconsul of Asia; a man of inordinate pride, and a cruel disposition. It is said that three hundred men were put to death by his order in one day. Seneca, de Ira, lib. ii. cap. 5.

2 See the Geographical Table.

condemnation was pronounced. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, who had melted down a silver statue of the emperor, and converted it to domestic uses, was accused on the law of violated majesty. Tiberius stopped the proceedings. Against this act of lenity Ateius Capito[3] protested openly; contending, with an air of ancient liberty, that "the right of the senate, to hear and determine, ought not to be retrenched; especially when a crime of that magnitude called for vindictive justice. The prince, in his own case, might be slow to resent: but let him not be generous at the expense of the public." This language, blunt as it was, gave no offence to Tiberius: he saw the drift of the speech, and, disregarding the tone with which it was uttered, persisted in his resolution. Capito brought disgrace on his name. Accomplished as he was in the science of laws both human and divine, he possessed, besides, a number of virtues that adorned his private character; but by this act of servile flattery he sullied the lustre of a distinguished name.

LXXI. A question that concerned a point of religion was the next subject of debate. The Roman knights had vowed a statue, for the recovery of Livia, to FORTUNE THE EQUESTRIAN. In what temple this should be placed was the doubt. At Rome there were various structures sacred to the goddess, but none under that specific title. Upon inquiry it was found that there was at Antium[4] a temple with that particular denomination; and it being considered that the whole system of rites and ceremonies, and the several temples and images of the gods throughout Italy, were subject to the supreme authority of Rome, it was resolved that the votive present should be placed at Antium. This being a point of religious ceremony, Tiberius took the opportunity to determine the question, which had been for some time in suspense, concerning Servius Maluginensis, the priest of Jupiter. He produced and read a decree of the pontifical college, whereby it appeared that the priest of Jupiter, when his health required it, or when he obtained a dispensation from the supreme pontiff, might absent himself from the duties of his function two nights at most; provided it was not during the public ceremonies, nor more than twice in the course of the year. From this regulation, made by Augustus, it was evident that a year's absence, and of course a proconsular government, was incompatible with the sacerdotal function. The authority of Lucius Metellus,[5] who, when high pontiff, would not suffer Aulus Posthumius, a priest of Jupiter, to depart from Rome, was also cited. It followed, that the province of Asia could not be granted to Maluginensis. It fell to the lot of the person of consular rank, who stood next in seniority.

LXXII. During these transactions, Marcus Lepidus petitioned the senate for leave to repair and decorate, at his own expense, the basilick of Paulus,[6] that noble monument of the Æmilian family. The display of private munificence in public works, which embellished the city, was not yet fallen into disuse. In the reign of Augustus, without any objection from that emperor, Taurus,[7] Philippus, and Balbus, with the spoils which they had taken from the enemy, or with the superfluity of their own immoderate wealth, added greatly to the ornament of Rome, and, by consequence, to the honour of their families. Encouraged by this example, but with a fortune much inferior, Lepidus revived the glory of his ancestors. The Theatre of Pompey had been destroyed by fire; and the remaining branches of the family not being equal to the expense of so great a structure, Tiberius declared his intention to build a new edifice, with the original name. He congratulated the senate that the damage occasioned by the late fire, was confined to that single building. For this, he said, they were obliged to the vigilance of Sejanus. The senate decreed a statue[8] to be placed in the Theatre of Pompey, in honour of the favourite. In a short time afterwards, when triumphal ornaments were granted to Junius Blæsus, the proconsul of Africa, Tiberius made no scruple to declare, that his motive for bestowing that high reward, was to pay a compliment to Sejanus, as the proconsul was his uncle.

LXXIII. Blæsus, however, had fairly earned his honours. Tacfarinas, often repulsed, was never defeated. He found resources in the interior parts of Africa, and returned to the conflict with new vigour. He had at length the arrogance to send an embassy to Tiberius, demanding lands for himself and his army, or nothing should make an end of the war. Tiberius, it is said, was upon no occasion so little master of himself. "It was an insult to the imperial majesty, and the Roman name. Shall

3 For more of Ateius Capito, see this book, s. 75.

4 There had been at Rome a temple of the *Equestrian* Fortune, built by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, in memory of a signal victory obtained by him in Spain. Livy, lib. xl. s. 40: and lib. xlii. s. 10.

5 The objection made by Metellus, was debated with great warmth in the senate, and also before the people. See Liv. lib. xxxvii. s. 51.

6 It was built by Æmilius Paulus, who was consul, A. U. C. 704. Cicero calls it a glorious structure. *Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius.* Ad Atticum, lib. iv. epist. 16.

7 The public buildings erected by Taurus, Philippus, Balbus, and others, are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 86: and more particularly by Suetonius, in Aug. s. 29.

8 Seneca says, with indignation, Who could bear to see the statue of Sejanus placed over the ashes of Pompey! a base perfidious soldier among the monuments of a great commander! *Quis non rumperetur, supra cineres Cneii Pompeii constitui Sejanum, et in monumentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem?* De Consolat. cap. xxii.

a deserter, a wandering vagabond, presume to treat on equal terms? Even Spartacus,[1] though he had defeated consular armies, and spread desolation with sword and fire through the realms of Italy, was not allowed to negotiate terms of peace, though the commonwealth, at that time, was well nigh exhausted by Sertorius,[2] and the Mithridatic war. Even then, no compromise was admitted; the dignity of the state was saved. And shall a flourishing empire descend so low as to compound with Tacfarinas, and, by granting lands, become the purchaser of peace at the hands of a freebooter and a robber?" Stung by these reflections, Tiberius ordered Blæsus to seduce the followers of Tacfarinas by promises of a free pardon to all who should lay down their arms; but as to their chief he must strain every nerve to secure the person of that daring adventurer.

LXXIV. The promised amnesty reduced the numbers of the enemy; and Blæsus, adopting a new mode of war, turned the arts of the wily Numidian against himself. Unequal to the legions in a pitched battle, Tacfarinas depended altogether upon the rapidity of his motions: he divided his men into small parties; he showed himself in sudden incursions, fled before a regular force, and knew where to lie in ambush. The Romans accordingly marched in three columns, by as many different routes. In the quarter where the Africans ravaged the country near Leptis, and then fled for shelter to the Garamantes, Cornelius Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, advanced with his division. In another quarter, where Cirta lay exposed to the Barbarians, the younger Blæsus, the proconsul's son, commanded a second detachment. In the intermediate part of the country, the commander-in-chief marched at the head of a chosen body of troops. At all convenient places he threw up intrenchments, and appointed garrisons, securing every station by a regular chain of posts.

The Barbarians found themselves counteracted on every side. Wherever they turned, the Romans were at hand, in front, in flank, and in the rear. Numbers were surrounded and either put to the sword or taken prisoners. To spread the alarm, the Roman army was again subdivided into smaller parties, under the command of centurions of approved valour and experience. Nor was the campaign closed, as usual, at the end of the summer. Instead of retiring to winter-quarters in the old provinces, Blæsus kept the field; he increased the number of his posts and garrisons, and sent out detachments lightly armed, with guides acquainted with the course of the country. Tacfarinas could no longer stand at bay. He shifted his huts,[3] and wandered from place to place. At length his brother was taken prisoner, and Blæsus thought it time to close the campaign. His retreat was sudden and premature. The province was still open to incursions; and the flame of war, though suppressed, was not extinguished. Tiberius, however, considered the enemy as completely vanquished. Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus, he ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of IMPERATOR, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies, in the pride of victory flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the republic, this was a frequent custom, insomuch that several, at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour. It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius, for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether.[4]

LXXV. Rome, in the course of this year, lost two illustrious citizens; the first was Asinius Saloninus,[5] grandson both to Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, half-brother to Drusus, and, besides, the intended husband of the emperor's granddaughter. The second was Ateius Capito,[6] already mentioned; a man, for his abilities and his knowledge of the laws, of the first eminence in the state. From his birth he derived no advantage. His grandfather was a centurion under Sylla: his father rose to the rank of prætor. Capito was, with rapid speed, advanced by Augustus to the consular dignity, and by that promotion placed above his competitor, Antistius Labeo, who had grown into celebrity by his talents and his skill in jurisprudence. It was the peculiar felicity of that age to see flourishing together these two illustrious rivals, who, in peaceable times, were the orna-

1 Spartacus kindled up the servile war in Italy A. U. C. 681. He gained two important victories. Being defeated in a battle with Licinius Crassus, he died bravely sword in hand. See the account in Florus, lib. iii. cap. 20.

2 Sertorius, and Mithridates king of Pontus, joined in a league against the Romans, A. U. C. 680. Florus, lib. iii. c. 5.

3 Sallust says, the Numidian huts, called *mapalia* by the natives, were of an oblong form, with a curve on each side, somewhat resembling a ship. De Bell. Jugurth. c. 18.

4 When titles of honour were suppressed, the incentives of valour were extinguished, and military glory faded away.

5 Asinius Saloninus was the son of Asinius Gallus, who has been already mentioned, c. 8. by Vipsania Agrippina, who had been the wife of Tiberius, and was mother of his son Drusus; of course he was grandson of Asinius Pollio, who, for his victory over the Salonii, a people of Dalmatia, was called SALONINUS. The grandson enjoyed the title of his grandfather. He was also grandson to Agrippa by his mother's side. See the Genealogical Table, No. 69.

6 Ateius Capito has been already mentioned in this book, c. 70. He was consul A. U. C. 759; of the Christian era 5. He succeeded Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius for the remainder of their year, and his name, therefore, does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

ments of their country. The fame of Labeo[7] rose on the surest foundation; he was a strenuous asserter of civil liberty, and for that reason the favourite of the people. Capito knew his approaches to the great, and by his flexibility became a favourite at the court of Augustus. Labeo was not suffered to rise above the prætorian rank; but that act of injustice raised his popularity: while on the other hand, Capito obtained the consulship, and with it the public hatred.

7 Antistius Labeo is mentioned with honour in several passages of the Digest. He was one of those men, whose singularities are forgiven on account of their talents and their virtues. His father, an ardent and zealous republican, resolved, after the battle of Philippi, not to survive the loss of public liberty. He was despatched by his own command, by one of his domestics, whom he enfranchised, that he might not die by the hand of a slave. Appian, lib. iv. The son adopted the principles of his father. He thought, spoke, and acted, upon all occasions, with a republican spirit. Augustus knew his character, and yet respected him. We are told by Pomponius, the civilian, Digest. 1, tit. ii. s. 47, that the consulship for part of the year was offered to him and rejected. It is probable, that perceiving the state-craft, by which the consular authority was abridged, and, by consequence, impaired, Labeo disdained to be the time-serving consul of the court. Aulus Gellius (lib. xiii. cap. 12.) has preserved a fragment of a letter, in which Capito says of his rival, that he was a man almost frantic with the love of liberty. *Agitabat hominem libertas quædam nimia et vecors.* Noctes Atticæ, lib. xiii. cap. 12. The favourite at the court of Augustus might naturally enough pronounce that judgment. And yet we find that the obsequious Capito could in the reign of Tiberius imitate the blunt freedom of his rival. Being told that a word, coined by Tiberius in one of his speeches, was legitimate Latin, or, if it was not, that it would soon become so: That, said Capito, is false; for you, Cæsar, can give the freedom of the city to men, but not to words. *Certe jam mentitur, inquit Capito: tu enim, Cæsar, civitatem dare potes hominibus, verbis non potes.* Suetonius, De Illustr. Grammat. cap. xxii.

LXXVI. In this year also, the sixty-fourth from the battle of Philippi, Junia,[8] niece to Cato, sister of Brutus, and the widow of Cassius, paid her debt to nature. Her will engrossed the public conversation. Possessed of immoderate riches, she left marks of her regard to almost all the eminent men at Rome, without mention of Tiberius. The omission gave no umbrage to the emperor. He considered it as the exercise of a civil right, and not only suffered her funeral panegyric to be spoken from the rostrum, but allowed the last ceremonies to be performed with the usual pomp and magnificence. In the procession were seen the images of the most illustrious families, in number not less than twenty; the Manlii, the Quintii, and others of equal rank. Those of Brutus and Cassius[9] were not displayed; but for that reason they were present to every imagination, and with superior lustre eclipsed the splendour of that day.

8 Junia was the daughter of Decimus Junius Silanus by Servilia, the sister of Cato of Utica. Servilia was first married to M. Junius Brutus, and by him was the mother of Brutus, who stabbed Julius Cæsar. Junia was, of course, niece to Cato, and half-sister to Brutus. She married Cassius, the friend of Brutus; and thus descended, and thus allied, the sister of one conspirator against Cæsar, and the widow of another, she lived unmolested in the full enjoyment of wealth and honour, to an extreme old age. The battle of Philippi was fought A. U. C. 712. From that time to the year of Rome 775, a period of sixty-three years complete, Junia possessed splendid riches, and was buried at last with all the honours of a public funeral. The moderation of Augustus protected her, and the cruelty of Tiberius was not yet unchained.

9 The constitution being overturned, the assertors of public liberty were not displayed; but as Tacitus elsewhere says, the honour which was denied increased their glory. *Negatus honor gloriam intendit.* Annals, book iv. s. 26.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

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These transactions include six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
776	23	Caius Asinius Pollio, Caius Antistius Vetus.
777	24	Sergius Cornelius Cethegus, Lucius Visellius Varro.
778	25	Marcus Asinius Agrippa, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
779	26	Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, Caius Calvisius Sabinus.
780	27	Marcus Licinius Crassus, Lucius Calpurnius Piso.
781	28	Appius Junius Silanus, Publius Silius Nerva.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

THE consuls for the year, [A.U.C. 776. A.D. 23.] on which we are now entering, were Caius Asinius, and Caius Antistius. Tiberius had reigned nine years. During that time a state of profound tranquillity prevailed at Rome, and the emperor saw the imperial family flourishing with undiminished lustre. The loss of Germanicus gave him no regret; on the contrary, he reckoned that event among the prosperous issues of his reign. But fortune now began to change the scene, and a train of disasters followed. Tiberius threw off the mask; he harassed the people by acts of cruelty, or, which was equally oppressive, by his authority encouraged the tyranny of others. Of this revolution Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, was the prime and efficient cause. The power and influence of that minister have been already mentioned. I shall here give the origin of the man, the features of his character, and the flagitious arts by which he aspired to the supreme power.

He was born at Vulsinii,[1] the son of Seius Strabo,[2] a Roman knight. He attached himself, in his early youth, to Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus. Even at that time he laboured under a suspicion of having prostituted his person to the infamous passions of Apicius,[3] a rich and prodigal voluptuary. By various arts he afterwards gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Tiberius, insomuch that the temper of that prince, to the rest of mankind dark and inscrutable, became to him alone unclouded, free, and complying. This influence, however, was not the effect of superior ability; since Sejanus, in the end, fell a victim to the policy of that very prince, whom he deceived at first. A phenomenon so very extraordinary can be ascribed to nothing less than the wrath of the gods, incensed against the Roman state. Whether the public suffered most by the elevation,[4] or the downfall, of that pernicious minister, it is difficult to determine. His frame of body was vigorous, robust, and patient of labour; his spirit bold and enterprising; in his own conduct a profound dissembler, and to others a sharp and dangerous accuser. With pride that swelled to arrogance, he had the meanness that could fawn and flatter; and, under the outward calm of moderation, he nourished in his heart the most unbounded ambition. Profusion, luxury, and largesses were often his means, but more frequently application to business, and indefatigable industry; virtues that take the name of vice, when they play an under part to inordinate passions and the lust of domination.[5]

II. The commission over the prætorian bands had been always of a limited nature. Sejanus

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 Velleius Paterculus the historian, who lackeyed at the feet of Sejanus, says that the father was chief of the Roman knights. Nothing more is known of him.

3 There were three famous epicures of the name of Apicius: one mentioned by Athenæus; a second in the time of Augustus and Tiberius; and a third, in the reign of Trajan. The second is the person here intended. Seneca says of him, In that city, from which the teachers of philosophy were banished, this man, professing the science of the kitchen, corrupted the manners of the age, by his skill in cookery. *Apicius mentra memoria vixit, qui in ea urbe ex qua philosophi, ut corruptores juventutis abire jussi sunt, scientiam pupinæ professus, disciplina sua sæculum infecit.* Seneca, De Consolatione. Finding himself, after a long course of profusion and gluttony, much involved in debt, and, after satisfying all demands, not worth more than what may be called 100,000*l.*, he finished his days by a dose of poison. Seneca in the place above quoted. For the sake of an anecdote, perhaps little known, it may be proper to mention, there is extant, in the Latin language, a book, importing to be Apicius's Art of Cookery. La Bletterie relates as a certain fact, that Madame Dacier and her husband were almost killed by this book. They found in it a receipt for a particular *ragout*, and being both inclined to dine classically, they were almost poisoned by their learned bill of fare.

4 The pernicious consequences which attended the rise of Sejanus, will be seen in the sequel. His ruin was equally the cause of public calamity; since Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius, while he loved or feared this favourite minister, restrained his passions, but afterwards broke out with unbounded fury. Annals, book iv. s. 51.

5 Assumed and well acted virtues are often more dangerous than the worst vices. Addison's Cato says of Julius Cæsar,

Curse on his virtues! they've undone his country.

enlarged his powers to a degree unknown before. He had the address to collect into one camp the whole corps of the guards, till that time quartered in various parts of Rome. Being embodied, they received their orders with submission; habit and constant intercourse established a spirit of union, and, knowing their numbers, they grew formidable to their fellow-citizens. The pretext for this measure was, that the soldiery grew wanton in idleness, but, when encamped, they might be drawn forth, with better effect, in any sudden emergence, and, being confined within their intrenchments, at a distance from the vices of the metropolis, they would act with greater vigour whenever required. This plan being settled, Sejanus began his approaches to the affections of the soldiers: by affability and caresses, he glided into favour; he applauded the tribunes and centurions; he endeavoured to seduce the senators by corruption; he promoted his creatures, and at his pleasure, bestowed honours and provinces. All this was done, not only with the consent, but with the most complying facility on the part of Tiberius, who now declared openly in favour of the minister, styling him, in private conversation, his associate in the cares of government, and using the same language even to the senate. Nor did he stop here; he allowed the images of his favourite to be worshipped in the theatre, in the forum, and at the head-quarters of the legions, in the place appropriated[1] for the standards and the eagles.

III. As yet, however, the imperial family was in a flourishing state. To secure the succession there was no want of Cæsars. The emperor's son[2] was in the prime of manhood, and his grandsons in the flower of youth. These were obstacles to the views of Sejanus. To assail them with open force, were big with danger; and fraud requires delay, and intervals of guilt. He resolved to work by stratagem. Drusus, against whom Sejanus was inflamed by recent provocations, was marked out as the first victim. It happened that Drusus, impatient of a rival, and by nature fierce, raised his hand, in some sudden dispute, against Sejanus; and that haughty minister advancing forward, received a blow on the face. Stung with indignation, he thought no expedient so sure, as the gaining of the younger Livia,[3] the wife of Drusus, to his interest. The princess was sister to Germanicus; and though, in her younger days, she had no elegance either of shape or feature, she was now grown up in the most perfect form of regular beauty. Sejanus made his advances with the ardour of a lover. Having triumphed over her honour, he found another step in guilt no difficult matter. A woman, who has sacrificed her virtue, soon resigns every other principle. Engaged in a course of adultery, she was led by degrees to embrace the project of murdering her husband in order to marry her paramour, and mount with him to the imperial dignity.

In this manner a woman of illustrious rank, the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, and the mother of children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a vile connection with an adulterer from a municipal town, renouncing the honours which she possessed, for the uncertain prospect of flagitious grandeur. Eudemus,[4] the confidential friend and physician of the faithless wife, was drawn into the conspiracy. Under colour of his profession, this man had easy access to Livia. Sejanus listed him into his service; and that the harmony between himself and the adulteress might be undisturbed by jealousy, he repudiated his wife Apicata, by whom he had three children. But still the magnitude of the crime filled their minds with terror; they fluctuated between opposite counsels; they resolved, they hesitated; delay, and doubt, and confusion followed.

IV. In the beginning of this year, Drusus, the second son of Germanicus, put on the manly robe.[5] The honours, which had been decreed to his brother Nero, were renewed by a vote of the fathers. Tiberius, in a speech upon the occasion, commended the tender regard with which his son protected the children of Germanicus. The truth is, Drusus (though in high stations and among rivals sincerity is seldom found) had acquitted himself towards his nephews with all decent attention, at least without hostility. Amidst these transactions, the old project of visiting the provinces, often intimated, but never in earnest, was revived by Tiberius. For this expedition the ostensible reasons were, the number of veterans entitled to their dismission from the service, and the necessity of recruiting the army with effective men. Of such as voluntarily offered, the number he said was small, and even of those the greatest part were a set of distressed and profligate vagabonds, destitute of

1 The original says, *inter principia legionum*. The same expression often occurs in Tacitus, and requires an explanation. Between the tents of the legions and the tribunes a space of a hundred feet in breadth was left, which formed a large street, called PRINCIPIA, that ran across the whole camp, and divided it into two parts, the upper and lower. Duncan's Cæsar, vol. i. The Roman Art of War.

2 Drusus, and the three sons of Germanicus; Nero, Drusus, and Caligula.

3 She was sister to Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

4 Pliny the elder gives a dark picture of the physicians of his time. They had their opportunities to administer poison, to make wills, and manage intrigues. *Quid enim venenorum fertilius? aut unde plures testamentorum insidiæ? Jam vero et adulteria in principium domibus, ut Eudemi in Livia Drusi Cæsaris* Lib. xxix. s. 8.

5 He was then fourteen years of age.

courage, and strangers to military discipline. He added a list of the Roman legions, specifying the provinces where they were stationed. A review of that estimate will not be useless, or unacceptable, since it will exhibit the national strength at that period, the kings in alliance with Rome, and the narrow limits[6] of the empire, compared with the extent to which they have been since enlarged.

V. In the seas[7] that on each side washed the coast of Italy, two navy were stationed: one at Misenum, the other at Ravenna. The maritime parts of Gaul, adjacent to Italy, were guarded by the large galleys, which were taken at the battle of Actium, and sent by Augustus to Forojulium, well provided with able seamen. But the chief strength of the empire was on the Rhine,[8] consisting of eight legions to bridle at once the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately subdued, was held in subjection by three legions. Juba[9] reigned in Mauritania, deriving his title from the favour of Rome. The rest of Africa was kept in awe by two legions. A like number served in Egypt. In that vast extent of country, which stretches from Syria to the Euphrates, bordering on the confines of Iberia, Albania, and other states under the protection of the Roman arms, four legions maintained the rights of the empire. Thrace was governed by Rhæmetalces[10] and the sons of Cotys. The banks of the Danube were secured by four legions, two in Pannonia, and two in Mæsia. Two more were stationed in Dalmatia, in a situation, if a war broke out at their back, to support the other legions; or, if a sudden emergence required their presence, ready to advance by rapid marches into Italy. Rome at the same time had her own peculiar forces, namely, three city cohorts[11] and nine of the prætorian bands, raised for the most part in Etruria, Umbria,[12] ancient Latium, and the colonies of the old republic. To this national strength must be added the naval armaments of the allies, placed at proper stations,[13] together with their infantry and cavalry, forming, in the whole, a body of troops, not inferior in number to the Roman army. But of the foreign auxiliaries it is impossible to speak with precision. They were shifted from place to place, with numbers now augmented, and now reduced, as occasion required; and, by consequence, an accurate estimate cannot be expected.

VI. To this survey of the empire if we add a view of the constitution, and the manner in which the government was administered by Tiberius, from the beginning of his reign to the present year, the fatal era of tyranny and oppression, the inquiry will not be foreign to our purpose. In the first place, not only the affairs of state, but all questions of importance between the citizens of Rome, were referred to the wisdom of the senate. The leading members of that assembly claimed and exercised full freedom of debate; and when they deviated into flattery, the prince was sure to reject the nauseous strain. In dispensing the honours of government, he had an eye to nobility of birth, to personal merit, and to talents as well civil as military. His choice, it was generally agreed, was made with judgment. The consuls and the prætors enjoyed the ancient honours of their rank and dignity. The subordinate magistrates exercised their functions without control. The laws, if we except those of violated majesty,[14] flowed in their regular channel. The tributes and duties, whether of

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6 In the time of Tiberius, Syene, a city strongly garrisoned, at the farther extremity of Egypt, was the boundary of the Roman empire. Trajan enlarged the limits as far as the Red sea. See book i. s. 11, note; and book ii. s. 61, note.

7 The two seas were Mare Adriaticum, the Adriatic, now the gulf of Venice; Mare Tyrrhenum, now the Tuscan sea. The former was also called *Mare superum*; the latter *Mare inferum*. Virgil says,

'An mare quod supra memorem, quodque alluit infra.'

Misenum, now *Capo di Miseno*, was a promontory in the Tuscan sea: Ravenna was a port in the Adriatic. See the Geographical Table.

8 In Upper and Lower Germany, according to the plan of Augustus. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 1, note.

9 Juba's father was king of Numidia. He attached himself to Pompey's party, and took a decided part against Julius Cæsar. Even after the death of Pompey, he stood at bay with Cæsar, and, at length, received a total overthrow in the battle of Thapsa. Determined, however, not to fall into Cæsar's hands, he retired with Petreius, his fellow-sufferer, and, at the close of a banquet, fell a voluntary victim by the hand of a friend. His son Juba was led to Rome, to walk in Cæsar's triumph. He was educated at the court of Augustus, and distinguished himself by his talents and his literature. Augustus gave him in marriage the young Cleopatra, daughter of the famous Cleopatra, by Mark Antony, and sent him (Numidia being then a Roman province) to reign in Mauritania, A. U. C. 724. For Mauritania, see the Geographical Table.

10 Annals, book ii. s. 67.

11 We are told by Dio, lib. iv. that the establishment under Augustus was ten thousand prætorians, divided into ten cohorts, and six thousand in the city cohorts. The number, therefore, was reduced by Tiberius.

12 For Etruria, Umbria, and ancient Latium, see the Geographical Table.

13 Besides their fleets for the sea service, the Romans had always proper armaments on the Rhine and the Danube.

14 The vile abuse of the law of violated majesty has been mentioned, book iii. s. 38, note. The first men in Rome were victims to it. In Shakspeare's language, *It was a net to enmesh them all.* It will not be amiss to remark, that if we except, as Tacitus does, that single grievance, the description of the nine first years of Tiberius is a more just and better-founded panegyric, than can be found in the glittering page of Velleius Paterculus, or any other professed encomiast. And yet this is the historian whom certain critics have called a painter in dark colours, who loves to represent men worse than they are!

corn or money, were managed by commissioners chosen from the Roman knights. The revenues appropriated to the prince were conducted by men of distinguished probity, and frequently by such, as were known to Tiberius by their character only. Being once appointed, they were never removed. Several, it is well known, grew grey in the same employment. The people, it is true, often complained of the price of corn; but the grievance was not imputable to the emperor. To prevent the consequences of unproductive seasons, or losses at sea, he spared neither money nor attention. In the provinces no new burthens were imposed, and the old duties were collected without cruelty or extortion. Corporal punishment was never inflicted, and confiscation of men's effects was a thing unknown.

VII. In Italy the land-property of the emperor was inconsiderable. Good order prevailed among his slaves. His freedmen were few, and his household was managed with economy. In all questions of right between the emperor and individuals, the courts of justice were open, and the law decided. And yet to this equitable system he did not know how to add a gracious manner: the austerity of his countenance struck men with terror. He continued, however, in the practice of rigid, though not amiable, manners, till the death of Drusus.[1] While that prince survived, Sejanus thought it prudent to advance by slow degrees. He dreaded the resentment of a young man, who did not seek to disguise his passions, but complained aloud, "that the emperor, though he had a son to succeed him, preferred a stranger to share in the administration. How little was that upstart minister removed from being a colleague in the empire! The road of ambition is at first a steep ascent; but the difficulty once surmounted, the passions of designing men list in the enterprise, and tools and agents are ready at hand. The favourite is already master of a camp, and the soldiers wait his nod. Among the monuments of Pompey we behold his statue: the grandchildren of this new man will be allied in blood to the family of Drusus.[2] What remains, but humbly to hope that he will have the modesty to stop in his career, content with what he has already gained?" Such was the discourse of Drusus, not occasional but constant; not in private circles, but at large, and without reserve. His inmost secrets were also known: his wife had forfeited her honour, and was now a spy upon her husband.

VIII. In this posture of affairs, Sejanus thought he had no time to lose. He chose a poison, which, operating as a slow corrosive, might bring on the symptoms of a natural disorder. Lygdus, the eunuch (as was discovered eight years afterwards),[3] administered the draught. While Drusus lay ill, Tiberius, never seeming to be in any degree alarmed, or, it may be, willing to make a display of magnanimity, went as usual to the senate. Even after the prince expired, and before the funeral ceremony was performed, he entered the assembly of the fathers. Perceiving the consuls, with dejected looks, seated on the ordinary benches, like men who mourned for the public loss, he put them in mind of their dignity, and their proper station. The senate melted into tears: but Tiberius, superior to the weakness of nature, delivered an animated speech, in a flowing style, and a tone of firmness. "He was not," he said, "to be informed that his appearance might be thought unseasonable in the moment of recent affliction, when, according to the general custom, the mind, enfeebled with sorrow, can scarce endure the consolation of friends, and almost loathes the light of the sun. Those tender emotions were the condition of humanity, and, therefore, not to be condemned. For his part, he sought a manly remedy; in the embraces of the commonwealth, and in the bosom of the fathers, he came to lay down his sorrows. He lamented the condition of his mother, drooping under the infirmities of age, the tender years of his grandsons, and his own situation now in the decline of life. The children of Germanicus, in the present distress, were the only remaining hopes of the people. He desired that they might be brought before the fathers."

The consuls went forth to meet the princes. Having prepared their tender minds for so august a scene, they presented them to the emperor. Tiberius, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate: "These orphans, conscript fathers, I delivered into the care of their uncle; and, though he was blessed with issue, I desired that he would cherish them as his own, and train them up in a manner worthy of himself and of posterity. But Drusus is no more: I now turn to you, and, in the presence of the gods, in the hearing of my country, I implore you, take under your protection the great-grandchildren of Augustus; adopt the issue of an illustrious line; support them, raise them, mould them at your pleasure for the good of the state; perform at once my duty and your own. As for you, Nero, and you, Drusus, in this assembly you behold your fathers: born as you are in the highest station, your lot is such, that nothing good or evil can befall you, without affecting, at the same time, the interest of the commonwealth."

1 Drusus the son of Tiberius, cut off by Sejanus, as will be seen in the sequel.

2 The statue of Sejanus was placed in Pompey's theatre. See book iii. s. 72. His daughter was also to be married to Drusus, the son of Claudius, afterwards emperor. For Drusus, see the Genealogical Table, No. 102.

3 The discovery was made by Lygdus A. U. C. 784. See this book, s. 11; and book v. supplement, s. 38.

IX. This speech drew tears from the whole assembly: vows and supplications followed. Had Tiberius known where to stop, instead of adding what exceeded the bounds of probability, every heart would have been touched with sympathy, and every mind impressed with the glory of the prince. But by recurring to the stale and chimerical project, so often heard with derision, the project of abdicating the sovereignty, and resigning the reigns of government to the consuls, or any other person willing to undertake the task, he weakened the force of sentiments in themselves just and honourable. The solemnities which had been decreed to the memory of Germanicus, were renewed in honour of Drusus, with considerable additions, agreeable to the genius of flattery, always studious of novelty. The funeral ceremony was distinguished by a long train of illustrious images. In the procession were seen Æneas, the father of the Julian race; the Alban kings; Romulus, the founder of Rome; the Sabine nobility, with Attus Clausus[4] at their head, and from him the whole line of the Claudian family.

X. In this account of the death of Drusus, the best and most authentic historians have been my guides. A report, however, which gained credit at the time, and has not yet died away, ought not to be omitted. It was currently said, that Sejanus, having gained the person and the heart of Livia, proceeded to a fouler intrigue with Lygdus the eunuch, and, by an infamous amour, drew to his interest that tool of iniquity, who was one of the domestic attendants of Drusus, and, for his youth and the graces of his person, high in favour with his master. The time and place for administering the poison being settled by the conspirators, Sejanus had the hardihood to change his plan. He contrived, by secret insinuations, to charge Drusus with a plot against his father's life, and dared to whisper a caution to Tiberius, not to taste the first cup that should be offered to him at his son's table. Deceived by this stroke of perfidy, the old man received the cup, and presented it to his son. The prince, with the frankness and gaiety of youth, drank it off; but the alacrity served only to confirm the suspicions entertained by the emperor. His conclusion was, that Drusus, overwhelmed with fear and shame, was in haste to give himself the death, which he had prepared for his father.

XI. A report of this kind, current among the populace, but unsupported by any good authority, cannot stand the test of examination. What man of plain common-sense, not to speak of a consummate statesman like Tiberius, would sent inevitable death to his only a[illegible] so much as hearing him, and thus pr[illegible]ately commit a fatal deed, never to be recalled? Would it not have been more natural to put the cup-bearer to the torture? Why not inquire who mixed the liquor? Above all, is it probable that Tiberius, ever slow and indecisive, would at once forget the habits of his nature, and, in the case of an only son, a son too never charged with any crime, act with a degree of rashness, which he had never practised to the remotest stranger? The truth is, Sejanus was known to be capable of every species of villany, however atrocious: the partiality of the emperor increased the number of his enemies; and, both the sovereign and the favourite being objects of public detestation, malignity itself could frame no tale so black, and even improbable, that men were not willing to believe.

The death of princes is always variously reported, and common fame is sure to add a tragic catastrophe. Some years afterwards, the particulars of the murder were brought to light by Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and confirmed by Eudemus and Lygdus on the rack. In the number of historians, who were envenomed against Tiberius, and with diligence collected anecdotes to wage eternal war against his memory, not one has gone so far as to impute to him a share in this foul transaction. The story, however, such as it is, I have represented in its native colours, willing to flatter myself that, by so glaring an instance, I may destroy the credit of fabulous narrations,[5] and prevail with the reader, into whose hands this work may fall, not to prefer the fictions of romance, however greedily swallowed by vulgar credulity, to the precision of sober history.

XII. Tiberius, in a public speech, delivered the funeral panegyric of his son.[6] The senate and the people attended in their mourning garments; but their grief was mere outward show, the effect of dissimulation, not of sentiment. They rejoiced in secret, conceiving that from this event the house of Germanicus would begin to flourish. But the dawn of happiness was soon overclouded. The exultation of the people, and the indiscretion of Agrippina, who

4 Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine, went in the train of followers to settle at Rome, A. U. C. 250. He was well received, and from that time called Appius Claudius, the founder of the Claudian race. Livy, lib. ii. s. 16. Annals, book xi. s. 24.

5 This passage affords a proof of the historian's integrity.

6 Seneca represents Tiberius with an inflexible countenance delivering a speech that melted the audience into tears. He adds, by this firmness, so singular on such an occasion, Tiberius proved to Sejanus, who stood at his elbow, that he could see unmoved the desolation of his family. *Experiendum se dedit Sejano ut latus stanti, quam patienter posset suos perdere.* Consol. ad Marciam, s. 15. About four or five months after the death of Drusus, deputies arrived from *Ilium* to condole with Tiberius: And I, he said, condole with you for the loss of Hector. Suet. in Tib. s. 54.

had not the policy to suppress the emotions of her heart, accelerated her own ruin, and that of her sons. Emboldened by success, Sejanus was ready to go forward in guilt. He saw the murder of Drusus pass with impunity, and even without a sign of public regret. Successful villany inspired him with new courage. He saw that the sons of Germanicus were the presumptive heirs of Tiberius, and for that reason began to plot their destruction. Being three in number, they could not all be taken off by poison, while a set of faithful attendants watched them with a vigilant eye, and the virtue of Agrippina was impregnable.

That very virtue was, therefore, to be turned against her. Sejanus called it pride and contumacy. By [illegible] he roused the inveterate hatred of the elder Livia; and the younger of the name, so recently an accomplice in the murder of Drusus, was easily induced to join in a second conspiracy. They represented Agrippina to Tiberius as a woman proud of her children, intoxicated with popularity, and of a spirit to engage in any dangerous enterprise. The widow of Drusus knew how to choose fit agents for her purpose. Among her instruments of iniquity was Julius Posthumus, a man high in favour with the elder Livia. He had been for some time engaged in an adulterous commerce with Mutilia Prisca, and, through her influence, was graciously received at court. By his subtle practices, and the whispers conveyed by Prisca, the old woman, naturally fond of power, and jealous of every rival, was easily inflamed against her granddaughter. At the same time, such of Agrippina's attendants as had easy access to her presence, were instructed to choose, in conversation with their mistress, the topics most likely to exasperate a mind fierce with pride, and ready to take fire on every occasion.

XIII. Meanwhile, Tiberius, hoping to find in business some respite from the anxieties of his heart, attended to the administration of justice in all disputes between the citizens of Rome. He likewise heard petitions from the provinces and the allies. At his desire, the cities of Cibyra[1] in Asia, and Ægium in Achaia, which had suffered by an earthquake, were exempted from their usual tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus, proconsul of the farther Spain, was found guilty of oppression in the course of his administration, and, being a man of savage manners, banished to the isle of Amorgos. Carsius Sacerdos, accused of having supplied Tacfarinas with corn, was tried and acquitted. Caius Gracchus was charged with the same crime, and in like manner declared innocent. He had been carried in his infancy to the isle of Cercina by Sempronius Gracchus,[2] his father, who was condemned to banishment. In that place, amidst a crew of outlaws and abandoned fugitives, he grew up in ignorance. To gain a livelihood, he became a dealer in petty merchandize on the coast of Africa and Sicily. His obscurity, however, did not shelter him from the dangers of a higher station. Innocent as he was, if Ælius Lamia[3] and Lucius Apronius, formerly proconsuls of Africa, had not espoused his cause, he must have sunk under the weight of the prosecution, a sacrifice to the splendid name of his family, and the misfortunes of his father.

XIV. In the course of the year, deputations from Greece, on the old subject of sanctuaries, were heard before the senate. The people of Samos claimed an ancient privilege for the temple of Juno; and those of Coos, for that of Æsculapius. The former relied on a decree of the Amphictyons,[4] the court of supreme authority, at the time when colonies from Greece were in possession of the maritime parts of Asia. The deputies from Coos had also their ancient precedents, besides a claim founded on their own peculiar merit. In the general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia and the isles adjacent, committed by order of Mithridates,[5] they gave refuge to numbers in the temple of Æsculapius. This business being over, the complaint against the licentiousness of stage-players, often urged by the prætors, and, always without effect, was taken up by Tiberius. He stated, "that the people of that profession were guilty of seditious practices, and, in many instances, corrupted the morals of private families. The buffoonery of the Oscan farce,[6] which in

1 For *Cibyra* and *Ægium*, see the Geographical Table.

2 See Annals, book i. s. 53. For *Cercina*, see Geographical Table.

3 Lucius Apronius has been mentioned, book iii. s. 21. For Ælius Lamia, see Annals, book vi. s. 27.

4 The assembly of the *Amphictyones* was the grand council or national convention of Greece. Whether it was founded by *Amphictyon* the son of *Deucalion*, or by *Acrisius*, according to Strabo's opinion, is a question covered by the clouds that hang over remote ages. The confederate cities of Greece sent their representatives to this general assembly, which at different periods, underwent various changes, some cities renouncing the league, and others being admitted. *Pausanias*, who lived in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that the *Amphictyones* were then entire, and that the number was thirty, being delegated from the cities which he enumerates. The assembly had every year two set meetings; one in the spring at *Delphos*, and the other in the autumn at *Thermopylæ*. See Potter's Antiquities, vol. i. page 89; and also the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. iii. and v.

5 While Rome was made a theatre of blood by Marius and Sylla, Mithridates, king of Pontus, committed a general massacre of the Roman citizens throughout Asia, A. U. C. 666; before the Christian era 88.

6 The *Oscan* Farce (called also the *Atellan Fable*, from *Atella*, a town in Campania) was invented by the Osci, a people originally of Etruria, but finally settled in Campania. Liv. lib. vii. s. 2. See also Vossius.

its origin afforded but little pleasure even to the dregs of the people, was now grown to such a height of depravity as well as credit, that the mischief called for the interposition of the senate." The players were banished out of Italy.

XV. Tiberius felt this year two severe strokes of affliction: he lost one of the twin-sons of Drusus,[7] and also his intimate friend Lucilius Longus, a man connected with him in the closest friendship; in all scenes, either of good or adverse fortune, his faithful companion, and, of all the senators, the only one that followed him in his retreat to the isle of Rhodes. Though of no distinction, and in fact a new man, his funeral was performed with the pomp belonging to the censorial order;[8] and a statue was decreed to his memory in the Forum of Augustus, at the public expense. All business was, at this time, still transacted in the senate. The forms of the constitution remained; and accordingly Lucilius Capito, who had been collector of the imperial revenues in Asia, was brought to his trial before the fathers, at the suit of the province. Tiberius thought proper to declare, "That the commission granted to the accused, extended only to the slaves and revenues of the prince. Should it appear that he assumed the prætorian authority, and, to support his usurpation, called in the aid of the military, he went beyond the line of his duty; and, in that case, the allegations of the province ought to be heard." The business came to a hearing, and Capito was condemned. The cities of Asia, to mark their sense of this act of justice, and their gratitude for the punishment of Caius Silanus[9] in the preceding year, voted a statue to Tiberius, to Livia, and the senate. They applied to the fathers for their consent, and succeeded. Nero, in the name of the province, returned thanks to the senate and his grandfather. He was heard with pleasure by the whole audience. Germanicus was still present to their minds; and, in the son, men fancied that they saw and heard the father. The figure of the young prince was interesting. An air of modesty, united to the dignity of his person, charmed every eye; and the well-known animosity of Sejanus engaged all hearts in his favour.

XVI. About this time the office of high priest of Jupiter became vacant by the death of Servius Maluginensis. Tiberius, in a speech to the senate, proposed that they should proceed to the choice of a successor, and at the same time pass a new law to regulate that business for the future. The custom had been to name three patricians, descended from a marriage, contracted according to the rites of CONFARREATION.[10] Out of the number so proposed, one was to be elected. "But this mode was no longer in use. The ceremony of confarreation was grown obsolete; or, if observed, it was by a few families only. Of this alteration many causes might be assigned; and chiefly the inattention of both sexes to the interests of religion. The ceremonies, it is true, are attended with some difficulty; and for that reason they are fallen into disuse. Besides this, the priest so chosen was no longer subject to paternal authority; and the woman, who gave him her hand in marriage, was entitled to the same exemption. To remedy these inconveniences, a law is necessary. Many customs, that held too much the rigour of antiquity, were new-modelled by Augustus in conformity to the polished manners of the times."

After due deliberation, it was thought advisable by the fathers to leave the priesthood on its old establishment, without innovation. With regard to the priestess, a new law took place. In her religious functions, it was declared, that she should be in the power of her husband only, subject in all other respects to the laws of her sex, without any privilege to distinguish her from other women. The son of Maluginensis succeeded to his father. In order to give new weight and consideration to the sacerdotal order, and to inspire the ministers of the altar with zeal for the sacred rites, a grant of two thousand great sesterces was ordered for Cornelia, the vestal virgin, who was at this time chosen superior of the order, in the room of Scantia. In compliment to Livia it was further decreed, that, whenever she visited the theatre, her seat should be among the vestal virgins.

XVII. In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Vifellius Varro, [A. U. C. 777. A. D. 24.] the pontiffs, and, after their example, the other orders of the priesthood, thought proper to blend with the solemn vows which they offered for the safety of the emperor, the names of Nero and Drusus. Zeal for the young princes was not altogether their motive: they had an indirect design to pay their court. But in that age the safe line of conduct was not easily settled. To abstain from flattery was dangerous; and to be lavish of it, provoked contempt, and even resentment. Tiberius, never friendly to the house of Germanicus, saw with

7 He was about four years old. See book ii. s. 84. See the Genealogical Table, No. 72 and 73.

8 The censorian funeral was the highest honour that could be paid to the deceased. The purple robe, and other *insignia*, distinguished it from a public funeral. See Polybius, lib. vi.

9 He was mentioned, Annals, book iii. s. 66.

10 Three forms of contracting marriage prevailed at Rome. 1. When a woman cohabited with one man for the space of a year. 2. When the marriage was a kind of bargain and sale between the parties, which was called *coemptio*. 3. When the chief pontiff, distributing flour in the presence of ten witnesses, joined the bride and bridegroom. This was called marriage by CONFARREATION. Other marriages were easily dissolved; but that by confarreation required the same solemnities (*Diffarreatio*) to divorce the parties. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 497.

indignation two boys exalted to a level with himself. He ordered the pontiffs to attend him. In the interview that followed, he desired to know whether, in what they had done, they complied either with the solicitations or the menaces of Agrippina. Being answered in the negative, he dismissed them with a reprimand, but in gentle terms, most of the order being either his relations, or the first men in Rome. Not content, however, with expressing his disapprobation in private, he desired, in a speech to the senate, that all might be upon their guard, not to inflame the minds of young men with ideas of power, and, by consequence, with a spirit above their station. Sejanus was the prompter in this business. He had the ear of the emperor, and filled him with apprehensions that Rome was divided into factions, inflamed against each other with no less fury than if they were actually engaged in a civil war. There were those, he said, who called themselves the partisans of Agrippina: if not suppressed, they would in time become too powerful. To check the growing discord, there was nothing left but to cut off one or two of the most active leaders.

XVIII. The first blow was struck at Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. Their connection with Germanicus was their crime; but Silius was obnoxious for various reasons. He had been, during a space of seven years, at the head of a powerful army: by his conduct in Germany he had gained triumphal ornaments; he conquered Sacrovir, and quelled the insurrection in Gaul. Falling from that elevation, his ruin would resound far and wide, and spread a general terror. His own indiscretion was thought at the time to have incensed Tiberius, and, by consequence, it provoked his fate. Success inspired him with vain-glory. He boasted, that the army under his command continued in firm fidelity, while sedition raised her standard in every other camp; and if the spirit of revolt had reached his legions, the imperial dignity would have tottered on the head of the prince. Tiberius took the alarm: he thought his own importance lessened, and his fortune, great as it was, unable to recompense such extraordinary services. He felt himself under obligations to his officer; and obligations (such is the nature of the human mind) are only then acknowledged, when it is in our power to requite them: if they exceed all measures, to be insolvent is painful, and gratitude gives way to hatred.

XIX. Sosia Galla, the wife of Silius, was closely connected with Agrippina, and, for that reason, detested by Tiberius. She and her husband were doomed to fall an immediate sacrifice. Sabinus was reserved for a future day. Against the two former, Varro, the consul, undertook the despicable part of public prosecutor. Pretending to adopt the resentments of his father, he became the servile agent of Sejanus. Silius requested that the trial might be deferred, till the consul, now turned accuser, should cease to be in office. Though the interval was short, Tiberius opposed the motion, alleging, that men were frequently arraigned by the other magistrates; and why abridge the authority of the consul? It is his duty to take care that the commonwealth may receive no injury. Such was the state-craft of Tiberius: to crimes invented by himself he gave the old republican names, and by that artifice amused the public.

The senate was summoned with regular solemnity, as if the proceeding was to be according to law; as if Varro was, in truth, acting the part of consul, and in the reign of Tiberius the constitution still remained in vigour. Silius made no defence. He broke silence, indeed, at different times, but merely to show that he saw in what quarter the arm of oppression was raised against him. The heads of the accusation were, that, in a dark conspiracy with Sacrovir, he concealed the machinations of that insurgent; that his victory was tarnished by cruelty, and that, with his connivance, acts of rapacity and oppression were committed by his wife. The last article was too well founded; but the prosecution went altogether on the crime of violated majesty. Silius saw that his doom was fixed, and to prevent final judgment, put an end to his life.

XX. The law, notwithstanding, laid hold of his effects: not however to make restitution to the Gauls; for the Gauls made no claim. The whole of what the unhappy victim had received from the bounty of Augustus, after an exact estimate made, was seized, and carried into the treasury of the prince. In this instance, Tiberius, for the first time, looked with the eye of avarice on the property of others. On the motion of Asinius Gallus, Sosia was ordered into exile. By that senator it was further proposed, that part of her effects should be confiscated, and the remainder given to her children. Manius Lepidus contended, that one-fourth should go, as [1] the law directed, to the prosecutors, and the residue to her children. This sentence prevailed. It is but justice to the character of Lepidus,[2] to observe in this place, that, considering the times in which he lived, he appears to have been a man of ability, temperate, wise, and upright. The violent measures often proposed by others, always the result of servile adulation, were, by his address, frequently rejected, altered, or modified, with so much good sense and temper, that he preserved at once his credit at court, and the esteem of the public.

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1 What law this was is not agreed among the commentators; but as Tacitus says that Silius was tried on the *Lex Majestatis*, Lipsius thinks that was the law cited on this occasion.

2 Manius Lepidus has been already mentioned, book i. s. 13; book iii. s. 50. For more of him, see Annals, book vi. s. 27.

This happiness, so singular and so fairly enjoyed, arrests our attention, and naturally raises an inquiry whether the favour or antipathy of princes, like all other sublunary contingencies, is governed by the immutable laws of fate;[3] and, by consequence, the lot of man may be said to be determined in his natal hour. The question is intricate; but perhaps free will and moral agency are still so far allowed, that each individual may chalk out the line of his own conduct, and, by steering between the opposite extremes of blunt austerity and abject meanness, pursue a middle course with safety and with honour. Messalinus Cotta, a man equal in point of birth to Manius Lepidus, but of a very different character, moved for a decree, declaring that all magistrates, however blameless in their own conduct, and even ignorant of the guilt of others, should, notwithstanding, be responsible for the unlawful acts committed in the provinces by their wives.

XXI. The business brought forward in the next place, was the charge against Calpurnius Piso,[4] that illustrious citizen, distinguished not more by the nobility of his birth, than by his unshaken virtue, who, as has been related, threatened a secession from Rome, in order to find, in some remote place, a shelter from the vices of the age, and the harpies of the law. It may be remembered, likewise, that in the cause against Urgulania, he scorned to yield to the weight and influence of the emperor's mother, but cited the defendant from the very palace of the prince. His conduct, at the time, was treated by Tiberius as the exercise of a civil right; but in a mind like his, that which at first made a slight impression, was sure to be imbittered by reflection. Quintus Granius was the prosecutor of Piso. He exhibited an accusation for words spoken in private against the majesty of the emperor; for keeping poison in his house; and entering the senate with a concealed dagger. The two last articles, too gross to be believed, were thrown out of the case. Other allegations were heaped together to swell the charge; and Piso, it was determined, was to be brought to his trial: but a natural death put an end to the prosecution.

A new complaint was presented to the senate against Cassius Severus,[5] a man of mean extraction, void of principle, profligate in his manners, but an orator of considerable eloquence. He had been, by a judgment pronounced under the sanction of an oath, condemned to exile in the isle of Crete. Persisting there in his licentious practices, he rekindled the indignation of the fathers, and by new vices provoked new enemies. Stripped of all his effects, and interdicted from fire and water, he was removed to the isle of Seriphus,[6] where, in old age and misery, he languished on the rocks.

XXII. About this time Plautius Silvanus, one of the prætors, impelled by some secret motive, threw his wife Apronia out of the window of her apartment, and killed her on the spot. Being immediately seized by his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, and conveyed to the presence of the emperor, he made answer, with an air of distraction, that, while he lay asleep, his wife committed that act of violence. Tiberius went directly to the house. He examined the apartment, and saw evident signs of a person who had struggled, but was overcome by force. He made his report to the senate, and commissioners were appointed to inquire and pronounce their judgment. Urgulania, the grandmother of Silvanus, sent a dagger to him as her best present. This, on account of her known intimacy with Livia, was supposed to proceed from Tiberius. The criminal, after attempting, but with irresolution, to apply the dagger to his breast, ordered his veins to be opened. In a short time afterwards Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having, by drugs and magic spells, distempered his brain. She was acquitted of the charge.

XXIII. The war with Tacfarinas, the Numidian, by which Rome had been long embroiled, was this year happily terminated. The former commanders, as soon as they had laid a foundation for the obtaining of triumphal ornaments, considered their business as finished, and gave the enemy time to breathe. There were at Rome no less than three statues[7] decorated with laurel, and yet Tacfarinas ravaged the province. He was reinforced by the neighbouring Moors, who saw with indignation their new king Ptolemy, the son of Juba,[8] resign, with youthful inexperience, the reins of government to his freedmen. The malcontents of that nation went over to the banners of Tacfarinas, determined to try the fortune of war, rather than tamely submit to the tyranny of enfranchised slaves. The

3 The word *immutable* is inserted in the translation, perhaps improperly; since Tacitus, who points out the safest course to steer, does not seem to admit an inevitable fate.

4 Calpurnius Piso has been mentioned, much to his honour, book ii. s. 34.

5 Cassius Severus was an orator of eminence, and a virulent libeller of the first persons of both sexes. He was banished by Augustus. For more of him, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 19, note.

6 Seriphus, a small island in the Ægean sea. See the Geographical Table. Juvenal says,

——Et parva tandem caruisse Seripho.

Sat. vi. ver. 563.

And in satire x.,

Ut Gyari clausus scopulis, parvaque Seripho.

7 The three statues were, for Furius Camillus, book ii. s. 52; L. Apronius, book iii. s. 21; Junius Blæsus, book iii. s. 72.

8 Ptolemy was the son of Juba, who was made king of Mauritania by Augustus. See this book, s. 5, note. He was put to death by Caligula A. U. C. 793. Suet. in Calig. s. 26.

king[1] of the Garamantes entered into a secret league with the Numidian. Not choosing to take the field at the head of his forces, he helped to carry on a war of depredation. His dominions were a depository for all their plunder. His troops went out in detached parties, and, as is usual in all distant commotions, were magnified by the voice of fame into a prodigious army. Even from the[2] Roman province, all who struggled with want, or by their crimes were rendered desperate, went over to Tacfarinas. A recent incident encouraged the revolt. In consequence of the success of Blæsus, Tiberius, thinking the war at an end, ordered the ninth legion to be recalled. Dolabella, the proconsul for the year, saw the inexpedience of the measure; but dreading the anger of Tiberius more than the incursions of the enemy, he did not venture, even for the defence of the province, to detain the troops.

XXIV. Tacfarinas, availing himself of this circumstance, spread a rumour round the country, that the Roman empire being invaded on every side, Africa, by degrees, was to be evacuated, and the remainder of the legions might be easily cut off, if all who preferred their liberty to ignominious bondage, would take up arms in defence of their country. He gained, by these artifices, a new accession of strength, and laid siege to the city of Thubuscum. Dolabella, with what force he could collect, marched to the relief of the place. The terror of the Roman name was on his side, and the affair was with an enemy, who could never sustain the shock of a well-embodied infantry. He no sooner showed himself in force, than the Numidians abandoned the siege. Dolabella, at all convenient places, fortified his post, and stationed garrisons to secure the country. Finding the Musulanians on the point of a revolt, he seized their chiefs, and ordered their heads to be struck off. Experience had taught him, that a regular army, encumbered with baggage, could give but a bad account of a wild and desultory enemy, who made war by sudden incursions, and avoided a decisive action: he therefore resolved to vary his operations, and having called to his aid the young king Ptolemy, at the head of a large body of his subjects, he divided his army into four detached parties, under the command of his lieutenants, and the military tribunes. A chosen band of Moors, conducted by officers of that nation, had orders to ravage the country. The proconsul marched himself in person, ready at hand to direct the motions of his army, and give vigour to the enterprise.

XXV. Intelligence was brought soon after, that the Numidians, depending upon the advantages of a situation encompassed by a depth of forest, had pitched their huts near the ruins of a castle, called Auzea,[3] which they had formerly destroyed by fire. The cavalry and light cohorts, ignorant of their destination, were sent forward without delay. They made a forced march in the night, and at break of day arrived before the place. The Barbarians, scarce awake, were alarmed on every side with warlike shouts and the clangor of trumpets. Their horses were either fastened to stakes, or let loose to wander on the pasture grounds. The Romans advanced in order of battle, their infantry in close array, and the cavalry prepared for action. The Barbarians were taken by surprise, no arms at hand, no order, no concerted measure. They were attacked without delay, and like a herd of cattle mangled, butchered, taken. The Roman soldiers, fierce with resentment for all their toil and fatigue, rushed with fury against an enemy, who had so often fled from their sword. The victorious troops were glutted with Numidian blood. The word was given through the ranks, that Tacfarinas was the proper object of their vengeance: his person was well known; his death, and nothing less, could end the war. That daring adventurer saw his guards fall on every side. His son was already in fetters, and he himself hemmed in by the Romans. In despair he rushed forward, where the shower of darts was thickest, and selling his life at the dearest rate, had the glory of dying in freedom. This event quieted the commotions in Africa.

XXVI. For these services Dolabella expected triumphal ornaments: but Tiberius, apprehending that Sejanus would think the honours, granted to his uncle Blæsus, tarnished by the success of a rival, refused to comply with the request. Blæsus gained no additon to his fame, while that of Dolabella grew brighter by injustice. With an inferior army, he had taken a number of prisoners, among whom were the leading chiefs of the nation: and, by the death of Tacfarinas, he put an end to the war. At his return from Africa, he gave a spectacle rarely seen at Rome, a train of ambassadors from the Garamantes! The people of that country, conscious of their guilt, and by the death of the Numidian chief thrown into consternation, sent their deputies to appease the resentment of the emperor. The services of king Ptolemy being stated to the senate, an ancient custom, long since fallen into disuse, was revived in honour of that monarch. The fathers sent a member of their body, to present[4] an ivory sceptre and a painted

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 In general, when Africa occurs, Tacitus intends the Roman province, now *the kingdom of Tunis*.

3 A castle in Numidia, now totally destroyed.

4 Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions the same presents sent to Porsena by the Roman senate, A. U. C. 249. Painted robes occur frequently in Homer, and (according to Pliny, lib. viii. c 48) were used afterwards as triumphal ornaments.

robe, the ancient gift to kings, with instructions, at the same time, to salute young Ptolemy, by the titles of King, Ally, and Friend of the Roman People.

XXVII. During the same summer, a servile war was ready to break out in Italy; but, by a fortunate accident, the flame was soon extinguished. The incendiary, who excited the commotion, was formerly a soldier in the prætorian bands, by name Titus Curtisius. This man began his seditious practices in private cabals at Brundusium, and the adjacent towns. Having made his impression, he went the length of fixing up in public places seditious libels, inviting the agrarian slaves to issue from their woods and wilds, and take up arms in the cause of liberty. It happened, however, that three galleys, employed in the navigation of those seas, arrived providentially on the coast. Curtius Lupus, the quæstor, in whose province it was, according to ancient usage, to superintend the roads[5] through the forests, was at that time, in the neighbourhood. He ordered the mariners to be landed, and, putting himself at their head, crushed the conspiracy in the bud. Statius, a military tribune, had been, on the first alarm, despatched by Tiberius with a strong band of soldiers. He arrived in good time, and, having seized the chief conspirators with their leader, returned to Rome with his prisoners bound in chains. The capital, at that time, was far from being in a state of tranquillity. Men saw, with terror, a vast multitude of slaves increasing[6] beyond all proportion, while the number of freeborn citizens was visibly on the decline.

XXVIII. During the same consulship, a scene of horror, that gave a shock to nature, and marked the cruelty of the times, was acted in the face of the world. A father pleaded for his life, while the son stood forth the accuser. The name of each was Vibius Serenus.[7] They appeared before the senate. The father had been banished. He was now dragged from his retreat, deformed with filth, and loaded with irons; a spectacle of misery. The son came forward in trim apparel, ease in his mein, and alacrity in his countenance. He charged the old man with a conspiracy against the life of the emperor, and with sending emissaries into Gaul to kindle the flame of rebellion: and thus the son acted in a double character, at once the accuser, and the witness. He added, that Cæcilius Cornutus, of prætorian rank, supplied the accomplices with money. Cornutus, weary of life, and knowing that a prosecution was a prelude to destruction, laid violent hands on himself. Serenus, on the contrary, with a spirit undismayed, fixed his eye on his son, and clanking his chains, exclaimed, "Restore me, just and vindictive gods, restore me to my place of banishment, far from the sight of men, who suffer such an outrage to humanity. For that parricide, may your vengeance, in due time, overtake his guilt." He pronounced Cornutus an innocent man, but destitute of courage, weak, and easily alarmed. He desired that the confederates in the plot might be named, and, by a minute inquiry, the truth, he said, would be brought to light. "For can it be, that, with only one accomplice, I should undertake to imbrue my hands in the blood of the emperor, and to overturn the government?"

XXIX. The informer gave in the names of Cneius Lentulus and Seius Tubero. The mention of those men threw Tiberius into confusion. They were both of illustrious rank, both his intimate friends. That Lentulus, in the evening of his days, and Tubero drooping under bodily infirmity, should be charged with meditating an insurrection in Gaul, and a conspiracy against the state, made a deep impression on his spirits. Against them no further inquiry was made. The slaves of the aged father were examined on the rack, and, by their testimony, every allegation was refuted. The son, overwhelmed with a sense of his guilt, and terrified by the indignation of the populace, who threatened[8] the dungeon, the Tarpeian rock, and all the pains and penalties of parricide, made his escape from Rome. He was retaken at Ravenna, and carried back to proceed in his accusation, and gratify the spleen of Tiberius, who hated the old man, and, upon this occasion, did not disguise his rancour. Vibius, it seems, soon after the condemnation of Libo,[9] complained by letter to the emperor, that his services in that business had not been duly recompensed. The style of his remonstrance was more free and bold, than can with safety be addressed to the proud ear of power, at all times sensibly alive to every expression, and easily alarmed. At the distance of eight years Tiberius showed that he had been ruminating mischief. The intermediate time, he said, though no proof could be extorted from the slaves, was passed by the prisoner in a continued series of atrocious crimes.

XXX. The question being put, the majority

5 When Julius Cæsar was joint consul with Marcus Bibulus, the patricians, with the approbation of Cato, agreed to assign the departments of smallest consequence, such as woods and roads (*sylvæ callesque*) to the care of the new consuls. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 19.

6 The slaves, increasing in consequence of luxury, began to outnumber the freeborn citizens.

7 We have seen Vibius Serenus, the father, who had been proconsul in Spain, banished to the island of Amergos. This book, s. 13.

8 The populace threatened the *Robur*, which was the dark dungeon; the *Saxum*, or the *Tarpeian Rock*, from which the malefactors were thrown headlong down; and the pains and penalties of parricides, described by Cicero in his oration Pro Roscio Amerino, s. 26.

9 For the iniquitous proceedings against Libo, see book ii. s. 27.

was for a capital punishment, according to the rigour of ancient law. Tiberius, to soften popular prejudice, opposed so harsh a sentence. Asinius Gallus moved that Serenus should be banished to the isle of Gyarus or Donusa. This also was opposed by the emperor. In those islands there was a dearth of water; and when life is granted, the means of supporting it ought to follow. The old man was remanded to the island of Amorgos. As Cornutus had despatched himself, a motion was made, that whenever the person accused of violated majesty, prevented judgment by a voluntary death, the informers should be entitled to no reward.[1] The fathers inclined to that opinion; but Tiberius, in plain terms, without his usual ambiguity, showed himself the patron of the whole race of informers. "The course of justice," he said, "would be stopped, and, by such a decision, the commonwealth would be brought to the brink of ruin. It were better to abrogate all laws at once. If we must have laws, let us not remove the vigilance that gives them energy." In this manner that pernicious crew, the bane and scourge of society, who, in fact, have never been effectually restrained, were now let loose, with the wages of iniquity in view, to harass and destroy their fellow-citizens.

XXXI. Through the cloud of these tempestuous times a gleam of joy broke forth. Caius Cominius, a Roman knight, was convicted for being author of defamatory verses against the emperor; but at the intercession of his brother, a member of the senate, Tiberius pardoned the offence. This act of lenity, standing in contrast to a series of evil deeds, made men wonder, that he, who knew the fair renown that waits on the virtues of humanity, should persevere in the practice of cruelty and oppression. Want of discernment was not among the faults of Tiberius; nor was he misled by the applause of temporizing courtiers. Between the praise which adulation offers, and that which flows from sentiment, a mind like his could easily distinguish. His own manner marked his sense of good and evil. Though close and guarded on most occasions, even to a degree of hesitation, it was remarkable, that, when he meant a generous act, his language was fluent, clear, and unequivocal.

In a matter that came on soon after, against Publius Suilius,[2] formerly quæstor under Germanicus, and now convicted of bribery in a cause where he sat in judgment, the emperor, not content with a general sentence of banishment out of Italy, insisted that he ought to be confined to an island. This decision he urged in a tone of vehemence, averring, with the solemnity of an oath, that the interest of the commonwealth required it. And yet this proceeding, condemned at the time, as harsh and violent, was, in a subsequent reign, allowed to be founded in justice. Suilius was recalled by Claudius. He then announced his real character; proud, imperious, corrupt, and venal; high in favour with the reigning prince, and using his influence for the worst of purposes. Catus Firmius was, in like manner, condemned, on a charge of having maliciously accused his sister on the law of majesty. It was this man, as has been related, who first deceived the unsuspecting Libo,[3] and then betrayed him to his ruin. For that sacrifice of all truth and honour, Tiberius was not ungrateful. To reward his services, yet pretending to act with other motives, he overruled the sentence of banishment, but agreed that he should be expelled the senate.

XXXII. The transactions hitherto related, and those which are to follow, may, I am well aware, be thought of little importance, and beneath the dignity of history. But no man, it is presumed, will think of comparing these annals with the historians of the old republic. Those writers had for their subject, wars of the greatest magnitude; cities taken by storm; kings overthrown, or led in captivity to Rome: and when from those scenes of splendour they turned their attention to domestic occurrences, they had still an ample field before them; they had dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes; they had agrarian laws, the price of corn, and the populace and patrician order inflamed with mutual animosity. Those were objects that filled the imagination of the reader, and gave free scope to the genius of the writer. The work, in which I am engaged, lies in a narrow compass; the labour is great, and glory there is none. A long and settled calm, scarce lifted to a tempest; wars no sooner begun than ended; a gloomy scene at home, and a prince without ambition, or even a wish to enlarge the boundaries of the empire: these are the scanty materials that lie before me. And yet materials like these are not to be undervalued; though slight in appearance, they still merit attention, since they are often the secret spring of the most important events.

XXXIII. If we consider the nature of civil government, we shall find, that, in all nations,

1 When the person accused was found guilty, the fourth part of his estate and effects went to the prosecutors; but if he prevented judgment by a voluntary death, his property descended to his heirs; and, in that case, the emperor paid his harpies out of the *fiscus*, the imperial exchequer, that is, out of his own coffers. Tiberius no doubt felt uneasy under the burden of so heavy an expense.

2 Suilius was accused by Seneca in the reign of Nero, In return he declaimed with virulence against the philosopher; but, in the end, was banished to one of the Balearic islands, and there ended his days. Annals, book xiii. s. 43.

3 Catus Firmius plotted the ruin of Libo. See book ii. s. 27.

the supreme authority is vested either in the people, or the nobles, or a single ruler. A constitution[4] compounded of these three single forms, may in theory be beautiful, but can never exist in fact; or, if it should, it will be but of short duration. At Rome, while the republic flourished, and the senate and the people gained alternate victories over each other, it was the business of the true politician, to study the manners and temper of the multitude, in order to restrain within due bounds a tumultuous and discordant mass; and, on the other hand, he who best knew the senate, and the characters of the leading members, was deemed the most accomplished statesman of his time. At present, since a violent convulsion has overturned the old republic, and the government of Rome differs in nothing from a monarchy,[5] the objects of political knowledge are changed, and, for that reason, such transactions as it is my business to relate, will not be without their use. Few are qualified, by their own reflection, to mark the boundaries between vice and virtue. To separate the useful from that which leads to destruction, is not the talent of every man. The example of others is the school of wisdom.

It must however be acknowledged, that the detail into which I am obliged to enter, is in danger, while it gives lessons of prudence, of being dry and unentertaining. In other histories, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and enlarge the imagination. We have nothing before us, but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial ending always in the same tragic catastrophe. These, no doubt, will give to the present work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent satiety. It may be further observed, that the ancient historian is safe from the severity of criticism: whether he favours the cause of Rome or Carthage, the reader is indifferent to both parties; whereas the descendants of those who, in the reign of Tiberius, were either put to death, or branded with infamy, are living at this hour; and besides, if the whole race were extinct, will there not be at all times a succession of men, who, from congenial manners, and sympathy in vice, will think the fidelity of history a satire on themselves? Even the praise due to virtue is sure to give umbrage. The illustrious character is brought too near to the depravity of modern times. The contrast is too strong for tender eyes. But I return from this digression.

XXXIV. [A. U. C. 778. A. D. 25.] During the consulship of Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa, a new, and, till that time, unheard of crime was laid to the charge of Cremutius Cordus.[6] He had published a series of annals. In that work, after the encomium of Brutus, he styled Cassius[7] the last of the Romans. For this sentiment a prosecution was commenced against the author by Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta, both known to be the creatures of Sejanus. That circumstance was of itself sufficient; but the stern countenance, with

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4 This passage merits more consideration than can be compressed into a note. It will not, however, be amiss to offer a few remarks. It is admitted, that the three original forms of government, namely, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, when taken separately, are all defective. Polybius assigns the reason. Monarchy, he says, though conducted according to right reason, will in time degenerate into Despotism. Aristocracy, which means a government of the best men, will be converted into an Oligarchy, or the tyranny of a few. Democracy, in its original and purest sense, implies a *system* under which the people, trained to the ancient manners of their country, pay due worship to the gods, and obey the laws established by common consent: but such a government is soon changed into tumult, rude force, and anarchy. *For when once the people, accustomed to notions of equality, pay neither rent nor taxes, and commit depredations on their neighbours; if, at such a time, some desperate incendiary should arise whose poverty has shut him out from all the honours of the state; then commences the government of the multitude, who run together in tumultuous assemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; assassinations, banishments, and divisions of lands, till they are reduced at last to a state of savage anarchy.* See Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. chap. 1. And yet Tacitus saw, that the three original forms might be moulded into a beautiful *system*; but he despaired of ever seeing it established, and he gives his opinion, that it cannot last long. That opinion, however, has been long since refuted. The government of Kings, Lords, and Commons, has been the pride of Englishmen, and the wonder of all Europe, during several centuries. Tacitus, with his usual brevity, said less than he thought; but the reason on which he founded his opinion, probably was, because, in all the popular governments then known in the world, the people acted in their collective body; and, with Polybius, Tacitus saw the fatal consequences. He had no idea of a people acting by representation. It is that circumstance, and the wise regulations of our ancestors, that have made in this country *the according music of a well-mixed state.*

5 The forms of the republican government were still preserved; the magistrates retained their ancient names; *eadem magistratuum vocabula*; but the emperor presided over the whole military department, and his tribunitian power gave him the sole direction of all civil business.

6 Suetonius says, a poet was prosecuted for verses against Agamemnon; and an historian (meaning *Cordus*) for calling Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans. The authors were put to death, and their writings suppressed, though they had been read to Augustus, and approved by that emperor. Suet. in Tib. c. 61. Seneca, in his essay on Consolation, to Marcia, the daughter of Cremutius Cordus, says, her father was not put to death for praising Brutus and Cassius, but for his keen reflections on Sejanus, and therefore fell a victim. De Consolat. ad Marciam, cap. xxii.

7 We are told by Plutarch, that the Romans called Philopœmenes the last of the Greeks, as if, after his death, that nation had produced no illustrious character. See the life of Philopœmenes.

which Tiberius heard the defence, was a fatal prognostic. With a spirit, however, prepared for the worst, and even resolved on death, Cordus spoke to the following effect. "The charge, conscript fathers, is for words only; so irreproachable is my conduct. And what are my words? Do they affect the emperor or his mother, the only persons included in the law of majesty? It is, however, my crime, that I have treated the memory of Brutus and Cassius with respect: and have not others done the same? In the number of writers, who composed the lives of those eminent men, is there one who has not done honour to their memory? Titus Livius, that admirable historian, not more distinguished by his eloquence than by his fidelity, was so lavish in praise of Pompey, that Augustus called him the *Pompeian*: and yet the friendship of that emperor was unalterable. Scipio, and Afranius, with this same Brutus and this very Cassius, are mentioned by that immortal author, not indeed as [1] RUFFIANS and PARRICIDES, (the appellations now in vogue); but as virtuous, upright, and illustrious Romans. In the works of Asinius Pollio their names are decorated with every praise. Messala Corvinus boasted that Cassius was his general. And yet those two distinguished writers flourished in the esteem of Augustus, and enjoyed both wealth and honours. Cicero dedicated an entire volume to the memory of Cato. What was the conduct of Cæsar the dictator? He contented himself with writing an answer, in effect, appealing to the tribunal of the public. The letters of Mark Antony, as well as the speeches of Brutus, abound with passages against Augustus, false indeed, but in a style of bitter invective. The verses of Bibaculus and Catullus, though keen lampoons on the family of the Cæsars, are in every body's hands. Neither Julius Cæsar nor Augustus showed any resentment against these envenomed productions; on the contrary, they left them to make their way in the world. Was this their moderation, or superior wisdom? Perhaps it was the latter. Neglected calumny soon expires: show that you are hurt, and you give it the appearance of truth.

XXXV. "From Greece I draw no precedents. In that country not only liberty, but even licentiousness was encouraged. He who felt the edge of satire, knew how to retaliate. Words were revenged by words. When public characters have passed away from the stage of life, and the applause of friendship, as well as the malice of enemies, is heard no more; it has ever been the prerogative of history to rejudge their actions. Brutus and Cassius are not now at the head of armies: they are not encamped on the plains of Philippi: can I assist their cause? Have I harangued the people, or incited them to take up arms? It is now more than sixty years since these two extraordinary men perished by the sword: from that time they have been seen in their busts and statues: those remains the very conquerors spared, and history has been just to their memory. Posterity allows to every man his true value and proper honours. You may, if you will, by your judgment affect my life: but Brutus and Cassius will be still remembered, and my name may attend the triumph." Having thus delivered his sentiments, he left the senate, and [2] by abstinence put an end to his days.

The fathers ordered his book to be burned by the ædiles; but to destroy it was not in their power.[3] It was preserved in secret, and copies have been multiplied: so vain and senseless is the attempt, by an arbitrary act, to extinguish the light of truth, and defraud posterity of due information. Genius thrives under oppression: persecute the author and you enhance the value of his work. Foreign tyrants, and all who have adopted their barbarous policy, have experienced this truth: by proscribing talents, they recorded their own disgrace, and gave the writer a passport to immortality.

XXXVI. The whole of this year was one continued series of prosecutions; insomuch that on one of the days of the Latin festival,[4] when

1 Publius Valerius, afterwards styled PUBLICOLA, was the author of a law, by which any person whatever, who had the ambition to aim at the supreme power, so lately abolished, should forfeit his head and all his effects. Liv. lib. ii. s. 8. Plutarch adds in the Life of PUBLICOLA, that to kill the man who favoured royalty, was justifiable homicide, provided the guilt was clearly proved. And yet, notwithstanding this law, Brutus and Cassius were called murderers and parricides.

2 Seneca, de Consolatione ad Marciam, cap. xxii. gives a circumstantial account of his death. He was three days starving himself.

3 Seneca says to Marcia, Sejanus gave your father as a donative or a largess to his creature *Satrius Secundus*. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit*; yet he was not able, with all his interest at court, to suppress the works of Cordus, though he procured an order to burn them by the public officer. Seneca praises Marcia for the filial piety that preserved the works of her father, and brought them into public notice after his death. He tells her, that by saving his writings she gave new life to the books, which he, who suffered death, may be said to have written in his blood. *Ingenium patris tui, de quo sumptum erat supplicium, in usum hominum reduxisti, et a vera illum vindicasti morte, ac restituisti ip publica monumenta libros, quos vir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat.* He adds, that the memory of her father will live, as long as the Romans shall wish to review the history of their own affairs; as long as posterity shall desire to know the man, whose genius was unfettered, whose spirit was unconquered, and whose hand was ready to deliver himself from his enemies. *Cujus viget vigebitque memoria, quamdiu fuerit in pretio Romana cognosci; quamdiu quisquam velit scire, quid sit vir Romanus, indomitus ingenio, animo, manu liber.* Senecæ, ad Marciam, cap. i. See more on this subject of burning books, Life of Agricola, s. 2. note.

4 The Latin festival was instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated every year in the beginning of

Drusus, in his character of prefect of Rome, ascended the tribunal, Calpurnius Salvianus took that opportunity to present an accusation against Sextus Marius. A proceeding so irregular drew down the censure of Tiberius. Salvianus was driven into banishment. A complaint against the inhabitants of the city of Cyzicus was presented to the senate, charging, that they had suffered the ceremonies in honour of Augustus to fall into contempt, and had moreover offered violence to several Roman citizens. For this offence they were deprived of the privileges, which had been granted to them for their fidelity in the war with Mithridates. That monarch laid siege to their city; but, by the fortitude of the people, not less than by the succour sent by Lucullus, he was obliged to abandon the place. Fonteius Capito, who had been proconsul of Asia, was acquitted of the charge alleged against him by the malice of that daring accuser, Vibius Serenus.[5] And yet the author of so vile a calumny passed with impunity. He had the curses of the people, and the protection of the emperor. Informers, in proportion as they rose in guilt, became sacred characters. If any were punished, it was only such as were mere novices in guilt, obscure and petty villains, who had no talents for mischief.

XXXVII. Ambassadors, about this time, arrived from the farther Spain, praying leave, in imitation of the people of Asia, to build a temple to the emperor and his mother. Tiberius had strength of mind to despise the offerings of adulation: he knew, however, that his conduct on a former occasion had been taxed with the littleness of vain-glory. To clear himself from that aspersion, he made the following speech. "I am not, conscript fathers, now to learn that, when a similar petition came from Asia, I was accused of weakness and irresolution, for not giving a decided negative. The silence which I then observed, and the law which I have laid down to myself for the future, it is my intention now to explain. Augustus, it is well known, permitted a temple to be raised at Pergamus, in honour of himself and the city of Rome. His example has ever been the rule of my conduct. I yielded to the solicitations of Asia, the more willingly, as, with the veneration offered to myself, that of the senate was mixed and blended. That single act of compliance may, perhaps, require no apology: but to be deified throughout the provinces, and intrude my own image among the statues of the gods, what were it but vain presumption, the height of human arrogance? Erect more altars, and the homage paid to Augustus will be no longer an honour to his memory: by promiscuous use, it will tarnish in the eyes of mankind, and vanish into nothing.

XXXVIII. "As to myself, conscript fathers, I pretend to nothing above the condition of humanity: a mortal man, I have the duties of our common nature to perform. Raised to a painful pre-eminence, if I sustain the arduous character imposed upon me, the measure of my happiness is full. These are my sentiments: I avow them in your presence, and I hope they will reach posterity. Should future ages pronounce me not unworthy of my ancestors; should they think me vigilant for the public good, in danger firm, and, for the interest of all, ready to encounter personal animosities, that character will be the bright reward of all my labours. Those are the temples which I wish to raise: they are the truest temples, for they are fixed in the heart. It is there I would be worshipped, in the esteem and the affections of men, that best and most lasting monument. Piles of stone and marble structures, when the idol ceases to be adored, and the judgment of posterity rises to execration, are mere charnel-houses, that moulder into ruin.

"I therefore now address myself to the allies of the empire, to the citizens of Rome, and to the immortal gods; to the gods it is my prayer, that to the end of life they may grant the blessing of an undisturbed, a clear, a collected mind, with a just sense of laws both human and divine. Of mankind I request, that, when I am no more, they will do justice to my memory; and, with kind acknowledgments, record my name, and the actions of my life." In these sentiments he persisted ever after. Even in private conversation he never ceased to declaim against the abuse of religious honours. For this self-denial various motives were assigned. Some called it modesty; others, a sense of his own demerit; many imputed it to a degenerate spirit, insensible to all fair and honourable distinctions. The love of glory, they observed, has ever been the incentive of exalted minds. It was by this principle, that Hercules and Bacchus enrolled themselves among the gods of Greece; and it was thus that Romulus was deified at Rome. Augustus made a right estimate of things, and, by consequence, aspired to rank himself with ancient worthies. With regard to other gratifications, princes are in a station, where to desire, is to have. But the passion for glory ought to be insatiable. The esteem of posterity is the true ambition of a prince. From the contempt of fame[6] arises a contempt of virtue.

May, on the Mount *Albanus*, near the ruins of the city of Alba. Livy, lib. ii. s. 16. The consuls and other magistrates went forth in procession; and during their absence, a person of high rank was chosen to discharge the functions of consul, and preserve the peace of the city. See Annals, vi. s. 11. In conformity to this custom, we find Drusus acting on this occasion.

5 The son who accused his father, this book, s. 28.

6 A sense of moral obligation is the true motive of virtue. Many who act from that principle *do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame*. This, however, is not

XXXIX. Sejanus, intoxicated with success, and hurried on by the importunity of the younger Livia,[1] who was grown impatient for the promised marriage, thought fit to open the business to the emperor. All applications, at that time, even when a personal interview took place, were presented to the prince in writing.[2] The purport of the memorial was, that "the munificence of Augustus to the petitioner, and the favours added by Tiberius, had so engrossed all his faculties, that he was now accustomed, instead of supplicating the gods, to offer up his prayers to the prince. Of rank and splendour he had never been ambitious: a post of difficulty, where he watched day and night like a common sentinel, to guard the life of his sovereign, was the only honour he had ever sought. And yet a mark of the highest distinction had been conferred upon him. The emperor deemed him worthy of an alliance with the imperial house.[3] His present hopes were built on that foundation. Having heard that Augustus,[4] when the marriage of his daughter was in contemplation, doubted, for some time, whether he should not give her to a Roman knight; he presumed to offer his humble request, that Tiberius, if a new match was designed for Livia, would graciously think of a friend, who would bear in mind a due sense of the favour conferred upon him, but never claim an exemption from the toil and duty of his post. To shelter his family from the animosity of Agrippina was the object he had in view. He felt for his children; but as to himself, if he died in the service of his prince, he should die content and full of years."

XL. Tiberius expressed himself pleased with the style of affection which breathed through the memorial. He mentioned, in a cursory manner, the favours he had granted, but desired time for the consideration of a subject so entirely new and unexpected. Having weighed the business, he returned the following answer: "In all matters of deliberation, self-interest is the principle by which individuals decide for themselves: with princes it is otherwise. The opinions of the people claim their attention, and public fame must direct their conduct. To the request which had been made, an obvious answer presented itself to his pen: he might observe, that it was for Livia to determine, whether she would contract another marriage, or be content to remain the widow of Drusus. He might add, that she had a mother[5] and a grandmother, more nearly connected than himself, and, for that reason, fitter to be consulted. But he would deal openly, and in terms of plain simplicity. And first, as to Agrippina; her resentments would break out with redoubled violence, if, by the marriage of Livia, she saw the imperial family divided into contending factions. Even at present, female jealousies made a scene of tumult and distraction. His grandsons were involved in their disputes. Should the marriage be allowed, perpetual discord might be the consequence.

"Do you imagine, Sejanus, that Livia, the widow first of Caius Cæsar, and since of Drusus, will act an humble part, and waste her life in the embraces of a Roman knight? Should I consent, what will be said by those who saw her father, her brother, and the ancestors of our family, invested with the highest honours of the state? But it seems you will not aspire above your present station. Remember that the magistrates, and the first men in Rome, who besiege your levee, and in every thing defer to your judgment; remember, I say, that they now proclaim aloud, that you have already soared above the equestrian rank, and enjoy higher authority than was ever exercised by the favourites of my father. They declaim against you with envy, and they obliquely glance at me. But Augustus, you say, had thoughts of giving his daughter to one of the equestrian order. And if, overwhelmed by a weight of cares, yet sensible at the same time of the honour that would accrue to the favoured bridegroom, he mentioned occasionally Caius Proculeius,[6] and some others, is it not well known that they were all of moderate principles; men who led a life of tranquillity, and took no part in the transactions of the state? And if Augustus had his doubts, is it for me to take a decided part? His final determination is the true precedent. He gave his daughter first to Agrippa, and afterwards to myself.

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a contempt of fame; it is a wish not to have it thought the spring of virtuous actions. With others, the love of fame is the sole incentive. Some pursue it, regardless of the rectitude of their conduct, but sensible of the value of a fair report in their commerce with the world. *Multi famam, pauci conscientiam verentur.* Others consider fame as the reward of a well-acted life, and know no other motive. The effect, in the last case, is finely described by Mr. Addison:

Honour's sacred tie, the law of kings;
The noble mind's distinguishing perfection;
That aids and strengthens virtue, where it meets her,
And imitates her actions where she is not.
It is not to be sported with.

From the man who does sport with it, who despises fame, and has great talents, without one virtue, what can be expected?—Suspicion, cruelty, lust, and massacre.

1 She who conspired against her husband, Drusus. This book, s. 3.

2 The custom was begun by Julius Cæsar, and continued by Augustus. Suetonius, in Aug. s. 84.

3 The daughter of Sejanus was to have been married to Drusus, the son of Claudius. Annals, iii. s. 29. This book, s. 7.

4 Julia, the daughter of Augustus.

5 Antonia was her mother, and Livia, the widow of Augustus, was her grandmother. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

6 Proculeius is mentioned to his honour by Horace:

Vivet extento Proculeius ævo,
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

These are the reflections which I thought proper to communicate to you. My friendship is without disguise. To the measures which you and Livia may have concerted, no obstacle shall arise from me. But still there are other ties by which I would bind you to myself[7] in closer union. I will not at present enlarge upon the subject. I shall only say, that I know no honour to which you are not entitled by your virtues, and your zeal for my interest. But what I think and feel on this head I shall take occasion to explain to the senate, or, it may be, in a full assembly of the people."

XLI. Alarmed by this answer, Sejanus dropped all thoughts of the marriage. A crowd of apprehensions rushed upon him. He feared the penetrating eye of malicious enemies; he dreaded the whispers of suspicion, and the clamours of the public. To prevent impressions to his disadvantage, he presented a second memorial, humbly requesting that the emperor would pay no regard to the suggestions of ill-designing men. Between two nice and difficult points the favourite was now much embarrassed. If, for the sake of a more humble appearance, he determined to avoid for the future the great conflux of visitors, who frequented his house, his power, in a short time, would be on its wane; and on the other hand, by receiving such a numerous train, he gave access to spies upon his conduct. A new expedient occurred to him. He resolved to persuade the emperor to withdraw from the city, and lead, in some delightful, but remote situation, a life of ease and solitary pleasure. In this measure he saw many advantages. Access to the prince would depend on the minister; all letters conveyed by the soldiers would fall into his hands; and Tiberius, now in the vale of years, might be, when charmed with his retreat, and lulled to repose and indolence, more easily induced to resign the reins of government. In that retirement the favourite would disengage himself from the vain parade of crowded levees; envy would be appeased; and instead of the shadow of power, he might grasp the substance. To this end, Sejanus affected to disrelish the noise and bustle of the city; the people assembling in crowds gave him disgust; and the courtiers, who buzzed in the palace, brought nothing but fatigue and vain parade. He talked of the pleasures of rural solitude, when there was nothing but pure enjoyment, no little anxieties, no tedious languor, no intrigues of faction; a scene of tranquillity, where important plans of policy might be concerted at leisure.

XLII. It happened in this juncture that the trial of Votienus Montanus,[8] a man famous for his wit and talents, was brought to a hearing. In the course of this business, Tiberius, with a mind already balancing, came to a resolution to avoid, for the future, the assembly of the fathers, where he was so often mortified by grating expressions. Montanus was accused of words injurious to the emperor: Æmilius, a man in the military line, was a witness against him. To establish the charge, this man went into a minute detail, from little circumstances hoping to deduce a full conviction. Though ill heard by the fathers, he persisted, in spite of noise and frequent interruption, to relate every circumstance. Tiberius heard the sarcastic language with which his character was torn and mangled in private. He rose in a sudden transport of passion, declaring in a peremptory tone, that he would refute the calumny in that stage of the business, or institute a judicial proceeding for the purpose. The entreaties of his friends, seconded by the adulation of the fathers, were scarce sufficient to appease his anger. The judgment usual in cases of violated majesty was pronounced against Montanus.[9] Want of clemency was the general objection to Tiberius; but the reproach, instead of mitigating, served only to inflame that vindictive temper. With a spirit exasperated, he took up the affair of Aquilia, convicted of adultery with Varius Ligur; and though Lentulus Gætulicus, consul elect, was of opinion that the penalties[10] of the Julian law would be an adequate punishment, she was ordered into exile. Apidius Merula

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7 Some of the commentators have been at great pains to unravel this mysterious passage. He, whose curiosity is excited by difficulty, and even sharpened by impossibility, may have the pleasure of toiling through an elaborate dissertation on this subject by La Bletterie. After all, the passage seems to be in the style which Tiberius loved and practised; dark and impenetrable. *Sua natura, sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba.* Annals, book i. s. 11. Perhaps he meant to associate Sejanus with himself in the tribunitian power.

8 Montanus was an eminent orator, but too copious, and often redundant. Not content with a thought happily expressed, he recurred to it again; and wanting to place it in a new light, he disfigured what was well said, and went on repeating and retouching the same thing, till he spoiled the whole. Scaurus called him the Ovid of orators: observing, at the same time, that to know when to leave off is an essential part of oratory, not less than the choice of proper expression. *Habet hoc Montanus vitium: dum non est contentus unam rem semel bene dicere, effecit ut ne bene diserit. Propter hoc solebat Montanum Scaurus inter oratores Ovidium vocare. Aiebat Scaurus non minus magnam virtutem esse* SCIRE DESINERE, *quam scire dicere.* Seneca, Controvers. iv. cap. 28. Montanus was also a poet. Ovid says of him, that he excelled in heroic metre, and the tender elegy:

Quippe vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel æquis
Sufficis, et gemino carmine nomen habes.

9 Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says, he was banished to the Balearic Islands, and there finished his days. *Votienus Montanus, Narbonensis orator, in Balearibus insulis moritur, illuc a Tiberio relegatus.*

10 There were two modes of expulsion from the city of Rome. One was *relegatio;* the other *exilium.* The former was a mere order of removal to a certain distance; but the person so punished did not forfeit his

had refused to swear on the acts of Augustus. For that offence Tiberius razed his name from the register of the senators.[1]

XLIII. The dispute then depending between the Lacedæmonians and the people of Messena, concerning the temple of the Limnatidian Diana,[2] was brought to a hearing before the senate. Deputies were heard from both places. On the part of the Lacedæmonians it was contended, that the structure in question was built by their ancestors, within the territory of Sparta. For proof of the fact they cited extracts from history, and passages of ancient poetry. In the war with Philip of Macedon, they were deprived of their right by force of arms; but the same was restored by Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony. The Messenians, on the other hand, produced an ancient chart of Peloponnesus, divided among the descendants of Hercules; by which it appeared, that the Dentheliate field, where the temple stood, fell to the lot of the king of Messena. Inscriptions, verifying the fact, were still to be seen in stone and tables of brass. If fragments of poetry and loose scraps of history were to be admitted, they had, in that kind, a fund of evidence more ample, and directly in point. It was not by an act of violence that Philip of Macedon transferred the possession from Sparta to the Messenians; his justice dictated that decision. Since that time, several judgments, all conspiring to the same effect, were pronounced by king Antigonus,[3] by Mummius,[4] the Roman general, by the Milesians, in their capacity of public arbitrators, and finally by Atidius Geminus, then prætor of Achaia.[5] The Messenians carried their point.

The citizens of Segestum[6] presented a petition, stating, that the temple of Venus, on mount Erix, had mouldered away, and therefore praying leave to build a new edifice on the same spot. Their account of the first foundation was so highly flattering to the pride of Tiberius, that, considering himself as a person related to the goddess, he undertook the care and the expense of the building.

A petition from the city of Marseilles came next into debate. The fact was shortly this: Vulcatius Moschus, banished by the laws of Rome, and admitted to the freedom of the city of Marseilles, bequeathed to that republic, which he considered as his native country, the whole of his property. To justify this proceeding, the Marseillians cited the case of Publius Rutilius,[7] an exile from Rome, and afterwards naturalized by the people of Smyrna. The authority of the precedent was admitted, and the fathers pronounced in favour of the will.

XLIV. In the course of the year died Cneius Lentulus[8] and Lucius Domitius, two citizens of distinguished eminence. The consular dignity, and the honour of triumphal ornaments, for a complete victory over the Gætulians, gave lustre to the name of Lentulus; but the true glory of his character arose from the dignity, with which he supported himself, first in modest poverty, and afterwards in the possession of a splendid fortune, acquired with integrity, and enjoyed with moderation. Domitius[9] owed much of his consequence to his ancestors. His father, during the civil wars, remained master of the seas till he went over to Mark Antony, and, soon after deserting his party, followed the fortunes of Augustus. His grandfather fell in the battle of Pharsalia, fighting for the senate. Domitius, thus descended, was deemed worthy of the younger Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony, by his wife Octavia. He led the Roman legions beyond the Elbe,[10] and penetrated further into Germany than any former commander. His services were rewarded with triumphal ornaments.

Lucius Antonius,[11] who likewise died this year, must not be omitted. He was descended from a line of ancestors, highly honoured, but unfortunate. His father, Julius Antonius, being put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the son, at that time of tender years,

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property, nor the freedom of the city. Banishment took away every right. Tiberius chose, on this occasion, to inflict the severest punishment.

1 The *Album Senatorium* was a register of the senators published every year, according to a regulation of Augustus.

2 Brotier says, as far as can be collected from Pausanias, this temple was not far from the place now called *Zarnata, near the Gulf of Coron in the Morea.*

3 Antigonus, king of Macedonia, died in the 4th year of the 139th Olympiad, A. U. C. 533.

4 Lucius Mummius, conqueror of Corinth, A. U. C. 608.

5 When Greece was reduced to subjection, the Romans gave to the whole country the general name of *Achaia.*

6 A town in Sicily, now *Castel a Mare*, in the vale of *Mazara.* The temple of *Venus Erycina* was afterwards rebuilt by Claudius, Suetonius, Life of Claudius.

7 Publius Rutilius is called by Velleius Paterculus, the best man not only of his own time, but of any age whatever. He was banished, to the great grief of the city of Rome. *Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis damnaverant.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 13. See Seneca, epist. lxxix.

8 Lentulus was consul A. U. C. 740. For his victories over the Gætulians in Africa, he obtained triumphal ornaments. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 116. He was sent with Drusus into Pannonia, Annals, i. s. 27.

9 Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. His son Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and by her was father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 33 and No. 34.

10 See the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, by the late king of Prussia. It is there said, but not on good authority, that the Romans never passed the *Elbe.*

11 Julius Antonius, the father of Lucius, has been already mentioned, Annals, iii. s. 18. See the Genealogical Table, No. 29 and No. 30.

and grand nephew to Augustus, was sent out of the way to the city of Marseilles, where, under the pretence of pursuing his studies, he was detained in actual banishment. Funeral honours were paid to his memory, and his remains, by a decree of the senate, were deposited in the monument of the Octavian family.

XLV. While the same consuls continued in office, a deed of an atrocious nature was committed in the nethermost Spain[12] by a peasant from the district of Termes. Lucius Piso, the prætor of the province, in a period of profound peace, was travelling through the country, unguarded, and without precaution, when a desperate ruffian attacked him on the road, and, at one blow, laid him dead on the spot. Trusting to the swiftness of his horse, the assassin made towards the forest, and, there dismounting, pursued his way on foot over devious wilds and craggy steeps, eluding the vigilance and activity of the Romans. He did not, however, remain long concealed. His horse was found in the woods, and being led through the neighbouring villages, the name of the owner was soon discovered. The villain of course was apprehended. On the rack, and under the most excruciating torture, he refused to discover his accomplices. With a tone of firmness, and in his own language, "Your questions," he said, "are all in vain. Let my associates come; let them behold my sufferings and my constancy: not all the pangs you can afflict shall wrest the secret from me." On the following day, as they were again dragging him to the rack, he broke, with a sudden exertion, from the hands of the executioner, and dashing with violence against a stone, fell and expired. The murder of Piso was not thought to be the single crime of this bold assassin: the inhabitants of Termes, it was generally believed, entered into a conspiracy to cut off a man, who claimed restitution of the public money, which had been rescued from the collectors. Piso urged his demand with more rigour than suited the stubborn genius of a savage people.

XLVI. Lentulus Gætulicus and Caius Calvisius succeeded to the consulship [A. U. C. 779. A. D. 26.] During their administration, triumphal ornaments were decreed to Poppæus Sabinus, for his victory over the people of Thrace; a clan of freebooters, who led a savage life on hills and rugged cliffs, without laws, or any notion of civil policy. Rushing down from their mountains, they waged a desultory war with wild ferocity. Their motives to a revolt, were strong and powerful. They saw the flower of their youth carried off to recruit the Roman armies, and of course their numbers much reduced. Men, who measured their obedience, even to their own kings, by the mere caprice of Barbarians, were not willing to submit to the Roman yoke. On former occasions, when they were willing to act as auxiliaries, they gave the command of their forces to chiefs of their own nation, under an express condition, that they should serve against the neighbouring states only, and not be obliged to fight the battles of Rome in distant regions. In the present juncture an idea prevailed amongst them, that they were to be exterminated from their native soil, and mixed with other troops in foreign nations.

Before they had recourse to arms, they sent a deputation to Sabinus, stating "their former friendship, and the passive disposition with which they had heretofore submitted to the Roman generals. They were willing to continue in the same sentiments, provided no new grievance gave them cause of complaint. But if the intention was to treat them as a vanquished people; if the yoke of slavery was prepared for their necks, they abounded with men and steel, and they had hearts devoted to liberty or death." Their ambassadors, after thus declaring themselves, pointed to their castles on the ridge of hills and rocks, where they had collected their families, their parents, and their wives. If the sword must be drawn, they threatened a campaign big with danger, in its nature difficult, fierce, and bloody.

XLVII. Sabinus, wishing to gain sufficient time for the assembling of his army, amused them with gentle answers. Meanwhile, Pomponius Labeo, with a legion from Mæsia, and Rhæmetalces, who reigned over part of Thrace, came up with a body of his subjects, who still retained their fidelity, and formed a junction against the rebels. Sabinus, thus reinforced, went in quest of the enemy. The Barbarians had taken post in the woods and narrow defiles. The bold and warlike showed themselves in force on the declivity of the hills. The Roman general advanced in regular order of battle. The mountaineers were put to flight, but with inconsiderable loss. The nature of the place favoured their retreat. Sabinus encamped on the spot deserted by the enemy, and, having raised intrenchments, marched with a strong detachment to an adjacent hill, narrow at the top, but, by a level and continued ridge, extending to a strong hold where the Barbarians had collected a prodigious multitude, some provided with arms, but the greater part no better than an undisciplined rabble.

The bravest of the malcontents appeared on the outside of their lines, according to the custom of Barbarians, dancing in wild distortion, and howling savage songs. The Roman archers advanced to attack them. They poured in a volley of darts, and wounded a number with impunity, till having approached too near, the besieged made a sally from the castle, and threw

12 See the Geographical Table.

the Romans into disorder. An auxiliary cohort, which had been posted to advantage, came up to support the broken ranks. This body of reserve consisted of the Sicambrians,[1] a wild ferocious people, who, like the Thracians, rushed to battle with the mingled uproar of a savage warhoop, and the hideous clangor of their arms.

XLVIII. Sabinus pitched a new camp near the fortifications of the castle. In the former intrenchments he left the Thracians, who had joined the army under the command of Rhæmetalces, with orders to ravage the country, and, as long as daylight lasted, to plunder, burn, and destroy, but, during the night, to remain within their lines, taking care to station outposts and sentinels, to prevent a surprise. These directions were at first duly observed; but a relaxation of discipline soon took place. Enriched with booty, the men gave themselves up to riot and dissipation; no sentinels fixed, and no guard appointed, the time was spent in carousals, and the whole camp lay buried in sleep and wine. The mountaineers, having good intelligence from their scouts, formed two separate divisions; one to fall on the roving freebooters, and the other, in the same moment, to storm the Romans in their intrenchments; not, indeed, with hopes of carrying the works, but chiefly to spread a double alarm, and cause a scene of wild confusion, in which the men, amidst a volley of darts, would be intent on their own immediate danger, and none would listen to the uproar of another battle. To augment the terror, both assaults began in the night. No impression was made on the legions: but the Thracian auxiliaries, stretched at ease in their intrenchments, or idly wandering about on the outside of the lines, were taken by surprise, and put to the sword without mercy. The slaughter raged with greater fury, as the mountaineers thought they were executing an act of vengeance on perfidious men, who deserted the common cause, and fought to enslave themselves and their country.

XLIX. On the following day Sabinus drew up his men on the open plain, expecting that the events of the preceding night would encourage the Barbarians to hazard a battle. Seeing that nothing could draw them from their works, or their fastnesses on the hills, he began a regular siege. A number of forts were thrown up with all expedition, and a fosse, with lines of circumvallation, inclosed a space of four miles round. To cut off all supplies of water and provisions, he advanced by degrees, and, raising new works, formed a close blockade on every side. From a high rampart the Romans were able to discharge a volley of stones, and darts, and firebrands. Thirst was the chief distress of the mountaineers. A single fountain was their only resource. The men who bore arms, and an infinite multitude incapable of service, were all involved in one general calamity. The distress was still increased by the famine that raged among the horses and cattle, which, without any kind of distinction, according to the custom of Barbarians, lay intermixed with the men. In one promiscuous heap were to be seen the carcasses of animals, and the bodies of soldiers who perished by the sword, or the anguish of thirst. Clotted gore, and stench, and contagion, filled the place. To complete their misery, internal discord, that worst of evils, added to the horror of the scene. Some were for laying down their arms; others, preferring self-destruction, proposed a general massacre; while a third party thought it better to sally out, and die sword in hand, fighting in the cause of liberty; a brave and generous counsel, different, indeed, from the advice of their comrades, but worthy of heroic minds.

L. The expedient of surrendering at discretion was adopted by one of the leading chiefs. His name was Dinis; a man advanced in years, and by long experience convinced as well of the clemency as the terror of the Roman name. To submit, he said, was their only remedy; and, accordingly, he threw himself, his wife, and children, on the mercy of the conqueror. He was followed by the weaker sex, and all who preferred slavery to a glorious death. Two other chiefs, by name Tarsa and Turesis, advised bolder measures. Between their opposite sentiments the young and vigorous were divided. To fall with falling liberty was the resolution of both; but they chose different modes. Tarsa declared for immediate death, the end of all hopes and fears; and, to lead the way, he plunged a poniard in his breast. Numbers followed his example. Turesis was still resolved to sally out: and, for that purpose, he waited for the advantage of the night. The Roman general received intelligence, and accordingly strengthened the guards at every post. Night came on, and brought with it utter darkness and tempestuous weather. With shouts and horrible howlings, followed at intervals by a profound and awful silence, the Barbarians kept the besiegers in a constant alarm. Sabinus rounded the watch, and at every post exhorted his men to be neither terrified by savage howlings, nor lulled into security by deceitful stillness. If taken by surprise, they would give to an insidious enemy every advantage. "Let each man continue fixed at his post, and let no darts be thrown at random, and, by consequence, without effect."

LI. The Barbarians, in different divisions, came rushing down from their hills. With massy stones, with clubs hardened by fire, and with trunks of trees, they attempted to batter a breach in the Roman pallisade; they threw hurdles, faggots, and dead bodies into the trenches

1 See the Geographical Table.

they laid bridges over the fosse, and applied scaling-ladders to the rampart; they grasped hold of the works; they endeavoured to force their way, and fought hand to hand. The garrison drove them back with their javelins, beat them down with their bucklers, and overwhelmed them with huge heaps of stones. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; the Romans, to complete a victory almost gained already, and to avoid the disgrace of suffering it to be wrested from them. On the part of the Barbarians, despair was courage; the last struggle for life inspired them, and the shrieks of their wives and mothers roused them to deeds of valour.

The darkness of the night favoured equally the coward and the brave. Blows were given at random, and where they fell was uncertain; wounds were received, no man could tell from whom. Friends and enemies were mixed without distinction. The shouts of the Barbarians, reverberated from the neighbouring hills, sounded in the ear of the Romans, as if the uproar was at their backs. They thought the enemy had stormed the intrenchments, and they fled from their posts. The Barbarians, however, were not able to force the works. The number that entered was inconsiderable. At the dawn of day they beheld a melancholy spectacle; the bravest of their comrades either disabled by their wounds, or lying dead on the spot. Disheartened at the sight, they fled to their fortifications, and were at last compelled to surrender at discretion. The people in the neighbourhood made a voluntary submission. The few that still held out, were protected by the severity of the winter, which setting in, as is usual near Mount Hæmus, with intense rigour, the Roman general could neither attack them in their fastnesses, nor reduce them by a siege.

LII. At Rome, in the mean time, the imperial family was thrown into a state of distraction. As a prelude to the fate of Agrippina, a prosecution was commenced against Claudia Pulchra, her near relation. Domitius Afer[2] was the prosecutor; a man who had lately discharged the office of prætor, but had not risen to any degree of eminence or consideration in the state. Aspiring, bold, and turbulent, he was now determined to advance himself by any means, however flagitious. The heads of his accusation were adultery with Furnius, a design to poison the emperor, and the secret practice of spells and magic incantations. The haughty spirit of Agrippina but ill could brook the danger of her friend. She rushed to the presence of Tiberius. Finding him in the act of offering a sacrifice to the manes of Augustus, she accosted him in a tone of vehemence. "The piety," she said, "which thus employs itself in slaying victims to the deceased emperor, agrees but ill with the hatred that persecutes his posterity. Those are senseless statues which you adore; they are not animated with the spirit of Augustus. His descendants are living images of him; and yet even they, whose veins are warm with his celestial blood, stand trembling on the brink of peril. Why is Claudia Pulchra devoted to destruction? What has she committed? She has loved Agrippina, to excess has loved her; that is her only crime. Improvident woman! she might have remembered Sosia,[3] undone and ruined for no other reason." Tiberius felt the reproach: it drew from that inscrutable breast a sudden burst of resentment. He told Agrippina, in a Greek verse, "You are hurt, because you do not reign."[4] Pulchra and Furnius were both condemned. In the conduct of the prosecution Domitius Afer shone forth with such a flame of eloquence, that he ranked at once with the most celebrated orators, and, by the suffrage of Tiberius, was pronounced an original genius, depending on his own native energy. From that time, he pursued the career of eloquence, sometimes engaged on the side of the accused, often against them, and always doing more honour to his talents, than to his moral character. As age advanced upon him, the love of hearing himself talk continued, when ability was gone.[5] He remained, with decayed faculties, a superannuated orator.

LIII. Agrippina, weakened by a fit of illness, but still retaining the pride of her character, received a visit from Tiberius. She remained for some time fixed in silence; tears only forced their way. At length, in terms of supplication, mixed with bitter reproaches, she desired him to consider, "that widowhood is a state of destitution. A second marriage might assuage her sorrows. The season of her youth was not en-

2 Domitius Afer, an orator highly commended by Quinctilian. See Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 13, note.

3 Sosia, the wife of Silius: this book, s. 19 and 20.

4 Suetonius relates this, and says Tiberius never afterwards conversed with Agrippina. *Tiberius quiddam quæstem, manus apprehendit; Græcoque versu,* SI NON DOMINARIS, *inquit,* FILIOLA, INIURIAM TE AGCIPERE EXISTIMAS. *Nec ullo post sermone dignatus est.* In Tib. s. 53.

5 Quinctilian has said the same thing of Domitius Afer; see Dialogue concerning Eloquence, in the Supplement, s. 8, note. The great critic advises all men of talents not to wait for the decays of age; but to sound a retreat in time, and anchor safely in port, before the vessel is disabled. The consequence, he says, will be, that the man of genius will enjoy a state of tranquillity, removed from the scenes of contention, out of the reach of calumny, and will have, while he is still alive, a foretaste of his posthumous fame. *Antequam in has ætatis venial insidias, receptui canet, et in portum integra nave perveniet. Ac, cum jam secretus, liber invidia, procul a contentionibus, famam in tuto collocavit, sentiet vivus eam, quæ post fata præstari magis solet, venerationem, et quid apud posteros futurus sit videbit.* Quinctilian, lib. xii. cap. 11.

tirely passed, and for a woman of honour there was no resource but in the conjugal state. There were at Rome citizens of illustrious rank who would, with pride, take the widow and the children of Germanicus to their protection." Tiberius saw in this request a spirit of ambition, that looked proudly towards the imperial dignity. Unwilling, notwithstanding, to discover his jealousy, he heard her with calm indifference, and left her without an answer. For this anecdote, not to be found in the historians of the time, I am indebted to the younger Agrippina,[1] the mother of the emperor Nero, who, in the memoirs of her life, has related her own misfortunes and those of her family.

LIV. The violence of Agrippina's passions, and the imprudence of her conduct, exposed her to the malice of Sejanus, who now had laid the seed-plots of her destruction. He sent his agents to inform her, under a mask of friendship, that she would do well to beware of poison, and avoid eating at the emperor's table. To dissemble was not the talent of Agrippina. Invited by Tiberius, and placed near his person, she remained silent, pensive, with downcast eyes, abstaining from every thing placed before her. Tiberius marked her behaviour, or perhaps the hint was previously given. To put her to the test, he praised the apples that stood near him, and helped her with his own hand. Agrippina was alarmed. Without so much as tasting the fruit, she gave it to the servants to be conveyed away.[2] Tiberius, always master of himself, with seeming inadvertence overlooked her behaviour, but took an opportunity to say privately to his mother, "Should this woman be treated with severity, will any body wonder, when she now imputes to me the guilt of dealing in poison?" A report prevailed soon after, that the fate of Agrippina was determined; but the emperor would not venture to act with open violence: he knew that the public eye was upon him, and resolved for that reason, to lie in wait for a clandestine murder.

LV. To check the murmurs of suspicion, and draw the public attention to other objects, Tiberius once more attended the debates of the fathers, and gave audience for several days to the ambassadors from different parts of Asia, all with ardour claiming a right to build, in their respective territories, the temple already mentioned. Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference. They stated, with little variation, the antiquity of their origin, and their fidelity to Rome, in the various wars with Perseus,[3] Aristonicus, and other eastern princes. The people of Hypæpes,[4] the Trallians, Laodiceans, and Magnesians, were deemed unequal to the expense, and, for that reason, thrown out of the case. The inhabitants of Ilium[5] boasted that Troy was the cradle of the Roman people, and on that foundation rested their pretensions. The citizens of Halicarnassus[6] held the senate for some time in suspense. It was alleged on their behalf, that, during a series of twelve hundred years, they had not felt the shock of an earthquake, and they promised to build the edifice on a solid rock. The city of Pergamus made a merit of having already built a temple in honour of Augustus; but that distinction was deemed sufficient. At Ephesus, where Diana was adored, and at Miletus, where Apollo was worshipped, a new object of veneration was deemed unnecessary.

The question was now reduced to the cities of Sardes and Smyrna. The former read a decree, in which they are acknowledged by the Etrurians as a kindred nation. By this document it appeared, that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, both sons of king Atys,[7] finding their country overstocked with inhabitants, agreed to form a separation. Lydus continued to occupy his native territory, and Tyrrhenus withdrew to settle a new colony. From that time the two nations were called by the names of their respective chiefs; in Asia, Lydians; Tyrrhenians in Italy. The Lydians multiplied their numbers with such increase, that they overflowed a second time. A migration passed over into Greece; and from Pelops, their leader, gave to the new territory the name of Peloponnesus. Besides these vouchers, the people of Sardes produced letters from some of the Roman generals, and also treaties of alliance during the wars in Macedonia. Nor did they forget to state the number of rivers that fertilized their soil, the temperature of their climate, and the plenty that covered the face of the country.

LVI. The deputies from Smyrna[8] thought fit to grace their cause with the antiquity of their origin: but whether their city was founded by Tantalus, the son of Jupiter; by Theseus, the son of a god; or by one of the ancient Amazons, they left as a question of curiosity; relying more on their constant attachment to the Romans, whom they had assisted with a naval

1 She was the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Pliny the elder commends her Memoirs, lib. vii. s. 8.

2 This is mentioned by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 53.

3 The war with Perseus, king of Macedonia, was A. U. C. 583. Aristonicus invaded Asia A. U. C. 623. From that time, that part of Asia was made a Roman province, and the vices of the east corrupted the Roman manners. *Asia Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.* Justin. lib. xxxvi. s. 4. Florus, lib. ii. s. 20.

4 For these several people, see the Geographical Table.

5 For Ilium, see the Geographical Table.

6 For Halicarnassus, see the Geographical Table.

7 Atys, the son of Hercules and Omphale. Herodotus, lib. i.

8 See the Geographical Table.

force, not only in their wars with foreign nations, but in those that involved all Italy. They thought it of moment to observe, that of all the cities in Asia, they were the first that built a temple in honour of the Roman name. This they had done in the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato,[9] at a time when the republic was undoubtedly in a flourishing condition, but had not yet attained that meridian splendour, which afterwards followed the success of her arms. Carthage[10] still subsisted, and the kings of Asia were unsubdued. For proof of still greater merit, the deputies appealed to the testimony of Lucius Sylla. When the legions under that commander, well nigh reduced to famine by the severity of the winter, and distressed for want of clothing, were in danger of being destroyed, their condition was no sooner known at Smyrna, than the people, then assembled in a public convention, with one generous impulse, threw off their clothes, and sent them to supply the necessities of the Roman army. The question was thereupon put by the senate, and the city of Smyrna prevailed. Vibius Marsus moved, that, in aid to Marcus Lepidus, who had obtained the province by lot, an officer extraordinary should be put in commission, to superintend the building of the temple. The delicacy of Lepidus not permitting him to choose his coadjutor, the names of such as were of prætorian rank were drawn by lot, and the chance fell on Valerius Naso.

LVII. In this juncture, Tiberius, bent on the measure which he had often ruminated, and as often procrastinated, set out for Campania, under the plausible pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola, but, in truth, determined never to return to Rome. Relying on the authority of eminent historians, I have ascribed the secret cause of this retreat to the artifice of Sejanus;[11] but when it is considered, that, after the downfall of that minister, Tiberius passed the six following years in the same recluse manner, I am inclined to refer the whole to the workings of a dark and politic spirit, that wished to hide in solitude the lust and cruelty, which in his actions were too manifest to the world. At Rome there was a current opinion, that, towards the end of life, he was unwilling to exhibit to public view a tall emaciated figure,[12] a body sinking under the weight of years, a bald head, a scrofulous face, and a number of blotches covered with medical applications.[13] It is well known, that during his retreat at the isle of Rhodes, he shunned society, and passed his time in secret gratifications. According to some writers, it was the domineering spirit[14] of his mother that drove him from Rome. To admit her to a share in the government was not in his nature: and to exclude her altogether was not in his power, since it was to her that he owed his elevation. Augustus, it is certain, at one point of time, favoured Germanicus the grandson of his sister, and even thought of raising him to the supreme authority; but, being governed by his wife, he gave her son the preference, and left Germanicus to be adopted by Tiberius. With these services Livia taxed her son; and what she had given, she considered as a deposit liable to be resumed.

LVIII. Tiberius departed from Rome with a slender retinue. In his train were Cocceius Nerva,[15] a senator of consular rank, celebrated for his legal knowledge; Sejanus the favourite minister; and Curtius Atticus,[16] a Roman knight. These were the only persons of rank. The rest were distinguished by nothing but their literature; mostly Greeks,[17] men whose talents amused him in his hours of leisure. The professors of judicial astrology declared their opinion, that the position of the planets, under which Tiberius left the capital, made his return impossible. This prediction gained credit, and the death of the emperor being, by consequence, thought near at hand, numbers, who had been bold enough to circulate the rumour, brought on their own destruction. That the prince should remain, during the space of eleven years, a voluntary exile from the seat of government, was an event beyond the reach of human foresight. In the end, however, the art of such, as pretend to see into futurity, was discovered to be vain and frivolous. It was seen how nearly truth and falsehood are allied, and how much the facts, which happen to be foretold, are involved in

9 Cato, called the Censor, was consul A. U. C. 559.

10 Carthage was destroyed by Scipio, A. U. C. 608.

11 Sejanus has been mentioned, as the cause of the emperor's retreat. This book, s. 41.

12 Suetonius, section 68, describes Tiberius large, robust, and of a stature above the usual size. Tacitus speaks of him when he was bent under the weight of years.

13 Some physicians have been of opinion that this was the venereal disease; but it is certain, that Europe knew nothing of that disorder before the discovery of the New World. Fracastorius has written an elegant Latin poem on the subject.

14 Suetonius says, there was a current report, that Livia, incensed by the haughty carriage of her son, produced the letters of Augustus, complaining of the pride and arrogance of Tiberius. The production of those papers, at such a distance of time, was thought to be his principal reason for leaving Rome. Suet. in Tib. s. 51.

15 Cocceius Nerva ended his days by abstinence, A. U. C. 786, to withdraw himself from the horror of the times. Annals, book vi. s. 26. Brotier says, he was thought to be father of the emperor Nerva.

16 He was afterwards ruined by Sejanus. See book vi. s. 10; see Ovid de Ponto, lib. ii. eleg. iv. and vii.

17 These Greek attendants, and the cruelties inflicted upon them by Tiberius, are mentioned in Suetonius, s. 56; and see Annals v. in the Supplement, s. 42. There were also in his train a number of Chaldean astrologers, or mathematicians, as they chose to call themselves. Juvenal, sat. x. ver. 94.

darkness. That Tiberius would return no more, was a prophecy verified by the event; the rest was altogether visionary, since we find, that, long after that time, he appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome, sometimes on the adjacent shore, often in the suburbs, and died at last in the extremity of old age.

LIX. While the reports of the astrologers were scattered abroad, an accident, which put Tiberius in danger of his life, added to the credulity of the people, but, at the same time, raised Sejanus higher than ever in the affections and esteem of his master. It happened, that in a cave formed by nature, at a villa called SPELUNCA,[1] between the Gulf of Amyclé and the hills of FONDI, Tiberius was at a banquet with a party of his friends, when the stones at the entrance gave way on a sudden, and crushed some of the attendants. The guests were alarmed, and fled for safety. Sejanus, to protect his master, fell on his knee, and with his whole force sustained the impending weight. In that attitude he was found by the soldiers, who came to relieve the prince. From that time the power of the minister knew no bounds. A man, who, in the moment of danger, could show so much zeal for his master, and so little attention to himself, was heard with affection and unlimited confidence. His counsels, however pernicious, were received as the dictates of truth and honour.

Towards the children of Germanicus, Sejanus affected to act with the integrity of a judge, while in secret he was their inveterate enemy. He suborned a band of accusers; and Nero, then presumptive heir to the empire, was the first devoted victim. The young prince, unhackneyed in the ways of men, modest in his deportment, and in his manners amiable, had not the prudence that knows how to temporize and bend to occasions. The freedmen, and others about his person, eager to grasp at power, encouraged him to act with firmness, and a spirit suited to his rank. Such behaviour, they told him, would gratify the wishes of the people; the army desired it, and the pride of Sejanus would soon be crest-fallen, though at present he triumphed over the worn out faculties of a superannuated emperor, and the careless disposition of a young and inexperienced prince.

LX. Roused by these discourses, Nero began to throw off all reserve. Guilt was foreign to his heart; but expressions of resentment fell from him, inconsiderate, rash, and unguarded. His words were caught up by spies about his person, and reported with aggravation. Against the malice of insidious men the prince had no opportunity to defend himself. He lived in constant anxiety, and every day brought some new alarm. Some of the domestics avoided his presence; others paid a formal salute, and coldly passed away; the greatest part entered into talk, and abruptly broke off the conversation; while the creatures of Sejanus, affecting to be free and easy, added mockery to their arrogance.

The emperor received the prince with a stern countenance, or an ambiguous smile. Whether Nero spoke, or suppressed his thoughts, every word was misconstrued, and even silence was a crime. The night itself gave him no respite from his cares, no retreat from danger. His waking moments, his repose, his sighs, his very dreams, informed against him: his wife[2] carried the tale to her mother Livia, and the last whispered every thing to Sejanus. By that dark politician even Drusus, the brother of Nero, was drawn into the conspiracy. To dazzle the imagination of a stripling, the splendour of empire, and the sure succession, when the ruin of the elder brother was completed, were held forth as bright temptations. The spirit of contention, common between brothers, was with Drusus an additional motive; and the partiality of Agrippina for her eldest son inflamed a young man, who was by nature violent and ambitious. Sejanus, in the mean time, while he seemed to cherish Drusus, was busily employed in schemes to undermine him. He knew the haughty temper of the prince, and from the violence of his passions expected to derive every advantage.

LXI. Towards the end of the year died two illustrious citizens,[3] Asinius Agrippa, and Quintus Haterius. The former was of an honourable but not ancient family. His own character reflected lustre on his ancestors. Haterius[4] was descended from a race of senators. His eloquence, while he lived, was in the highest celebrity; but his writings, published since his death, are not regarded as monuments of genius. Warm and rapid, he succeeded more through happiness than care. Diligence and depth of thinking, which give the last finishing to other works, and stamp their value with posterity, were not the talent of Haterius. His flowing period, and that harmonious cadence which charmed in the living orator, are now no longer heard. His page remains a dead letter, without grace or energy.

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1 This was in Campania, on the sea-coast, near *Terracina*. The villa, according to Brotier, is now called *Sperlonga*.

2 Julia, the daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius, by his wife Livia, or Livilla. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71 and 74.

3 Asinius Agrippa, grandson to the famous Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, was consul A. U. C. 778. See this book, s. 34.

4 Haterius flourished in the time of Augustus. He was an eminent orator, but so copious and rapid, that the emperor compared him to a chariot that required a spoke in the wheels. *Haterius noster suffaminandus est.* Seneca, Controvers. lib. iv. in Præfatione. See also Seneca, epist. xl. Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says he lived to the age of ninety.

LXII. In the next consulship, [A. U. C. 780. A. D. 27.] which was that of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, an unforseen disaster, no sooner begun than ended, laid a scene of ruin equal to the havoc of the most destructive war. A man of the name of Atilius, the son of a freedman, undertook at Fidena[5] to build an amphitheatre for the exhibition of gladiators. The foundation was slight, and the superstructure not sufficiently braced; the work of a man, who had neither the pride of wealth, nor the ambition to make himself of consequence in a municipal town. The profit that might probably arise from such a scheme, was all he had in view. The people, under the austerity of a rigid and unsocial government, deprived of their usual diversions, were eager for the novelty of a public spectacle;[6] and the place being at no great distance from Rome, a vast conflux of men and women, old and young, crowded together. The consequence was, that the building, overloaded with spectators, gave way at once. All who were under the roof, besides a prodigious multitude that stood round the place, were crushed under the ruins. The condition of those who perished instantly, was the happiest. They escaped the pangs of death, while the maimed and lacerated lingered in torment, beholding, as long as daylight lasted, their wives and children in equal agony, and, during the night, pierced to the heart by their shrieks and groans. A calamity so fatal was soon known round the country. Crowds from all quarters went to view the melancholy scene. One lamented a brother, another his near relation; children wept for their parents, and almost all for their friends. Such as by their avocations had been led a different way, were given up for lost. The real sufferers were still unknown, and, in that dreadful state of suspense, every bosom panted with doubt and fear.

LXIII. The ruins were no sooner removed, than the crowd rushed in to examine the place. They gathered round the dead bodies; they clasped them in their arms; they imprinted kisses, and often mistook the person. Disfigured faces, parity of age, and similitude of form and feature, occasioned great confusion. Claims were made, a tender contest followed, and errors were acknowledged. The number of killed or maimed was not less than fifty thousand.[7] The senate provided by a decree, that, for the future, no man whose fortune was under four hundred thousand sesterces should presume to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and that, till the foundation was examined, no amphitheatre should be erected. Atilius, the builder, was condemned to banishment. The grandees of Rome displayed their humanity on this occasion; they threw open their doors, they ordered medicines to be distributed, and the physicians attended with assiduity in every quarter. The city of Rome recalled, in that juncture, an image of ancient manners, when after a battle bravely fought, the sick and wounded were received with open arms, and relieved by the generosity of their country.

LXIV. While the public mind was still bleeding for the late calamity, a dreadful fire laid waste a great part of the city. Mount Cœlius[8] was reduced to ashes. The populace began to murmur. The year, they said, was big with disasters, and the prince departed from Rome under an evil constellation. Such is the logic of the multitude; what happens by chance, they impute to design. To appease their discontent, Tiberius ordered a distribution of money in proportion to the damage of individuals. For this act of liberality, the senate passed a vote of thanks, and the people were loud in praise of munificence so seasonably applied, and granted indiscriminately. No man had occasion to make interest; it was enough that he was a sufferer. The fathers came to a resolution, that Mount Cœlius, where a statue of Tiberius, in the house of Junius the senator, escaped the fury of the flames, should for the future be called Mount Augustus. A prodigy of a similar nature happened in ancient times. The statue[9] of Claudia Quinctia was saved twice from a general conflagration, and, on that account, placed and dedicated in the temple of the mother of the gods. The Claudian family were ever after considered as peculiarly favoured by heaven, and the spot where the gods were lately so propitious to Tiberius, was declared to be consecrated ground.

LXV. It will not perhaps be improper to mention in this place, that the mount of which we have been speaking, was, in the early ages of Rome, covered with a grove of oaks, and for that reason called Querquetulanus. It took afterwards the name of Cœlius from Cœles Vibenna, an Etrurian chief, who marched at the head of his countrymen, to assist the Romans, and for that service had the spot assigned to him as a canton for himself and his people. Whether this was the act of Tarquinius Priscus, or some other Roman king, is not settled by the historians. Thus much is certain; the number transplanted was so great, that their new habitation extended from the mount along the plain beneath, as far as the spot where the forum stands at present. From those settlers the Tuscan Street derives its name.[10]

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5 See the Geographical Table.

6 Under the gloomy reign of Tiberius, the people lost their favourite amusements, and, therefore, ran in crowds to the theatre, and other spectacles, whenever an opportunity offered.

7 Suetonius says, twenty thousand; in Tib. s. 40.

8 One of the seven hills of Rome.

9 Suetonius mentions this conflagration; in Tib. s. 48.

10 The origin of the *Tuscan Street* is accounted for in a different manner by Livy, lib. ii. s. 14.

LXVI. Though the sufferings of the people, in their late distress, were alleviated by the bounty of the prince, and the humanity of the great, there was still an evil, against which no remedy could be found. The crew of informers rose in credit every day, and covered the city with consternation. Quintilius Varus,[1] the son of Claudia Pulchra, and nearly related to the emperor, was marked out as a victim. His large possessions tempted Domitius Afer, who had already ruined the mother. The blow now aimed at the son, was no more than was expected from a man, who had lived in indigence, and, having squandered the wages of his late iniquity, was ready to find a new quarry for his avarice. But that a man like Publius Dolabella, nobly descended, and related to Varus, should become an instrument in the destruction of his own family, was matter of wonder. The senate stopped the progress of the mischief. They resolved that the cause should stand over till the emperor's return to Rome. Procrastination was the only refuge of the unhappy.

LXVII. Tiberius, in the mean time, dedicated the two temples in Campania which served him as a pretext for quitting the city of Rome. That business finished, he issued an edict warning the neighbouring cities not to intrude upon his privacy. For better security, he placed a guard at proper stations, to prevent all access to his person. These precautions, however, did not content him. Hating the municipal towns, weary of the colonies, and sick of every thing on the continent, he passed over to Capreæ,[2] a small island, separated from the promontory of Surrentum by an arm of the sea, not more than three miles broad. Defended there from all intrusion, and delighted with the solitude of the place, he sequestered himself from the world, seeing, as may be imagined, many circumstances suited to his humour. Not a single port in the channel; the stations but few, and those accessible only to small vessels; no part of the island, where men could land unobserved[3] by the sentinels; the climate inviting; in the winter, a soft and genial air, under the shelter of a mountain, that repels the inclemency of the winds; in the summer, the heat allayed by the western breeze; the sea presenting a smooth expanse, and opening a view of the bay of Naples, with a beautiful landscape on its borders: all these conspired to please the taste and genius of Tiberius. The scene, indeed, has lost much of its beauty, the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius[4] having, since that time, changed the face of the country.

If we may believe an old tradition, a colony from Greece was formerly settled on the opposite coast of Italy, and the Teleboi were in possession of the isle of Capreæ. Be that as it may, Tiberius chose for his residence twelve different villas,[5] all magnificent and well fortified. Tired of public business, he now resigned himself to his favourite gratifications, amidst his solitary vices still engendering mischief. The habit of nourishing dark suspicions, and believing every whisperer, still adhered to him. At Rome, Sejanus knew how to practise on such a temper; but in this retreat he governed him with unbounded influence. Having gained the ascendant, he thought it time to fall on Agrippina and her son Nero, not, as heretofore, with covered malice, but with open and avowed hostility. He gave them a guard under colour of attending their persons, but in fact to be spies on their actions. Every circumstance was noted; their public and their private discourse, their messengers, their visiters, all were closely watched, and a journal kept of petty occurrences. The agents of Sejanus, by order of their master, advised them both to fly for protection to the German army, or to take sanctuary under the statue of Augustus in the public forum, and there implore the protection of the senate and the people. The advice was rejected; but the project, as if their own, and ripe for execution, was imputed to them as a crime.

LXVIII. Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva were the next consuls. The year [A. U. C. 781. A. D. 28.] began with a transaction of the blackest dye. Titius Sabinus,[6] a Roman knight of high distinction, was seized with violence, and dragged to the prison. His steady attachment to the house of Germanicus was his only crime. After the death of that unfortunate prince, he continued firm to Agrippina and her children; at her house a constant visitor; in public a sure attendant, and, of the whole number that formerly paid their court, the only friend at last. His constancy was applauded by every honest mind, and censured by the vile and profligate. Four men of prætorian rank entered

1 The son of Quintilius Varus, who perished with his three legions in Germany. See the Genealogical Table, No. 98. The prosecution of Claudia Pulchra has been mentioned in this book, s. 52.

2 The isle of Capreæ lies at a small distance from the promontory of *Surrentum* (now *Capo della Minerva*,) and has the whole circuit of the bay of Naples in view. It is about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. See Addison's Description in his Travels in Italy.

3 For the barbarity, with which Tiberius treated all that landed on the island without permission, see Suetonius, in Tib. s. 60; and see Annals, v. in the Supplement, s. 41.

4 The eruption of Vesuvius happened in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Pliny gives a description of it, lib. vi. epist. xvi. and xx.

5 Tiberius fortified and fitted up for his residence twelve villas on the island, and gave to each the name of one of the gods. Suetonius mentions the *Villa Jovis*, in Tib. s. 65.

6 Sabinus has been already mentioned as a person marked out for destruction by Sejanus. This book, s. 18 and 19.

into a conspiracy to work his ruin. Their names were Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opsius. They had all attained the prætorian rank, and now aspired to the consulship. The road to that dignity they knew was open to none but the creatures of Sejanus, and to the favour of that minister guilt was the only recommendation. The conspirators settled among themselves, that Latiaris, who had some connection with Sabinus, should undertake to lay the snare, while the rest lay in wait for evidence, determined, as soon as their materials were collected, to begin their scene of iniquity, and stand forth as witnesses.

Latiaris accordingly made his approaches to Sabinus: he talked at first on trite and common topics, artfully making a transition to the fidelity of Sabinus, who did not, like others, follow the fortunes of a noble house, while fortune smiled, and, in the hour of adversity sound his retreat with the rest of the sneaking train. He made honourable mention of Germanicus, and spoke of Agrippina in pathetic terms. Sabinus, with a mind enfeebled by misfortunes, and now softened by compassion, burst into a flood of tears. To emotions of tenderness resentment succeeded. He talked, with indignation, of the cruelty of Sejanus, of his pride, his arrogance, and his daring ambition. The emperor himself did not escape. From this time, like men who had unbosomed their secrets to each other, Latiaris and Sabinus joined in the closest union. They cultivated each other's friendship. Sabinus sought the company of his new confederate; he frequented his house, and without reserve, in the fullest confidence, disclosed his inmost thoughts.

LXIX. The conspirators held it necessary, that the conversation of Sabinus should be heard by more than one. A place for this purpose, secure and solitary, was to be chosen. To listen behind doors, were to hazard a discovery; they might be seen or overheard, or some trifling accident might give the alarm. The scene of action was at length fixed. They chose the cavity between the roof of the house and the ceiling of the room. In that vile lurking-hole, with an execrable design, three Roman senators lay concealed, their ears applied to chinks and crannies, listening to conversation, and by fraud collecting evidence. To complete this plan of iniquity, Latiaris met Sabinus in the street, and, under pretence of communicating secret intelligence, decoyed him to the house, and to the very room where the infamous eavesdroppers lay in ambush. In that recess Latiaris entered into conversation; he recalled past grievances; he stated recent calamities, and opened a train of evils still to come. Sabinus went over the same ground, more animated than before, and more in the detail. When griefs, which have been long pent up, once find a vent, men love to discharge the load that weighs upon the heart. From the materials thus collected, the conspirators drew up an accusation in form, and sent it to the emperor, with a memorial to their own disgrace and infamy, setting forth the whole of their conduct. Rome was never at any period so distracted with anxiety and terror. Men were afraid of knowing each other; society was at a pause; relations, friends, and strangers, stood at gaze; no public meeting, no private confidence; things inanimate had ears, and roofs and walls were deemed informers.

LXX. On the calends of January, Tiberius despatched a letter to the senate, in which, after expressing, as usual in the beginning of the year, his prayers and vows for the commonwealth, he fell with severity on Sabinus. He charged him with a plot against his sovereign, and with corrupting, for that purpose, several of the imperial freedmen. He concluded in terms neither dark nor ambiguous, demanding vengeance on the offender. Judgment of death was pronounced accordingly. Sabinus[7] was seized and dragged through the streets to immediate execution. Muffled in his robe, his voice almost stifled, he presented to the gazing multitude a tragic spectacle. He cried out with what power of utterance he could, "Behold the bloody opening of the year! With victims like myself Sejanus must be glutted!" He continued to struggle and throw his eyes around. Wherever he looked, to whatever side he directed his voice, the people shrunk back dismayed; they fled, they disappeared: the public places and the forum were abandoned; the streets became a desert. In their confusion some returned to the same spot, as if willing to behold the horrid scene, alarmed for themselves, and dreading the crime of being terrified.

The general murmur was, "Will there never be a day unpolluted with blood? Amidst the rites and ceremonies of a season sacred to reli-

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7 The original shortly says, *trahebatur damnatus;* but it is clear from the context, that he was hurried to execution. Dio says, he was dragged with a hook in his mouth to the *Gemoniæ* (the place where the malefactors were exposed), and afterwards thrown into the Tiber. Pliny the elder relates a remarkable instance of the affection of Sabinus's dog. That faithful domestic followed his master to the prison, and afterwards, at the *Gemoniæ*, staid with the corpse, with pathetic cries and dismal howlings lamenting the loss. Food was offered to the dog; he took it, and held it to his master's mouth; and finally, when the body was thrown into the Tiber, that generous animal leaped into the water, and endeavoured to keep the remains of his master from sinking. *Cum animadverteretur, ex causa Neronis Germanici filii, in Titium Sabinum et servilia ejus, canem nec a carcere abigi potuisse, nec a corpore recessisse in gradibus Gemoniis, edentem ululatus, magna populi Romani corona; ex qua cum quidam ei cibum objecisset, ad os defuncti tulisse. Innatavit idem in Tiberim cadaver abjectæ sustentare conatus, effusa multitudine ad spectandum animalis fidem.* Pliny, lib. viii. s. 61.

gion, when all business is at a stand, and the use of profane words is by law prohibited, we hear the clank of chains; we see the halter, and the murder of a fellow-citizen. The innovation, monstrous as it is, is a deliberate act, the policy of Tiberius. He means to make cruelty systematic. By this unheard-of outrage, he gives public notice to the magistrates, that on the first day of the year, they are to open, not only the temples and the altars, but also the dungeons of the charnel-house." Tiberius, in a short time after, sent despatches to the senate, commending the zeal of the fathers in bringing to condign punishment an enemy of the state. He added, that his life was imbittered with anxiety, and the secret machinations of insidious enemies kept him in a constant alarm. Though he mentioned no one by name, his malice was understood to glance at Nero and Agrippina.

LXXI. The plan of this work professes to give the transactions of the year in chronological order. If that rule did not restrain me, I should here be tempted to anticipate the time, and, to gratify indignation, relate the vengeance that overtook Latiaris,[1] Opsius, and the other actors in that horrible tragedy. Some of them were reserved for the reign of Caligula; but even, in the present period, the sword of justice was not suffered to remain inactive. The fact was, Tiberius made it a rule to protect his instruments of cruelty; but it was also in his nature to be satiated with the arts of flagitious men: new tools of corruption listed in his service; and his former agents, worn out in guilt, neglected and despised, were cashiered at once, and left to the resentment of their enemies. But I forbear; the punishment that befel the murderers of Sabinus, and other miscreants equally detestable, shall be seen in its proper place.

The emperor's letter above mentioned being read in the senate, Asinius Gallus,[2] whose sons were nephews to Agrippina, moved an address, requesting the prince to reveal his secret disquietude, that the wisdom of the fathers might remove all cause of complaint. Dissimulation was the darling practice of Tiberius, and he placed it in the rank of virtues. Hating detection, and jealous of prying eyes, he was now enraged against the man who seemed to have fathomed his latent meaning. Sejanus appeased his anger, not out of friendship to Gallus, but to leave Tiberius to the workings of his own gloomy temper. The favourite had studied the genius of his master. He knew that he could think with phlegm, slow to resolve, yet gathering rancour, and, in the end, sure to break out with fiercer vengeance.

About this time died Julia,[3] the granddaughter of Augustus, during that prince's reign convicted of adultery, and banished to the isle of Trimetus,[4] near the coast of Apulia. At that place she languished in exile during a space of three and twenty years, a wretched dependant on the bounty of Livia, who first cut off the grandsons of Augustus, in their day of splendour, and then made a show of compassion for the rest of the family, who were suffered to survive in misery.

LXXII. In the course of this year the Frisians, a people dwelling beyond the Rhine,[5] broke out into open acts of hostility. The cause of the insurrection was not the restless spirit of a nation impatient of the yoke; they were driven to despair by Roman avarice. A moderate tribute, such as suited the poverty of the people, consisting of raw hides for the use of the legions, had been formerly imposed by Drusus.[6] To specify the exact size and quality of the hide was an idea that never entered the head of any man, till Olennius, the first centurion of a legion, being appointed governor over the Frisians, collected a quantity of the hides of forest bulls,[7] and made them the standard both of weight and dimension. To any other nation this would have been a grievous burden, but was altogether impracticable in Germany, where the cattle, running wild in large tracts of forest, are of prodigious size, while the breed for domestic uses is remarkably small. The Frisians groaned under this oppressive demand. They gave up first their cattle, next their lands; and finally were obliged to see their wives and children carried into slavery by way of commutation. Discontent and bitter resentment filled the breasts of injured men. They applied for redress, but without effect. In despair they took up arms; they seized the tax-gatherers, and hung them upon gibbets. Olennius made his escape.

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1 In what remains of Tacitus, we find the punishment of LATIARIS only. See Annals, vi. s. 4. The rest suffered under Caligula.

2 Asinius Gallus married Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa by Pomponia, the granddaughter of Atticus, after she was divorced from Tiberius. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was also the daughter of Agrippa by Julia, the daughter of Augustus; and being half-sister to the wife of Asinius Gallus, she was, of course, aunt to his children. See the Genalogical Table.

3 She was guilty of adultery with Silanus. See book iii. s. 24.

4 For Trimetus, see the Geographical Table.

5 The Frisians inhabited along the sea-coast, between the Rhine and the Amisia (the Ems). See the Geographical Table; and the Manners of the Germans, s. 34, and note.

6 Drusus, the father of Germanicus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79 and 81.

7 Cæsar has described this species of cattle. The URI, he says, nearly equal the elephant in bulk, but in colour, shape, and kind, resemble the bull. They are of uncommon strength and swiftness, and spare neither man nor beast that comes in their way. See Duncan's Cæsar, book vi. s. 26. Cæsar, lib. vi. s. 28. Virgil has,

Sylvestres Uri assidue, capræque sequaces.
Georgics, lib. ii.

He fled for refuge to a castle known by the name of Flevum,[8] at that time garrisoned by a strong party of the Romans and auxiliaries, who were stationed in that quarter for the defence of the country bordering on the German Ocean.

LXXIII. Intelligence of this revolt no sooner reached Lucius Apronius, at that time proprætor of the Lower Germany, than he drew together from the upper Rhine a detachment of the legionary veterans, with the flower of the allied horse and infantry. Having now two armies, he sailed down the Rhine, and made a descent on the territory of the Frisians, then employed in a close blockade of Flevum castle. To defend their country against the invaders, the Barbarians thought proper, on the approach of the Romans, to abandon the siege. The æstuaries in that country, formed by the influx of the sea, are a grand obstacle to military operations. Apronius ordered bridges to be prepared and causeys to be thrown over the marshes. Meanwhile the fords and shallows being discovered, he sent the cavalry of the Caninefates[9] and the German infantry that served under him, with orders to pass over, and take post in the rear of the enemy. The Frisians, drawn up in order of battle, gave them a warm reception. The whole detachment, with the legionary horse sent to support the ranks, was put to the rout. Apronius despatched three light cohorts; two more followed, and, in a short time, the whole cavalry of the auxiliaries; a force sufficient, had they made one joint attack; but coming up in separate divisions, and at different times, they were neither able to rally the broken ranks, nor, in the general panic, to make head against the enemy.

In this distress, Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, received orders to advance with the remainder of the allies. That officer soon found himself pressed on every side. He sent messenger after messenger to call forth the whole strength of the army. His own legion being the fifth, rushed forward to his assistance. A sharp engagement followed. The Barbarians, at length, gave ground; and the auxiliary cohorts, faint with fatigue, and disabled by their wounds, were rescued from the sword of the enemy. The Roman general neither pursued the fugitives, nor staid to bury the slain, though a number of tribunes and officers of rank, with centurions of distinguished bravery, lay dead on the field of battle. By deserters intelligence was afterwards brought, that no less than nine hundred Romans were surrounded in the forest called Baduhenna,[10] and after a gallant defence, which lasted till the dawn of day, were to a man cut to pieces. Another body, consisting of no less than four hundred, threw themselves into a strong mansion belonging to Cruptorix, a German chief, who had formerly served in the Roman army; but this whole party, afraid of treachery, and dreading nothing so much as being delivered into the hands of the enemy, turned their swords against each other, and perished by mutual slaughter.

LXXIV. The name of the Frisians was, by consequence, celebrated throughout Germany. Tiberius, with his usual closeness, endeavoured to conceal the loss, aware that a war would call for a new commander, and that important trust he was unwilling to commit to any person whatever. As to the senate; events that happened on the remote frontiers of the empire, made little impression on that assembly. Domestic grievances were more interesting: every man trembled for himself, and flattery was his only resource. With this spirit the fathers, at a time when matters of moment demanded their attention, made it their first business to decree an altar to Clemency, and another to Friendship; both to be decorated with the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus. They voted, at the same time, an humble address, requesting that the prince and his minister would condescend to show themselves to the people of Rome. Neither of them entered the city, nor even approached the suburbs. To leave their island on a sailing-party and exhibit themselves on the coast of Campania, was a sufficient favour.

To enjoy that transient view, all degrees and orders of men, the senators, the Roman knights, and the populace, pressed forward in crowds. The favourite attracted the attention of all, but was difficult of access. To gain admission to his presence was the work of cabal, intrigue, or connection in guilt. Sejanus felt his natural arrogance inflamed and pampered by a scene of servility so openly displayed before him. He saw a whole people crouching in bondage. At Rome the infamy was not so visible. In a great and populous city, where all are in motion, the sycophant may creep unnoticed to pay his homage. In a vast conflux, numbers are constantly passing and repassing; but their business, their pursuits, whence they come, and whither they are going, no man knows. On the margin of the sea, the case was different. Without distinction of rank, the nobles and the populace lay in the fields, or on the shore, humbly waiting,

8 Flevum castle was on the borders of the river Flevus, but no vestige of it remains at present. The river is swallowed up by the great gulf, called *Zuyder-Zee*. See the Geographical Table.

9 There were three different establishments of cavalry in the Roman armies: namely, the troops of horse belonging to each legion; the cavalry that formed a separate corps, as *Ala Petrina, Syllana, Scribonia*; and the cavalry of the allies, as *Ala Batavorum, Treverorum, &c.* For the Caninefates, see the Geographical Table.

10 Brotier calls it the largest forest in the territory of the *Frisians*, known at present by the name of Seven Wolden.

night and day, to court the smiles of the porter at the great man's gate, or to bear the insolence of slaves in office. Even that importunity was at length prohibited. The whole herd returned to Rome; some, who had not been honoured with a word or a smile, sinking into the lowest dejection of spirits; others elate with joy, for they had seen the favourite, and did not then suspect how soon that fatal connection was to overwhelm them all in ruin.

LXXV. The year closed with the marriage of Agrippina,[1] one of the daughters of Germanicus. Tiberius gave her away in person to Cneius Domitius, but ordered the nuptial ceremony to be performed at Rome. Domitius was descended from a splendid line of ancestors, and, besides, allied to the house of Cæsar. He was the grandson of Octavia, and of course grand-nephew to Augustus. By this consideration Tiberius was determined in his choice.

1 Her father Germanicus, being adopted by Tiberius, she, of course, was the emperor's granddaughter. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. For her husband Domitius Ænobarbus, see the Table, No. 34. It was said of him, if he had not been the father of Nero, he would have been the worst man of the age.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK V.

CONTENTS OF BOOK V.

I. *The death and character of the empress Livia.*—II. *Tiberius grows more oppressive than ever, and Sejanus rises to greater power.*—III. *Tiberius, by a letter to the senate, accuses Agrippina and her son Nero—The populace in a tumultuous manner surround the senate-house—The fathers proceed no farther in the business—Sejanus incensed against their conduct.*—V. *Tiberius writes in an angry style to the senate, and reserves the affair of Agrippina for his own judgment—The apology of the senate.*

In this place a chasm of near three years: the supplement begins with the section marked with figures instead of the Roman numeral letters.

1. *Designs of Sejanus against Agrippina and Nero.*—2. *Violent prosecutions: Tiberius violent against all the friends of his mother.*—3. *Tranquillity through all the Roman provinces.*—4. *Remarkable letter from Tiberius to the senate.*—5. *Agrippina and Nero voted public enemies—Both taken into custody—She is confined near Herculaneum—A centurion beats out her eye—She is banished to Pandataria, and Nero to Pontia, where he is put to death—Sejanus plots the ruin of Drusus, the second son of Germanicus—He seduces Æmilia Lepida to join him against her husband.*—7. *Drusus made a prisoner in the lower part of the palace.*—8. *Tiberius begins to suspect Sejanus, but amuses him with warm professions of friendship.*—10. *Popularity of Sejanus: his statues erected at Rome: his birth-day celebrated.*—11. *Velleius Paterculus the historian: he is the creature of Sejanus, and sullies his history with adulation.*—13. *Tiberius suspects Asinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus, the professed friends of Sejanus—The stratagem by which Tiberius contrives the ruin of Asinius Gallus.*—15. *Sejanus is loaded with honours by the emperor: Livia, the widow of Drusus, given to him in marriage.*—17. *Tiberius resolved to remove Sejanus to Rome, and for that purpose makes him joint consul with himself.—Sejanus makes his entry into Rome, and is received with demonstrations of joy.*—20. *The cruelty of Sejanus—Death of Geminius Rufus and Prisca his wife—The consulship extended by a decree to a term of five years.*—22. *Tiberius annuls the decree; he resigns the consulship, and makes Sejanus do the same.*—23. *Sejanus wishes to return to the isle of Capreæ; Tiberius objects to it, and says he means to visit Rome.*—24. *The young Caligula raised to the honours of augur and pontiff—Sejanus is honoured with religious worship: Tiberius forbids such impious mockery even to himself.*—26. *Sejanus driven almost to despair: he forms a conspiracy, determined at all events to seize the reins of government—Satrius Secundus betrays him to Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius—Pallas, then a slave, but afterwards the favourite of the emperor Claudius, is sent by Antonia to inform against Sejanus.*—28. *Measures of Tiberius to defeat Sejanus—Macro sent to Rome to command the prætorian guards—Artful proceedings against Sejanus—Regulus, the consul, and Laco, captain of the city cohorts, join against Sejanus, and take him into custody in the senate-house.*—33. *He is dragged to prison; insults of the populace; his death—Decrees of the senate against his memory.*—35. *Honours decreed to Macro and Laco, but by them prudently rejected.*—37. *Junius Blæsus, uncle to Sejanus, put to death; as also the eldest son of Sejanus—Apicata, the first wife of Sejanus, but divorced from him, discovers the particulars of the murder of Drusus by her husband and the younger Livia, and then puts an end to her days.*—38. *Death of Livia, by order of Tiberius.*—39. *His opinion of Caligula.*—40. *Acts of cruelty by Tiberius in the isle of Capreæ, displayed in various instances.*

43. From the end of this section Tacitus goes on to the end of the book.

VI. *The speech of an illustrious senator, whose name is lost: his fortitude, and manner of dying.*

VIII. *P. Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus accused, but not brought to trial—Vitellius dies broken-hearted—Pomponius out-lived Tiberius.*—IX. *A son and daughter of Sejanus, the last of his family, put to death by order of the senate.*—X. *A counterfeit Drusus in Greece. The impostor detected by Poppæus Sabinus.*—XI. *Dissensions between the two consuls.*

These transactions include three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
782	29	L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fusius Geminus.
783	30	Marcus Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus.
784	31	Tiberius 5th time, L. Ælius Sejanus.
About the middle of May in the same year for three months.		Cornelius Sulla, Sexteidius Catullinus.
From the middle of August in the same year.		Memmius Regulus, Fulcinius Trio.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK V.

I. DURING the consulship of Rubellius Geminus, and Fusius[1] [A. U. C. 782. A. D. 29.] who bore the same surname, died, in an advanced old age, the emperor's mother Livia,[2] styled Julia Augusta. Illustrious by her descent from the house of Claudius, she was further enobled by adoption into the Livian and the Julian families. She was first married to Tiberius Nero[3] and by him was the mother of two sons. Her husband, when the city of Perusia was obliged to surrender to the arms of Augustus, made his escape, and wandered from place to place, till the peace between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirate restored him to his country. Enamoured of the graceful form and beauty of Livia, Augustus obliged her husband to resign her to his embraces. Whether she had consented to the change, is uncertain; but the passion of the emperor was so ardent, that, without waiting till she was delivered of the fruit of her womb, he conveyed her, pregnant as she was, to his own house. By this second marriage she had no issue; but Agrippina and Germanicus[4] being joined in wedlock, Livia became allied to the house of Cæsar, and the issue of that match were the common great-grandchildren of Augustus and herself. Her domestic conduct was formed on the model of primitive manners: but by a graceful ease, unknown to her sex in the time of the republic, she had the address to soften the rigour of ancient virtue. A wife of amiable manners, yet a proud and imperious mother, she united in herself the opposite qualities that suited the specious arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of her son. The rites of sepulture[5] were performed without pomp or

1 Tillemont, in his History of the Emperors, fixes the passion of our Saviour in this year. Lactantius and many of the fathers are of the same opinion. The writers of modern date place that great event four years later, in the xixth of Tiberius, instead of xvth, and their calculation is now generally adopted. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. i. page 316, 4to edition. Tacitus, incidentally, mentions Jesus Christ, and his sufferings under Pontius Pilate, Annals, xv. s. 44.

2 Augustus by his last will adopted her into the Julian family, under the additional name of AUGUSTA. Annals, book i. s. 8. Tacitus, after that time, calls her JULIA, JULIA AUGUSTA, and, frequently AUGUSTA only. For the sake of uniformity she is always called *Livia* in the translation, and once or twice *Empress Mother*, though it must be acknowledged that the appellation is premature. The Romans had no title to correspond with *Empress*, *Senatress*, &c. See an Essay on the name of Augustus, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xix. 4to edition. Julia died, according to Pliny, lib. xiv. s. 6, at the age of eighty-two. Her father was of the Claudian family, and, being adopted into the house of Livius, took the name of Livius Drusus Claudianus. He fought on the side of liberty at the battle of Philippi, and seeing the day lost, died by his own hand. For Livia, see the Genealogical Table, No. 66.

3 He was also, as well as his wife, of the Claudian family. He appeared in arms against Octavius (afterwards Augustus), on the side of Lucius Antonius, whom he considered as the last asserter of public liberty. Antonius was besieged at *Perusia* by Augustus, A. U. C. 714, and, after holding out till the garrison was reduced by famine, was obliged to capitulate. Tiberius Nero endeavoured to collect the scattered remains of the republican party; but, his efforts proving fruitless, he was obliged to fly to Sextus Pompeius, then in possession of Sicily. His wife Livia attended him in his flight, being at that time big with child; and bearing in her arms her infant son Tiberius, who was about two years old. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 75. The father afterwards made his peace with Augustus, and returned to Rome, A. U. C. 716; and his wife Livia, yielding to the emperor's embraces, sealed his pardon. Livia was then six months with child. Augustus, before he married her, was obliged to obtain a dispensation from the Pontifical College. In three months afterwards Livia was delivered of her second son, Drusus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 79. Caligula, afterwards emperor, and great-grandson of Livia, used to say of her that she was another Ulysses in petticoats. *Liviam Augustam, proaviam suam, identidem* ULYSSEM STOLATUM *appellans*. Suetonius in Calig. s. 23.

4 Germanicus, the son of Drusus, was grandson to Livia; and Agrippina, his wife, was granddaughter to Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 81 and No. 51.

5 Tiberius, from the day of his accession to the imperial dignity, considered his mother as a woman of a politic and artificial character, proud, fierce, and overbearing: in appearance, plotting to aggrandize her son; in secret, wishing for nothing so much as to gratify her own ambition. She lived three years after Tiberius retired to the isle of Capreæ, and, during that time, never had more than one short interview. In her last illness Tiberius did not condescend to visit her. He signified an inclination to attend the funeral ceremony; but he promised only to deceive, and delayed so long, that the body was in a state of putrefaction before it was committed to the flames. Suet. in Tib. s. 51.

magnificence. Her will remained for a long time unexecuted. The funeral oration was delivered from the rostrum by her great-grandson Caius Cæsar, afterwards Caligula, the emperor.

II. Tiberius did not attend to pay the last melancholy duties to his mother. He continued to riot in voluptuous pleasures, but the weight of business was his apology to the senate. Public honours were, with great profusion, decreed to her memory: Tiberius, under the mask of moderation, retrenched the greatest part,[1] expressly forbidding the forms of religious worship. On that point he knew the sentiments of his mother; it was her desire not to be deified. In the same letter that conveyed his directions to the senate, he passed a censure on the levity of female friendship; by that remark obliquely glancing at Fusius the consul, who owed his elevation to the partiality of Livia. The fact was, Fusius had brilliant talents. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of recommending himself to the softer sex. His conversation sparkled with wit. In his lively sallies he did not spare even Tiberius himself, forgetting that the raillery which plays with the foibles of the great, is long remembered, and seldom forgiven.

III. From this time may be dated the era of a furious, headlong, and despotic government. The rage of Tiberius knew no bounds. While his mother lived, his passions were rebuked, and in some degree controlled. He had been from his infancy in the habit of submitting to her judgment; and to counteract her authority was more than Sejanus dared to undertake. By the death of Livia all restraint was thrown off. The prince and his minister broke out with unbridled fury. A letter was despatched to the senate, in bitter terms arraigning the conduct of Agrippina and her son Nero. The charge was generally supposed to have been framed, and even forwarded to Rome, during the life of Livia, but, by her influence, for that time suppressed. The violence of the proceeding, so soon after her death, gave rise to the opinion entertained by the populace. The letter was conceived in a style of exquisite malice, containing, however, against the grandson no imputation of treason, no plot to levy war against the state. The crimes objected to him were unlawful pleasures, and a life of riot and debauchery. Agrippina's character was proof against the shafts of malice. Her haughty carriage and unconquerable pride were the only allegations that could be urged against her. The fathers sat in profound silence, covered with astonishment. At length, that class of men, who by fair and honourable means had nothing to hope, seized the opportunity to convert to their own private advantage the troubles and misfortunes of their country. A motion was made that the contents of the letter should be taken into consideration. Cotta Messalinus,[2] the most forward of the party, a man ever ready to join in any profligate vote, seconded the motion; but the leading members of the senate, particularly the magistrates, remained in a state of doubt and perplexity. They saw no ground for proceeding in a business of so high a nature, communicated indeed with acrimony, but wanting precision, and ending abruptly, without any clear or definite purpose.

IV. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by the emperor to register[3] the acts of the fathers, was, at that time, present in the assembly. From the nature of his employment he was sup-

1 The apotheosis of Livia is still to be seen on ancient medals; but we learn from Suetonius, that divine honours were granted by the emperor Claudius, and the medals were most probably struck during his reign. See Suet. in Claud. s. 9.

2 Cotta Messalinus was the son of Messala Corvinus, the famous orator, who was highly commended by Quintilian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 12. note. The son inherited a portion of his father's eloquence, but none of his virtues. He is again mentioned by Tacitus as the promoter of oppression and cruelty. Annals, book vi. s. 5. He is recorded by Pliny the elder as a voluptuous epicure, and a great proficent in the art of cookery. He invented a new *ragout*, composed of the feet of geese, and the combs of cocks. I relate this fact, says Pliny, to the end, that men who profess to study the pleasures of the table, may enjoy all the praise due to their kitchens. *Tribuetur enim a me culinis cujusque palma cum fide.* Pliny, lib. x. s. 22. Some of Ovid's Epistles, written in his exile, are addressed to Messalina.

3 Suetonius assures us, that Julius Cæsar ordered acts of the senate, as well as of the people, to be daily committed to writing, and published, which had never been done before his time. See in Jul. Cæs. s. 20. Augustus, a more timid, and, by consequence, a darker politician, ordered the proceedings of the senate to be kept secret. Suet. in Aug. s. 36. Tiberius followed the same rule, but, as it seems, had the caution to appoint a senator to execute the office. Dio says, that he also directed what should be inserted or omitted. These records were, in the modern phrase, the JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE. In the early period of the commonwealth, before the use of letters was generally known, the years were registered by a number of nails driven into the gate of the temple of Jupiter. Livy, lib. vii. s. 3. But even in that rude age, the chief pontiff committed to writing the transactions of each year, and kept the record at his house for the inspection of the people. *Pontifex maximus res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat literis, efferebatque in Album, et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi.* Cicero, De Orat. lib. ii. s. 12. This mode of keeping the records continued in use till the death of Mucius Scævola, A. U. C. 672. After that time the motions in the senate, the debates, and resolutions of the fathers, occasioned a multiplicity of business; and, of course, the ancient simple form was found insufficient. Under the emperors, four different records grew into use: namely, the acts of the prince; secondly, the proceedings of the senate; thirdly, the public transactions of the people; and fourthly, the games, spectacles, births, marriages, deaths, and daily occurrences of the city, called the DIURNA. The last were sent into the provinces, and were there received as the ROMAN GAZETTE.

posed to be in the secrets of his master. He rose on a sudden, under the impulse of some emotion unfelt before: magnanimity it was not, since he had never, upon any occasion, discovered one generous sentiment: perhaps he was deceived by his own political speculations, in the hurry and confusion of a tumultuous judgment anticipating future mischief, but not attending to the combination of circumstances, that formed the present crisis. Whatever might be his motive, this man joined the moderate party, and advised the consul to adjourn the debate. He observed, that, in affairs of the greatest moment, the slightest cause often produces events altogether new and unexpected. Grant an interval of time, and the passions of a superannuated emperor may relent. The populace, in the mean time, bearing aloft the images of Nero and Agrippina, surrounded the senate-house. They offered up their prayers for the safety of the emperor, and with one voice pronounced the letter a wicked forgery, fabricated without the knowledge of Tiberius; a black contrivance to ruin the imperial family. The senate came to no resolution.

When the assembly was adjourned, a number of fictitious speeches, purporting to have been delivered by consular senators, in a strain of bitter invective against Sejanus, were immediately written and dispersed among the people. In those productions, the several authors, unknown and safe in their obscurity, gave free scope to their talents, and poured forth their virulence with unbounded freedom. The artifice served to exasperate the minister. He charged the fathers with disaffection; "they paid no attention to the remonstrances of the prince: the people were ripe for tumult and insurrections. A new council of state was set up, and the decrees of that mock assembly were published with an air of authority. What now remains for the discontented but to unsheath the sword, and choose for their leaders, and even proclaim as emperors, the very persons whose images had been displayed as the banners of sedition and revolt?"

V. Tiberius was fired with indignation. He renewed his complaints against Agrippina and her son, and, in a proclamation, reprimanded the licentious spirit of the populace. He complained to the fathers in terms of keen reproach, that the authority of the prince was eluded, and by the artifice of a single senator despised and set at nought. He desired that the whole business, unprejudiced by their proceedings, should be reserved for his own decision. The fathers, without further debate, sent despatches to the emperor, assuring him, that, though they had not pronounced final judgment, having no commission for that purpose, they were, notwithstanding, ready to prove their zeal, and would have inflicted a capital punishment, if the prince himself had not abridged their authority.

SUPPLEMENT.[1]

1. The fathers, at all times pliant and obsequious, were, in this juncture, more willing than ever to debase themselves by every act of mean servility. Sejanus knew the inmost secrets of the prince, and the deep resentments that lay concealed, and nourished venom in his heart. Sure of a complying senate, he grew more aspiring, yet not bold enough to strike the decisive blow. His strength had hitherto lain in fraud and covered stratagem, and, having made an experiment of his talents, he resolved to proceed by the same insidious arts. Agrippina continued, with unabating spirit, to counteract his designs; and her two sons, Nero and Drusus, stood fair in the line of succession to the imperial dignity. The ambition of the minister required that all three should be removed. He began with Nero and Agrippina, well assured that, after their destruction, the impetuous temper of Drusus would lay him open to the assaults of his enemies.

2. Rome, in the meantime, knew no pause from the rage of prosecutions. During the life of Livia, Tiberius felt some restraint; but, that check removed, he now broke out with redoubled fury. The most intimate friends of his mother,[2] particularly those to whom she had recommended the care of her funeral, were devoted to destruction. In that number a man of equestrian rank, and of a distinguished character, was singled out from the rest, and condemned to the hard labour of drawing water[3] in a crane. By the disgrace of an infamous punishment, the tyrant meant to spread a general terror. The cruelty of Sejanus kept pace with the exterminating fury of his master. His pride was wounded by the freedom with which the public spoke of his ambitious views. A band of informers was let loose, and by that hireling crew a civil war was waged against the first men in Rome. Spies were stationed in every quarter; the mirth of the gay, the sorrows of the wretched, the joke of innocent simplicity,[4] and the wild rambling talk of men in liquor, served to swell the list of constructive crimes. Nothing was safe; no place secure: informers spread terror and desolation through the city, and all ranks were swept away in one common ruin.

3. While by these acts of oppression Rome was made a scene of ruin and dismay, every other part of the empire enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity. It was the wish of Tiberius to have no war upon his hands, and, with that view, it was his policy to let the provinces feel the mildness of his government. He rewarded merit, but with a sparing hand; to guilt he showed himself inexorable; the delinquent in a post of trust was sure to be punished with unremitting severity. He dreaded superior merit; and though at Rome virtue was a crime, in the provinces he forgave it. To his choice of general officers and foreign magistrates, no objection could be made: they were men of integrity, though seldom of distinguished talents. The jealousy of his nature would not allow him to employ the most eminent character; and from mediocrity, though he could not hope for glory, he expected to derive the undisturbed tranquillity of his reign.

4. Marcus Vinicius and Lucius Cassius Longinus were the next consuls[6] [A. U. C. 783. A. D. 30.] By the management of Tiberius, things were now brought to the crisis, which in his heart he had long desired. The fathers had avowed their intention to pass a decree against Nero and Agrippina; but the clemency of the prince was supposed to hold that assembly in suspense. Tiberius, however, no longer hesi-

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[1] To the great loss of the literary world, the evil fate that attended the works of Tacitus is felt in this place, at a point of time when an important scene is to be opened; a scene in which Tiberius and Sejanus were the chief actors, each with the darkest policy contriving the other's ruin. The art of gradually unfolding the characters of men, in a course of action, was the talent of Tacitus, beyond any historian of antiquity; but the rest of the transactions of the present year of Rome 782, all of 783, and the greatest part of 784 have perished in the confusion of barbarous times. It is to be lamented, that Sejanus has been snatched away from Tacitus, that is, from the hand of justice. The chasm can never be filled up; for what modern writer can hope to rival the energy of Tacitus? All that remains, is to collect the facts from the most authentic historians, and relate them here in a continued series, rather than give the reader the trouble of finding them where they lie scattered in various authors.

2 Suetonius, in Tib. s. 51.

3 The name of this Roman knight is not mentioned by Suetonius, who relates the fact, in Tib. s. 51.

4 Seneca gives a picture of this dreadful period: *Excipiebatur ebriorum sermo; simplicitas jocantium. Nihil erat tutum: omnis sæviendi placebat occasio; nec jam reorum exspectabatur eventus, cum esset unus* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

5 For this profound tranquillity in all parts of the Roman empire, see Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 126.

6 The consuls for the year 783 were both in favour with Tiberius, and, accordingly, were afterwards married to two daughters of Germanicus; Drusilla to Cassius Longinus; Julia, to Vinicius. See book vi. s. 15. See also the Genealogical Table, No. 95, 97, and 99.

tated. Sejanus represented to him the danger of irresolution or delay. The time, he said, called for sudden exertion. "The guilty had thrown off the mask, and, from seditious discourses, proceeded to acts of open rebellion. The very senate began to waver; private views seduced them from their duty; the integrity of that body was no longer certain. The soldiers threatened a revolt, and Nero was already considered as the head of the empire. Tiberius, indeed, reigned amidst the rocks of Capreæ; but Agrippina and her son gave the law at Rome." Inflamed by this reasoning, Tiberius sent a letter to the fathers, in substance declaring, "that his mind was on the rack, and various apprehensions, like an inward fire,[7] consumed his peace. He knew by certain intelligence, that Nero and Agrippina had formed a dangerous league; and the storm, if not prevented, would ere long burst in ruin on their heads."

5. The senate met in consternation. After a short debate, Agrippina and her son Nero were declared public enemies. This vote no sooner reached the ear of Tiberius, than he sent orders to a party of prætorian guards to take them both into custody. The unhappy prisoners were loaded with fetters, and conveyed from place to place[8] in a close litter, which not a ray of light could penetrate. In this manner they proceeded towards the coast of Campania. A band of soldiers guarded them in their progress through the country. The crowd was every where kept at a distance, and the eye of compassion no where suffered to behold their misery. Agrippina was detained, for some time, in a castle near Herculaneum,[9] on the margin of the sea; while Tiberius from his island beheld, with malignant joy, the place where his state-prisoner pined in bitterness of heart. But even that distressful situation could not subdue the spirit of Agrippina. She did not forget that she was the granddaughter of Augustus, and the widow of Germanicus. Burning with resentment, and by every insult fired with indignation, she launched out with vehemence against the savage cruelty of the emperor. The centurion, who guarded her person, had his private orders; and the ferocity of his nature made him ready to obey. With brutal violence he raised his hand, and at a blow struck[10] out one of her eyes. She wished for the hand of death to deliver her from the rage of her enemies. She resolved to die by abstinence; but even that last resource was denied to her. Her mouth[11] was opened against her will, and victuals were forced down her throat, in order to protract a life of misery. Such was the deep and studied malice of Tiberius: he destroyed numbers in his fury, and at times with deliberate malice, refused to let others die in peace.[12] He kept them imprisoned in life; and made even his mercy the severest vengeance To see those whom he hated in his heart, stretched on the torture of the mind, invoking death, yet forced to linger in slow consuming pain, was the delight of that implacable, that obdurate mind. With that envenomed malignity he chose to extend the life of Agrippina. She was removed, under the care of a centurion, to the isle of Pandataria, where Julia, her unfortunate mother, closed her life in the last stage of wretchedness. By confining the daughter in the same place, he hoped, by a subtile stroke of malice, to load her with the imputation of similar vices, and thereby blacken a character which he saw was purity itself. Agrippina perceived the drift of his inhuman policy, and no doubt felt it with anguish of heart. How she endured the barbarity of enemies for three years afterwards, we have no means of knowing. Her death will be mentioned in due time and place.[13]

Nero was banished to the isle of Pontia,[14] not far from Pandataria. About a year afterwards, the news of his death arrived at Rome, and spread a general face of mourning through the city. The current report was, that a centurion, sent by Tiberius, passed himself for an officer, commissioned by the senate to see immediate execution performed. This man displayed to view his instruments of death, and the young prince, terrified at the sight, put an end to his life. It is said, that, of the three sons of Germanicus, he was the only one, who, by his graceful figure, and the elegance of his manners, recalled to the memory of men an image of his father.

6. Drusus and Caius (surnamed Caligula), as soon as their brother Nero was banished, were considered by Sejanus as the two remaining props of the empire. Drusus stood nearest to the succession, and for that reason was the most obnoxious. Seduced by the arts of Sejanus, and further

7 Tiberius had been, at this time, above three years in his recess at the isle of Capreæ, indulging himself in every vice, and planning deeds of cruelty and horror; and yet Velleius asks Vinicius the consul, to whom he dedicates his work, what Tiberius had done to merit the worst agony of mind, and to be made miserable by his daughter-in-law and his grandson? *Quantis hoc triennium, M. Vinici, doloribus laceravit animum ejus? Quamdiu abstruso, quod miserrimum est, pectus ejus flagravit incendio, quod ex nuru, quod ex nepote dolere, indignari, erubescere coactus est?* Lib. ii. s. 130.

8 Suetonius, in Tib. s. 64.

9 For Herculaneum, see the Geographical Table. Seneca says, Caligula razed the castle to the ground, that no vestige might remain of the place, where his mother suffered so much barbarity. De Ira, lib. iii. s. 32.

10 This fact is related by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 53.

11 Suetonius, s. 53.

12 For instances of this savage cruelty, see in this supplement, s. 41.

13 See the account of Agrippina's death, book vi. s. 25

14 For Pontia, see the Geographical Table. Nero was put to death on that island by order of Tiberius. Suet. s. 54.

incited by his own inordinate ambition, that unhappy prince had joined in the conspiracy against his brother Nero; but what he thought would contribute to his elevation, became the fatal cause of his ruin. He had been at an early period of his life contracted to Otho's[1] daughter, who was then of tender years: but, without regarding that engagement, he married Æmilia Lepida,[2] a woman of illustrious birth, but fatally bent on mischief, and, by her pernicious talents, able to execute the worst designs. Sejanus saw the use to be made of such a character. He had chosen Livia for his instrument to cut off Drusus, the son of Tiberius; and he now resolved, by the same execrable means, to destroy the son of Germanicus. With this design, the grand corrupter in a short time gained the affections of the wife. In the course of his adulterous commerce, he instilled into her heart his own pernicious venom, and rendered her the implacable enemy of her husband. He promised to join her in the nuptial union, and with ideas of future grandeur so dazzled her imagination, that she undertook the detestable task of carrying to the ear of the emperor an accusation against her husband, who was then attending the court in the isle of Capreæ.

Instructed by her seducer, and urged on by the ardour of her own libidinous passions, she alarmed Tiberius every day with some new allegation; she renewed, with studied artifice, all that had been imputed to Nero and Agrippina, and in their guilt, with affected reluctance, involved Drusus as an accomplice. She pretended, at the same time, to plead in his behalf. His crimes, she hoped, would admit of some extenuation: but her apology served only to envenom the charge. The emperor consulted with his minister. That artful politician espoused the cause of the young prince; he affected to disbelieve all that was alleged: but the proofs in time were too strong to be resisted; he yielded to the force of truth, still attempting to palliate, but by feeble excuses making the whole appear still more atrocious.

7. Drusus, unheard and undefended, received orders to depart forthwith from the isle of Capreæ. He arrived at Rome, but not to live there in a state of security. He was pursued by the machinations of Sejanus. That artful and intriguing minister prevailed on Cassius Longinus,[3] the consul, to arraign the character and conduct of the young prince before the assembly of the fathers. Though high in office, this man was base enough to forget his own dignity, and become the infamous tool of a vile and designing favourite. "He stated to the senate, that the young prince, exasperated by his late disgrace, was pursuing violent measures; and, in order to cause a sudden revolution, was every day endeavouring by intrigue, by cabal, and popular arts, to increase the number of his partisans." These allegations were, in fact, suborned by Sejanus: but the fathers were persuaded that the whole business originated with the emperor. A vote was accordingly passed, declaring Drusus an enemy to the state. This proceeding was no sooner reported to Tiberius, than he stood astonished at the measure; but his animosity to the house of Germanicus was not to be appeased. He gave orders by letter to the senate, that his grandson should be confined a close prisoner in the lower part[4] of the palace, with a constant guard over him, to watch his motions, to note his words, and keep a register of every circumstance, to be in time transmitted to Capreæ, for his private inspection. In that wretched condition, Drusus was left to pine in misery, till about three years afterwards, as will be mentioned in its place,[5] he closed his dismal tragedy.

8. Tiberius saw, with inward satisfaction, the family of Germanicus well nigh extinguished. The measures by which their ruin had been accomplished, gratified the malice of his heart: but what motive induced Sejanus to be so active in the business, was a problem, which all his penetration was not able to solve. Did the minister mean to gratify the wishes of his sovereign? or was his own private ambition at the bottom? Tiberius was thrown into a state of perplexity. His jealousy took the alarm. From that moment he resolved to keep a watchful eye[6] on the conduct of the minister. His keen discernment and systematic dissimulation were, perhaps, never so remarkable in any period of his life. He began to nourish suspicion; and, in a mind like his, suspicion was sure never to work in vain. In the memoirs[7] of his own life, which were found after his death, it appears that the first cause, that brought on the ruin of the favourite, was his eagerness to destroy the sons of Germanicus.

9. Meanwhile, Sejanus grew intoxicated with his good fortune: he saw the imperial dignity tottering on the head of an aged prince, and not

1 This was Otho, afterwards emperor. Suetonius says, he had a daughter, whom he contracted to Drusus, son of Germanicus, before she was of age to marry. Life of Otho, s. 1.

2 For her flagitious life, and an account of her death, see book vi. s. 40. See the Genealogical Table, No. 81.

3 Dio says that the consul became the agent of Sejanus.

4 Suetonius in Tib. s. 54.

5 See book vi. s. 23 and 24.

6 Suetonius says, it was more by cunning and sly management, than by his imperial authority, that he was able to cut off Sejanus. In Tib. s. 65.

7 These Memoirs were extant in Tacitus' time. Suetonius (in Tib. s. 61.) refers to them for the fact here asserted; and in the Life of Domitian, that emperor, he says, laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, and read nothing but the commentaries of Tiberius. In Domit. s. 20. The Memoirs written by Tiberius were probably the manual of tyranny.

likely to be better supported by Caligula, a young man as yet unequal to the cares of empire. He thought himself near the summit of his ambition: but, to ensure success, resolved to plan his measures with care and circumspection. He addressed the prince in the style of a man, who had no private views, no motive but the interest of his sovereign. Tiberius knew that his professions were false and hollow. He resolved, however, to retaliate with the same insidious arts. He called Sejanus his best friend; the faithful minister, by whose vigilance the public peace was secured, and the glory of the empire[8] maintained in its highest lustre. Not content with bestowing on him the warmest commendations, he added that the man who rendered such eminent services to the state, ought to be, at least, the second in rank and dignity.

10. The minister, in consequence of this exaggerated praise, became the idol of the people. The fathers passed several votes in his favour, and sent their deputies to the isle of Capreæ, with addresses of congratulation.[9] In the forum, in the temples, and in private houses, statues were erected to Sejanus. His birth-day was celebrated with religious ceremonies. The altars smoked with incense, and the city resounded with his praise. Men swore by the fortune of Tiberius and his faithful friend. Sejanus shared in all public honours with the emperor. Applauded by the senate, and adored by the multitude, he was now scarce inferior to his master.

11. It was in this juncture that Velleius Paterculus[10] published his Epitome of Roman affairs, from the foundation of the city down to his own times. The work is dedicated to Vinicius, one of the consuls for the year. It is to be regretted that a writer of so fine a genius was thrown on that evil period, in which the Romans, formerly fierce with all the pride, and, perhaps, the excess of liberty, were fallen into the opposite extreme of abject slavery. The spirit of adulation debased the human character. This elegant author caught the infection of the times. He saw the senators, men of consular rank, the most illustrious of the Roman knights, and, in short, a whole people, prostrate at the feet of Tiberius and his favourite. He was carried away by the current, and hence we find him representing the Roman glory, that work of ages, and that toil of patriots, warriors, and legislators, resting at length upon an emperor, who lived in voluntary exile, and a minister, who had all the vices, without the talents, of his master. The panegyric bestowed upon two such characters has survived the wreck of time; but it has survived, to be the disgrace of the author; a monument of venal praise and servile flattery. The beauty of the composition, and the graces of the style, are the work of a rhetorician, in whose hands history forgot her genuine character, and truth has been degraded. Paterculus stands at the head of those, who have been willing to list in the service of corruption; and, though the taste of the writer will not easily find a rival, the abject spirit of the man will be sure of having, in every age and country, a herd of imitators as long as the leaders of party and faction shall wish to see their ambition disguised, and their vices decorated with the colours and the garb of virtue.

12. That Paterculus threw a temporary lustre round the name of his patron, there can be no room to doubt, since the varnish so well laid on, almost deceives us at the present hour. But Sejanus found a more powerful support in his two friends,[11] Asinius Gallus and Lentulus Gætulicus. The former being, as has been mentioned, on bad terms with Tiberius, was the more ready to list in the faction of Sejanus. He became the zealous partisan of the minister, and drew to his interest the leading members of the senate. Gætulicus was, at this time, appointed to the command of the legions in the Upper Germany. He owed this promotion to the influence of Sejanus, to whose son he had offered his daughter in marriage. This he knew would cement a closer union between him and his patron; and the patron, in the mean time, was not blind to the advantages which he himself

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8 After all that Tacitus has hitherto disclosed of the character of Tiberius, one cannot read without astonishment, the flattering account given by Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. a. 126 and 127,) of the justice, equity, moderation, and every virtue, which, according to that sycophantic historian, distinguished the reign of Tiberius. The picture of a politic, dark, and cruel tyrant, is drawn in gracious colours. Pliny's Panegyric of Trajan is not more highly finished.

9 The veneration paid to Sejanus is described at length by Dio, lib. lviii.

10 This writer's work is dignified with the title of a Roman History; but it is well observed by Lipsius and Vossius, that it deserves no such title, being, in truth, nothing more than a collection of the principal events, that happened in the world, from the Trojan war down to the 16th of Tiberius, A. U. C. 783. It is not, says Lipsius, a compendium, or abridgment of history, though it must be allowed that the narrative proceeds in chronological order. It contains an account of eminent men, and characters well delineated; but the whole of the first book is a miscellaneous review of ancient times and foreign nations. The second book is a narrative of Roman affairs, written with ease and elegance, but, when it treats of the Cæsars, in a style of adulation. In the conclusion, the historian composes a fervent prayer, which must astonish all who are conversant in the history of Tiberius. He throws himself on his knees, and invokes the protection of Jupiter, Mars, and all the gods, to prolong the valuable life of Tiberius, and late, very late, to give to the Roman people a line of princes worthy of the succession to so great a prince. *Custodite, servate, protegite hunc statum, hanc pacem; sique functo longissima statione mortali destinate successores quam serissimos*, &c. See Vell. Patercul. in the conclusion.

11 Asinius Gallus, son of the famous Asinius Pollio, has been already mentioned, Annals, book i. s. 22.

might derive from that alliance. Lucius Apronius, the uncle of Gætulicus, was at the head of the army on the Lower Rhine: and, by forming a connection with that family, Sejanus saw that, in fact, he should have eight legions at his beck. This was a prospect that flattered his hopes, and gave new ardour to that spirit of enterprise, which now began to hurry him on to the consummation of his wishes. Honours, dignities, all employments and places of trust, were granted at his will and pleasure, and to none but men ready to co-operate in his worst designs. The minister, thus supported, stood but one remove from the sovereign power; but his elevation placed him on the edge of a precipice, from which his fall would inevitably be sudden and terrible.

13. Tiberius, in the mean time, was ever on the watch. He observed all that passed with acute, but silent, attention. Bending under the weight of years, and still a slave to his lewd desires, he was anxious to preserve his power to the last. With this view he continued to act with his usual policy: in appearance resigned to indolence, yet making use of his vices to shade his secret purposes. His whole attention was fixed on the conduct of Sejanus. The alliance projected between the minister and Gætulicus,[1] who filled a post of such importance, alarmed his fears. The active zeal of Asinius Gallus was another cause of suspicion. He resolved to remove a man of so much weight, and, having formed that deep design, he soon seized his opportunity to carry it into execution.

14. Asinius Gallus, still persisting to exert himself in the interest of Sejanus, made a florid speech in the senate, concluding with a string of new honours to be decreed to the favourite. The motion succeeded to his wishes. He[2] was deputed by the fathers to know the emperor's pleasure. During his stay at the isle of Capreæ, Tiberius sent a letter to the senate, representing him as a disturber of the public peace, and in direct terms requiring that he should be forthwith secured in the house of one of the consuls. The fathers knew that delay on their part would be considered as a crime. Having offended in the case of Agrippina, and not daring to provoke resentment a second time, they obeyed without hesitation. A prætor was despatched to the isle of Capreæ, to take charge of the prisoner. Asinius, in the mean time, was ignorant of all that passed at Rome. He was well received by the emperor, a constant guest at his table, and a sharer in all his pleasures. In the gaiety of a social hour he was informed of the judgment pronounced against him by the senate. The first emotions of surprise overpowered his reason. In order to secure, by a voluntary death, his fortune for his children, he endeavoured to lay violent hands on himself. Tiberius dissuaded him from his purpose, giving him at the same time strong assurances that he might safely rely on the protection of the prince and the favour of Sejanus. Asinius yielded to that advice. He was conveyed to Rome under a guard, and there, without being heard in his defence, thrown into close confinement, shut up from the sight of his friends, and debarred from all food, except what was necessary to prolong his life. His friend Syriacus,[3] a man distinguished by his talents and his eloquence, met with a gentler punishment. His intimacy with Asinius was his only crime, and for that he was put to instant death; happy to escape from the power of a tyrant, who, by a refinement in cruelty, made life itself the worst torture he could inflict.

15. Sejanus was now persuaded that the sovereign power was within his grasp. Dazzled by that glittering scene, he did not perceive that the ruin of Asinius was a blow aimed at himself. Tiberius still continued to watch the motions of the minister, weighing every circumstance, and brooding in silence over his own designs. He conversed in private with Sejanus; he perused his countenance; he explored his secret thoughts, and from what he saw and heard drew his own conclusions. A penetrating observer of mankind, he knew that prosperity is the surest discoverer of the human heart. He resolved, therefore, to ply Sejanus with marks of the warmest affection; he lavished his favours on him with unbounded generosity; he praised his unremitting labours in the service of his prince; and, to put him off his guard, determined to overwhelm him with a load of grandeur. The marriage with Livia,[4] the widow of his son Drusus, which he had formerly rejected, he knew would intoxicate the vanity of the ambitious minister. With that view he gave his consent to the match, resolved by acts of kindness to prove the secrets of the heart. Tiberius did not stop here. He was aware that Sejanus, while he remained at Capreæ, would act with circumspection; but, if removed to a distance, would most probably drop the mask. In a solitary island the favourite had every thing in his power; the prætorian guards, stationed on the spot, were under his command, and all despatches to the prince passed through their hands. Sejanus was, by consequence, master of every thing. He could suppress or deliver what he thought proper. The court was filled

1 For more of Gætulicus, see book vi. s. 30.

2 Crevier, in his History of the Roman Emperors, says, Asinius was deputed on some business, which cannot now be known; but the fact, as here stated, is confirmed by Dio, lib. 58.

3 Syriacus is mentioned by Seneca as an elegant orator, *multa diserte dixit*. See Controversiæ, lib. ii. s. 9.

4 This match was proposed by Sejanus, book iv. s. 39, and rejected by Tiberius, s. 48. That he afterwards consented to give Livia in marriage to Sejanus, see book vi. s. 8, where Sejanus is expressly called, the son-in-law of the emperor.

with his creatures, all of them spies upon the actions of the prince, and all devoted to the minister.

16. Tiberius felt these disadvantages, and accordingly devised an artful plan to free himself from the embarrassment. Under colour of doing honour to his friend, but, in truth, to remove him from his presence, he proposed to make him joint consul with himself. The functions of that high office, he well knew, would require the constant residence of the magistrate at a distance from Capreæ; and the emperor from his solitary rock, as from a watch-tower, might superintend all his measures. There was besides another advantage, of the first consequence to Tiberius. While the consul passed his whole time at Rome, the prætorian guards would be weaned from their former master, and, if necessary, Macro might be despatched to undertake the command, under a plausible promise to resign, whenever the minister should be at leisure from the duties of his magistracy, to resume his station. Macro approved of this new arrangement. With the true spirit of a court sycophant, wishing for an opportunity to creep into favour, he professed himself devoted to the service of his prince, while, in fact, he was determined, by every sinister art, to supplant a proud and domineering favourite.

17. Sejanus, amidst all the dignities so liberally heaped upon him, little suspected an underplot to work his ruin. He continued, with every mark of a fawning spirit, to ingratiate himself with the emperor; he was the sole fountain of court favour; he looked down with contempt upon the young Caligula; and of the twin-born sons of Drusus, the one, who still survived, was too young to alarm his jealousy. He received the homage of his creatures; he distributed presents with magnificence, and still took care to keep the prince immersed in luxury. Tiberius saw, with inward pleasure, the towering spirit of the consul elect. Increasing honours, he had no doubt, would unprovide his mind, and, in a short time, produce the genuine features of his character.

18. We enter now upon the fifth consulship of Tiberius, with Sejanus for his colleague. [A. U. C. 784. A. D. 31.] While the emperor remained in his solitary island,[5] Sejanus made his entry into Rome, with the pomp of a sovereign prince taking possession of his dominions. The streets resounded with peals of joy. The senators, the Roman knights, all ranks of men, pressed round the new consul with their congratulations. His house was crowded, his gates were besieged, and all were eager to pay their court. They knew the jealousy of a man raised to sudden elevation; they dreaded the danger of neglect or inattention; and all were willing to crawl in servitude. The prevailing opinion was, that Tiberius, worn out with age, and no longer equal to a weight of cares, would, for the remainder of his days, resign himself to his usual pleasures, content with the shadow of imperial grandeur, while the administration went on in his name, though conducted by the favourite. Tiberius seemed no more than the lord of an island, while Sejanus was considered as the vicegerent of the emperor, the actual governor of the Roman world. In this persuasion all bowed down before him; they depended on his smiles; they approached his presence with a degree of respect little short of adoration; his statues were set up in every quarter; curule chairs were decorated with gold; victims were slain, and, in the honours offered to the minister, the prince was only mentioned for the sake of form, in conformity to established usage. Religious worship was not yet offered to the ambitious magistrate; but the men, who blushed to go to that extreme, fell prostrate before his statues, and there poured forth their impious vows.

19. Tiberius had regular intelligence of all that passed; but the time was not arrived when the secrets of that dark designing mind were to transpire. He lay in wait for further particulars. In the mean time, he addressed himself to Lucius Piso,[6] a man descended from a father of censorian rank, who possessed the happy art of knowing how to avoid the extremes of liberty and mean submission. Acting always with temper and with wisdom, he had recommended himself to the esteem and favour of Tiberius. He could mix in scenes of luxury, and yet retain his virtue. Being præfect of Rome, he was, by consequence, a confidential minister, entrusted with all the secrets of the court. Tiberius requested him, as a proof of his fidelity, to take careful notice of all that passed in the city, and to transmit to Capreæ an exact account of the proceedings of the senate, the language of the

5 In this situation of things, Dio says Sejanus was emperor of Rome; and Tiberius, the lord of an island.

6 L. Piso was præfect of the city, and, in that office, discharged his duty with great skill, and equal integrity. Velleius Paterculus says, no man was more fond of indolence, and yet no man transacted business with such ability. *Vix quemquam reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligat, aut facilius sufficiat negotio.* Lib. ii. s. 98. Seneca tells us that he was always drunk, and never out of bed before ten in the forenoon; and yet he contrived to execute his commission with uncommon diligence. He was the confidential magistrate of Augustus; and Tiberius, when he retreated into Campania, trusted all his most secret directions to the care of Piso. *Lucius Piso, urbis custos, ebrius, ex quo semel factus fuit. Majorem partem noctis in convivio exigebat; usque in horam sextam fere dormiebat. Officium tamen suum, quo tutela urbis continebatur, diligentissime administravit. Huic Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, et Tiberius, proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe et suspecta relinqueret, et invisa.* Seneca, epist. 83. For an account of Piso's death, at fourscore years of age, see Annals, book vi. s. 10.

Roman knights, the discontents and clamours of the populace, and, above all, the cabals, intrigues, and every action of the consul. Wishing still to deceive by fair appearances, he took care, in his letters to the senate, to make honourable mention of Sejanus, styling him, on all occasions, the prop and guardian of the empire; his associate in the administration; his dear, his well-beloved Sejanus.

20. Encouraged by these marks of favour, the new consul, to make his authority felt, resolved to let fall the weight of his power on all, who scorned to bend before him with abject humility. He began with Geminius Rufus[1] on a charge of violated majesty. Rufus appeared before the senate. His defence was short, but delivered with magnanimity. "The man," he said, "who stands accused of being an enemy to the prince, has by his will made that very prince equal heir with his own children." Having uttered these words he laid the will on the table, and withdrew to his own house. A quæstor followed to acquaint him with the sentence of the fathers. Rufus no sooner saw the messenger, than he drew his sword, and plunging it in his breast, "Behold," he said, "how a man of honour can die: go, and report what you have seen to the senate." He spoke, and breathed his last. Prisca his wife was involved in the prosecution. She appeared before the fathers, determined to emulate the example of her husband. They began to interrogate her: in that instant she drew a dagger, which she had concealed under her robe, and giving herself a mortal stab, expired on the spot.

21. While Sejanus, to gratify his vengeance, laid waste the city of Rome, Tiberius looked on with calm indifference. The destruction of men obnoxious for their virtue, gratified his natural cruelty; and the public detestation, he was sure, would in the end fall on the minister. The senate, in the mean time, went on in a style of abject submission. Flattery was well nigh exhausted; but the members of that assembly were determined to rack their invention for new proofs of sordid meanness. They lamented that the dignity of the consulship was lessened by the shortness of its duration, and therefore voted that Tiberius and his colleague should continue[2] in office for the space of five years. Sejanus was now at the pinnacle of his wishes. He saw the emperor near the verge of life, and, sure of enjoying the consular authority after the death of his master, he made no doubt of succeeding to the sovereign power.

22. In due time the decree for extending the consulship to a longer term was communicated to Tiberius. Nothing could be more opposite to his intention. He was willing to let Sejanus, by his acts of cruelty, provoke the ill will of the people; but to prolong his power was no part of his plan. He expressed his dislike of the measure, but in terms of gentle reproof, determined neither to discover his hidden purposes, nor to irritate the pride of his colleague by an abrupt refusal. He observed to the senate, "that their late decree was an infringement of the constitution. It had been the wisdom of the fathers to declare, that the consulship should not, of necessity, last an entire year. By making it a quinquennial office, they would withhold from men of eminence the reward due to their public service, and the provinces would be deprived of able governors. It was for the wisdom of the senate to consider, not what would do honour to the prince and his dearly-beloved colleague, but what would be most conducive to the happiness and good order of the empire. That, and that only, was the object which he and Sejanus had nearest to their hearts; and, in comparison with that great object, they disregarded public honours." He despatched, at the same time, a private letter to Sejanus, advising him to abdicate his office; and to induce him to it by his own example, he sent a letter of resignation. Sejanus felt the disappointment. Unwilling, however, to make known the wound which his pride had suffered, he complied with the emperor's directions, and, about the middle of May, went out of office, soon to have a more dreadful fall.

23. On the seventh of the ides of May, Cornelius Sylla and Sexteidius Catullinus[3] succeeded to the consulship. They were appointed for three months. Tiberius continued to manage appearances, still mysterious, close and impenetrable. Sejanus, on his part, was not free from anxiety. He saw a change in the affections of the emperor, and, for that reason, wished to revisit Capreæ. In the solitude of that place he had no doubt but he could again wind himself into favour, or, if necessary, he could there, with better advantage, pursue the road of his ambition. His ostensible reasons for desiring to return were the ill health of Livia, who required a change of air; and, after a long separation, his own earnest wish to have an interview with his sovereign. Tiberius was not to be deceived. He returned for answer, that he also languished for a sight of his friend; but the service of the state required that so able a minister should remain at Rome. He intended shortly to visit the capital, and should there embrace Sejanus. In

1 The fate of this eminent man, and Prisca his wife, is related by Dio, lib. 58.

2 This decree of the senate is mentioned by Dio, lib. viii.

3 During the time of the republic, the consular office lasted for the year. The emperors changed this rule. In order to gratify the ambition of their favourites, they appointed a new succession at different times in the year; but the names of such consuls do not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

his letters to the senate he had the art to blend hints of dislike with marks of affection; and, though still equivocal, he gave some reason to think, that he was weaning himself from his favourite. He mentioned him slightly, or hinted some exception, and occasionally passed him by in silence. He talked of himself as a superannuated prince, worn out with infirmities, and near his end. In his next letters he was perfectly recovered, and on the point of setting out for Rome. The people were the dupes of his fallacy, while he remained fixed in his retreat, content to reign in solitary grandeur.

24. Tiberius thought it time to unmask another battery against Sejanus. He had invited the young Caligula[4] to his court, and, having made him put on the manly gown, he desired that the senate would invest him with the dignities of augur and pontiff, both vacant by the banishment of his brother Nero. Of Claudius[5] (afterwards emperor) he took no notice. That prince had never been adopted into the Cæsarean family. He lived at Rome neglected and despised by the court of Tiberius. Antonia, his mother, used to say, that Nature began to mould him, but had not finished her work. Perception and memory were faculties which he did not want; but judgment and elocution were withheld from him. In his private studies he made considerable acquisitions in literature; but in public he lost his recollection, and with it the power of thinking. When under the operation of fear, he seemed torpid and insensible; and sudden fear continued to haunt him in every stage of life, and even on the throne. No wonder that Tiberius held him in no kind of estimation; but the honours conferred upon Caligula, he knew, would prove a mortal stab to the ambition of Sejanus. Still, however, to amuse the favourite with delusive hopes, he required a grant from the senate of two more pontificates, one for Sejanus, and the other for his eldest son. By this ambiguous conduct the people of Rome were held in suspense. Whether they were to expect an account of the emperor's death, or in a short time to see him in the city, was a point not to be ascertained. Meanwhile, the senate, ever prone to flattery, passed a vote, investing Sejanus with the title of proconsul, and at the same time declaring his conduct in his magistracy a model for the imitation of all future consuls.

25. Sejanus began to fluctuate between hope and fear; but the senate showing still the same obsequious behaviour, he flattered himself that he should be able to reach the summit of his ambition. Religious worship continued to be offered to him. It is said, that he assisted in person at the celebration of the rites, at once the god and the priest of his own altar. Tiberius knew the effect of superstition on the public mind. To deprive Sejanus of that advantage, he wrote to the senate, complaining, that, in direct opposition to the principles of religion and to common sense, the worship due to the gods alone[6] was impiously transferred to mortal man. He ordered that no such honours should be paid to himself, and, by consequence, left Sejanus exposed to the contempt and derision of the people.

26. At Rome it was now understood that the emperor was alienated from the man, who had been raised to such a height of power and grandeur. Sejanus began to open his eyes, and to see at length a reverse of fortune. He found that he had been the bubble of a politic prince, who had been, during his whole life, exercised in the arts of dissimulation, and was grown a perfect master in the arts of deceit and cruelty. The young Caligula was, in appearance, high in favour with his grandfather, and the hearts of the people were at all times ready to espouse the family of Germanicus. The disappointed minister saw, too late, the want of resolution which restrained him, during his consulship, when the whole power of the state was in his own hands. In the arts of fraud he saw that he was no match for a systematic politician, who planned his measures in the gloom of solitude, and never let his counsels transpire, till in one and the same instant they were known and felt. Sejanus resolved to retrieve his loss, and by one vigorous effort to decide the fate of empire. He called together his friends and followers; he paid court to such as seemed disaffected: he held forth rewards and promises, and, having increased the number of his partisans, formed a bold conspiracy,[7] resolved by any means to seize the sovereign power.

27. A powerful league was formed with astonishing rapidity, and great numbers of all descriptions, senators, as well as military men, entered into the plot. Among these Satrius Secundus was the confidential friend and prime agent of the minister. We have seen this man let loose by Sejanus[8] against the life of Cremutius Cor-

4 See Suetonius, in Calig. s. 10.

5 Suetonius has recorded what Antonia, the mother of Claudius, said of her son. *Mater Antonia portentum eum hominis dictitabat; nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum inchoatum; ac si quem socordiæ arguerat, stultiorem aiebat filio suo Claudio.* Sueton. in Claud. s. 3.

6 See Dio, book lviii.

7 The particulars of this plot, and the detection of it by Antonia (for whom see the Genealogical Table, No. 32), are related by Josephus.

8 Satrius Secundus was the accuser of Cremutius Cordus. Annals, iv. s. 34. Seneca, speaking of that transaction, De Consolatione ad Marciam, says, Sejanus, meaning to enrich his creatures, gave Cordus, her father, as a *largess* to Satrius Secundus. *Sejanus patrem tuum clienti suo Satrio Secundo congiarium dedit.* See Annals, book vi. s. 47, where Satrius is mentioned as the informer against Sejanus.

dus, and now we are to see him, with the arts, in which he had been trained, employed against his master. Whatever was his motive, whether fear, or views of interest, or ingratitude (for no principle of honour can be imputed to him), he resolved to betray the secret to Tiberius. For this purpose he addressed himself to Antonia, the daughter of Antony the triumvir, the widow of Drusus, and the mother of Germanicus. The character of this illustrious woman was honoured by the court, and revered by the people. She lost her husband in the prime of life, when she had still the attractions of youth and beauty; and, though Augustus proposed to her several advantageous matches, she remained faithful to her first vows, and declined every overture. Her dignity was free from pride; she had virtue without ostentation, and an elevation of mind without the ambition and haughty spirit of Agrippina her daughter-in-law. She saw her grandchildren cut off by the wicked arts of Sejanus, and in silent grief lamented the downfall of her family. When Nero was banished to the isle of Pontia, and Drusus lay confined in a dungeon, she took Caligula their brother under her protection, and hoped that her house would prove a sanctuary for the last surviving issue of Germanicus. Her conduct gave no umbrage to Tiberius. He respected her character, and, perhaps for that reason, was inclined, at last, to show some favour to Caligula.

Satrius, the conspirator, had no avenues of approach to Tiberius. He therefore made his advances to Antonia, concluding that, by a stroke of perfidy, he might promote his interest in that quarter. His design was no sooner conceived than executed. He gained access to Antonia, and made a full discovery of the whole conspiracy. That prudent woman heard the particulars, and, without delay, sent despatches to the emperor by one of her slaves, whose name was Pallas;[1] the same who afterwards figured in a higher character, under the emperor Claudius.

28. Tiberius was astonished, but not dismayed. The danger pressed; his habitual slowness was out of season; the time called for vigour and decisive measures. He sent Macro to Rome, with a special commission to take upon him the command of the prætorian guards. He added full instructions for his conduct in all emergencies. If he found that Sejanus and his party were able to stir up an insurrection, he desired that Drusus[2] should be led forth from his confinement, and presented to the people as their leader. The son of Germanicus, he was aware, would triumph over an obscure native of Vulsinii. In the meantime, Tiberius was determined to be prepared for all possible events. He ordered the fleet, that lay at Misenum, to assemble at the isle of Capreæ, with intent, if any disaster happened, to sail to some distant coast, and put himself at the head of such of the legions as still remained faithful to their prince. In order to obtain the quickest intelligence, he ordered signals[3] to be disposed along the sea-shore, on the whole way from Surrentum to Rome.

29. The consuls at this time were Memmius Regulus and Fulcinius Trio, both appointed to fill the office from the middle of August to the end of the year. Trio had rendered himself infamous by the prosecution of Libo: he was besides known to be the tool and creature of Sejanus. Regulus was of a different mould, from his upright conduct deriving great consequence, and, at that time, much esteemed by Tiberius. The prætorian bands, as already stated, were under the influence of Sejanus. With the cohorts, that formed the city-guard, the case was different. Subject to the control of Piso, who was then præfect of Rome, they had no connection with the minister. Under Piso, Græcinus Laco was their commanding officer; a man distinguished by his military talents and his firm integrity. In this posture of affairs, Macro[4] arrived from Capreæ. He entered the city in a private manner, after the close of day, and went directly to Regulus the consul. He communicated the emperor's orders. Laco was called to the meeting. They consulted together, and settled their plan of operations for the following day. Tiberius, in this interval of suspense, took his station on the sharp point of a rock, surveying the deep that rolled beneath, and with an anxious eye gazing at the opposite shore for the earliest intelligence.

30. The fatal day arrived, namely, the fifteenth before the calends of November. Early in the morning, by order of Regulus, a report was spread, that letters were arrived at Rome, in which the emperor signified his intention to associate Sejanus with himself in the tribunitian power. The senate was summoned to meet in the temple of Apollo, near the imperial palace. Sejanus attended without delay. A party of the prætorians followed him. Macro met him in the vestibule of the temple. He approached the minister with all demonstrations of profound respect, and taking him aside, "Be not surprised," he said, "that you have no letter from the prince: it is his pleasure to declare you his colleague in the tribunitian power; but he thinks

1 Josephus, who was well informed in every thing that related to Tiberius, confirms what is here said. According to him, Antonia employed Cænis, who was afterwards the favourite mistress of Vespasian, to write the letters to Tiberius; and Pallas, who became minister of state under Claudius, carried the despatches to the isle of Capreæ.

2 See Suetonius, in Tib. s. 65.

3 Suetonius in Tib. s. 65.

4 The particulars of the fall of Sejanus, and the conduct of Macro, the principal actor in that business, are related at large by Dio, lib. lviii.

that a matter of so much importance should be communicated to the fathers by the voice of the consuls. I am going to deliver the emperor's orders." Sejanus, elate with joy, and flushed with his new dignity, entered the senate-house. Macro followed him. As soon as the consuls arrived, he delivered the letter from Tiberius, and immediately went forth to the prætorian guards. He informed them, that, by order of the prince, a large donative was to be distributed among the soldiers. He added, that, by a new commission, he himself was appointed their commanding officer, and, if they followed him to the camp, they would there receive the promised bounty. The lure was not thrown out in vain: the prætorian guards quitted their station. Laco, who stood near at hand, immediately surrounded the senate-house with a body of the city-cohorts.

31. The letter to the consuls was confused, embarrassed, and with studied art drawn into length, in order to keep the minds of the fathers in suspense, while Macro gained time to execute what had been concerted. Regulus read the letter;[5] it began with general observations, expatiating at large on the state of the empire: a short expression glanced at Sejanus; new matter followed; and then, winding round with art, hints were thrown out against the minister, in a perplexed style, vague, and ambiguous. It went on in the same obscure manner, intermixing things wholly unconnected, but at each return more pointed against Sejanus, till at last the language of open invective left no room for doubt. The fathers were covered with astonishment. The change of men's minds, in the vicissitude of human affairs, was never more remarkable. Those, who a little time before congratulated Sejanus on his new dignities, began to shun him as they would a contagion. The conclusion of the letter was like a stroke of thunder. The emperor ordered two senators,[6] who had joined in the conspiracy, to be put to death, and Sejanus to be thrown into prison. He signified, at the same time, his intention to return to Rome, and, for that purpose, desired that one of the consuls should be sent with a military guard as far as Capreæ, in order to conduct an infirm old man in safety to the capital.

32. Sejanus kept his seat like a man benumbed, senseless, stupified with amazement. His friends deserted him on every side. He remained in confusion, pale and trembling, left in solitude, till the prætors and tribunes of the people gathered round him. Regulus called to him, "Rise, Sejanus, and follow me." The ruined favourite looked like a statue of Despair. He gazed, but understood nothing; he remained torpid, motionless, as if he had lost the faculty of hearing. The consul raised his arm, and, in a tone of menace, repeated his words no less than three times. Sejanus rose in consternation. The door of the senate-house was thrown open: Græcinus Laco entered, and secured his prisoner. Regulus did not think it prudent to put the question to the assembly; but, contenting himself with the voice of a single senator, ordered Sejanus to be loaded with irons, and in that condition, at the head of a numerous body of magistrates, conducted him to prison.

33. The downfall of Sejanus filled the city with exultation. The populace, who worshipped him in the hour of prosperity, rejoiced to see the sad catastrophe to which he was now reduced. They followed in crowds, rending the air with shouts, and pouring forth a torrent of abuse and scurrilous language. The prisoner endeavoured to hide his face: but the mob delighted to see remorse and shame, and guilt and horror, in every feature of that distracted countenance. They reviled him for his acts of cruelty; they laughed at his wild ambition; they tore down his images, and dashed his statues[7] to pieces. He was doomed by Tiberius to suffer death on that very day; but, as he had a powerful faction in the senate, it was not thought advisable, for the mere formality of a regular condemnation, to hazard a debate. Private orders were given to Macro to despatch him without delay; but the consul, seeing the dispositions of the people, and the calm neutrality of the prætorian guards, judged it best to re-assemble the fathers. They met in the temple of Concord. With one voice Sejanus was condemned to die, and the sentence was executed without delay. He was strangled in the prison. His body was dragged to the Gemoniæ, and, after every species of insult from the populace, at the end of three days was thrown into the Tiber.[8] Such was the tragic end of that ambitious favourite. He fell a terrible example to all, who, in any age or country, may

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5 The letter is no where set forth, but the substance is reported by Dio. Juvenal says, no direct charge was exhibited against Sejanus; no facts were stated; no witnesses were produced. A pompous letter arrived from Capreæ, and that was sufficient:

Sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teste probavit?
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit
A Capreis.

Juvenal, Sat. x. ver. 69.

6 The names of these two senators are no where mentioned.

7 The behaviour of the populace is well described by Juvenal:

Descendunt statuæ, restemque sequuntur.
Ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
Cædit, et immeritis franguntur crura caballis.
Jam stridunt ignes; jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, et crepat ingens
Sejanus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, patellæ.

Sat. x. ver. 58.

8 Seneca differs from this account. He says, Sejanus was torn in pieces by the populace, and nothing remained for the executioner to throw into the river.

hereafter endeavour by their vices to rise above their fellow-citizens.

34. The execration, with which the populace treated the ruined minister, was perhaps nothing more than the variable humour of a giddy multitude.[1] In the zenith of his power Sejanus met with obsequious servility from all orders of men; and, had he continued to flourish in prosperity, there is too much reason to infer, from the temper of the times, that the same debasement of the human character would have continued. The senate followed the example of the people. They passed a decree, by which "it was declared unlawful to wear mourning apparel for the deceased minister; his name was ordered to be erased out of the calendar, and all public registers; the statue of Liberty was to be erected in the forum: a day of public rejoicing was appointed, and the anniversary of his execution was to be celebrated with solemn games and public spectacles, to be exhibited by the sacerdotal college and the sodality of Augustan priests." The fathers went still farther: that the state might never again be deemed a prey for the enterprising genius of every worthless upstart, it was declared, "that, for the future, no Roman citizen should be invested with extravagant honours, and that public oaths should never be sworn upon any name but that of the emperor."

35. It is fatally too true, that, when the public mind has been debased by shame and servitude, the genuine tone of liberty, and the firmness of an independent spirit, are not easily recovered. That very senate, which, in the late decree, had shown some signs of life, was, notwithstanding, dead to all sense of public virtue. Adulation and time-serving flattery were grown inveterate. New honours[2] were to be invented for a prince, who deserted his post, and left the seat of empire, to hide himself from the world, the lord of a barren island, the shadow of an emperor. It was, however, decreed, that he should be styled "the father of his country, and that his birthday should be celebrated with equestrian games, and other demonstrations of joy." Macro and Græcinus Laco were considered as men, who deserved to stand high in the estimation of the emperor. Flattery therefore was to prepare her incense for those exalted characters. Besides a large sum of money, to be paid, as a reward for their services out of the public treasury, the ensigns of prætorian dignity were granted to Macro, and the quæstorian rank to Laco. The former was also complimented with a seat in the theatre among the senators, and the honour of wearing a robe bordered with purple, at the celebration of the votive games. In this manner, after the downfall of one favourite, two new ones were to mount the scene. But, from the late event, those officers had learned a lesson of prudence: they declined the honours so lavishly bestowed upon them.

36. Meanwhile, Tiberius was apprised of all that passed at Rome. From the jutting eminence of a sharp-pointed rock he had seen the signals along the coast, and special messengers had been sent to give him the earliest information. Rome, in the meantime, was a scene of tumult and wild commotion. The prætorian guards beheld with a jealous eye the preference given to the city cohorts. Enraged to find that no confidence was reposed in themselves, the whole corps rushed, with licentious fury, into the city, and there bore down all before them, committing depredations in every quarter, and levelling houses to the ground. The populace were no less inflamed against the creatures of Sejanus. They seized on all who had been instruments of his cruelty, and, executing the summary justice of an enraged multitude, glutted their thirst of blood. Tiberius wrote to the magistrates, in the strongest terms, requiring them to quell all insurrections, and restore the public peace. The fate of Sejanus filled him with emotions of joy too strong to be concealed; but in all other matters nothing could lay open the secret workings of that involved and gloomy spirit. He was never at any time more abstruse, dark, and unintelligible. He refused to see the deputies sent by the senate; he rejected the honours which had been decreed to him; and even Memmius Regulus, the consul who had served him so faithfully, was not admitted to his presence: hating the commerce of mankind, he retired, with a sullen spirit, to one of his mansions, called the Villa of Jupiter,[3] and there continued ruminating in solitude for several months.

37. The deputies of the senate returned to Rome, but with no pleasing account of their expedition. The behaviour of the prince was a mystery, which no man could explain. The fathers, however, concluded, that to satisfy the vengeance of the emperor, more work remained on their hands. The friends, relations, and followers of Sejanus, were ordered into custody. His uncle, Junius Blæsus, was put to death.

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1 Juvenal has described the humours of the mob: they saw Sejanus ruined, and they hated him. If fortune had favoured his cause, they would have been ready to hail their new emperor with acclamations of joy.

——————— Sed quid
Turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
Damnatos: idem populus, si Nurscia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum. Sat. x. ver. 72.

2 Dio gives an account of the honours voted on this occasion.

3 The twelve villas, which Tiberius occupied in the isle of Capreæ, have been already mentioned, book iv. s. 67.

The charge against him cannot now be stated: but he was a man of eminence, who to consummate military talents united great political wisdom; in the eyes of Tiberius, that was a sufficient crime. The eldest son of Sejanus, though too young to be engaged in his father's plot, was also doomed a sacrifice. Apicata,[4] who, as already mentioned, had been repudiated by Sejanus, was not condemned by the senate; but the sight of her son's body, thrown into the common charnel, made life a load no longer to be endured. She drew up a memorial, containing a full detail of the wicked arts, with which her husband and the younger Livia brought Drusus, the emperor's son, to an untimely death. Having finished her account of that black transaction, she sent it by a trusty messenger to the isle of Capreæ, and put a period to her days.

38. Tiberius was still in his villa, sequestered from the eyes of mankind; but the detection of that horrible murder roused him from his lethargy. He had till then believed that Drusus died of a disorder occasioned by his own intemperance: but being at length acquainted with that scene of villany, he sent despatches to the senate, demanding vengeance on all who were any way concerned in the murder of his son. Eudemus, the physician,[5] and Lygdus, the eunuch, were put to the rack, and with their dying breath confessed all the particulars of that horrible tragedy. Livia, the widow of Drusus, was taken into custody. According to some historians, Tiberius gave her up to her mother, Antonia;[6] and that good woman, who thought it of the essence of virtue, that guilt of so black a dye should not remain unpunished, left her to die by famine. But this account does not seem worthy of credit. In the case of a murdered son, why should Tiberius, a man by nature harsh and vindictive, hesitate to execute the stroke of justice on a woman of so abandoned a character? It is certain that he passed several days in close inquiry into all the circumstances of that transaction; and when the fact was proved beyond the possibility of a doubt; when the emperor saw his own immediate issue, the only one of his family for whom he retained a spark of affection, snatched away by the treachery of an unnatural mother; can it be supposed that he felt any compassion for the person, who imbrued her hands in the blood of her husband, and was, besides, the sister of Germanicus?

39. Livia, the vile accomplice of Sejanus, was brought to condign punishment; and, after duly weighing the testimony of writers who lived near the time, it may be assumed as an historical fact, that she suffered by the order of Tiberius. The man, who in the isle of Rhodes gave strong indications of his innate cruelty, and, at that early period, was called, by his rhetorical preceptor, "a composition of mud[7] mixed with blood;" who became, in time, so hardened by repeated murders, as to set no kind of value on the lives of the most upright citizens; was not likely to feel the smallest touch of compunction, when revenge was prompted to strike the blow, which justice warranted. It is well known, that, in talking of the lot of Priam, he gave it as his opinion, that the Asiatic prince did not know how to form a true estimate of human felicity. Priam's happiness, he said, consisted in the rare event of having[8] survived all his race. Tiberius was living fast to enjoy that portion of worldly bliss. Drusus, the son of Germanicus, languished in a dungeon, condemned never again to see the light of the sun: and if Caligula was to be spared, it was for the reason given by Tiberius himself, who used to say, "I suffer that son of Germanicus to live, that he may be, in time, a public calamity, and the fatal author of his own destruction.[9] In him I nourish a serpent for the people of Rome, and another Phaeton for the world at large."

40. It will not be unfit to mention, in this place, a few instances of that savage cruelty, which the tyrant practised in his lone retreat; and which, though well authenticated, cannot now be referred to any particular year. The place of execution,[10] where so many unhappy wretches died in misery, is still shown amidst the rocks of Capreæ. It stood on a jutting eminence; and from that fatal spot all who incurred his displeasure were, after enduring the most exquisite torments, thrown headlong into the sea, where a crew of mariners waited to receive them, with orders, that no spark of life might remain unextinguished, to break their limbs, and crush their mangled bodies.

Besides a number of his old friends and confidential intimates, whom he retained near his person, he drew from Rome no less than twenty[11] of the most eminent citizens, to be his chief

4 Sejanus had repudiated his wife some time before. See book iv. s. 3; and see *ibidem*, s. 11.

5 For Eudemus and Lygdus, see book iv. s. 11.

6 Dio relates the fact. For Antonia, see this Supplement, s. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 22.

7 The name of the perceptor was Theodorus of Gadara. Suetonius, in Tib. s. 57.

8 The man who, amidst the misfortunes of his family, *wanted the natural touch*, might reason in this manner; but Priam thought otherwise. It was said of him, that all he gained by a long life, was, that he wept oftener than his son Trollus. The sentiment of Tiberius is reported by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 62.

9 Suetonius, in Calig. s. 11.

10 Suetonius, in Tib. s. 62.

11 Machiavel has not been able to devise a plan of more profound and barbarous policy. By consulting their opinion, he made them believe that his friendship was sincere, because it was interest; by keeping near his person, he cut them off at his will and pleasure; and by setting them at variance among themselves, he made them the authors of their own destruction. See Suetonius, in Tib. s. 55.

advisers and to form his cabinet council. Of these chosen favourites, if we except two or three at most, the whole number was, for different reasons, put to death. Sejanus was the most distinguished victim; a man taken into favour, at first perhaps with personal regard and motives of real friendship; but, as there is now room to think, continued in office for political reasons. By raising this man to the summit of power, and styling him his associate in the administration, Tiberius probably meant to throw the odium of his worst and most oppressive deeds on the favourite minister: with his assistance, perhaps, he thought that the hated house of Germanicus would be more easily crushed, and, in consequence of that measure, that the succession to the imperial dignity might be secured for the surviving issue of his son Drusus. That point accomplished, a politic and designing prince, like Tiberius, would not be at a loss how to discard, or even ruin, the minister who had conducted his pernicious measures to the end desired. It is highly probable, that, when he conferred the highest honours on Sejanus, he had even then planned his destruction. While he raised the superstructure, he was secretly employed in sapping the foundation. Such was the genius of Tiberius: by nature subtle, dark, designing, and always mysterious, he had exercised his talents in the school of politics, and became by constant practice, the great master of craft and dissimulation. What he could do by an act of power, he chose rather to accomplish by the crooked means of deceit and stratagem. There never occurred a juncture, in which he was not able to overwhelm Sejanus, by barely signifying his will and pleasure. An obsequious senate was ready either to pay homage to the favourite, or at a blow to despatch the man, whom they beheld with envy and secret detestation. The charge against Sejanus was no sooner opened, than the fathers, without further inquiry, pronounced his final doom. The event showed the nature of that assembly.

41. In all cases of importance, when either a real delinquent was to be brought to justice, or an eminent citizen was to suffer for his talents and his virtue, we have seen that Tiberius affected still to preserve the forms of a regular constitution, and to consider the senate as the supreme court of judicature. From the decision of the fathers he hoped to borrow some degree of sanction, to colour the violence of his own proceedings. This policy, however, was confined to persons of high consideration in the state. In his solitary island he committed petty murders without remorse, or ceremony. He had ordered a person, whom he suspected as an accomplice in the destruction of his son Drusus, to attend his presence in the isle of Capreæ; and it happened that he invited, at the same time, a friend from Rhodes, on a visit of pleasure. The friend arrived first, and no sooner set his foot on the shore than he was seized by the guards, and as a delinquent hurried away, and put to the rack.

Tiberius[1] heard of the mistake, but was no otherwise moved, than to say, with calm composure, "Since you have begun with him, you may finish your work, and put the man out of his pain." Upon another occasion, when a funeral was passing by, a person of some pleasantry said to the corpse, "Go, and inform Augustus, that the legacies which he left to the common people, have not as yet been paid." Tiberius ordered the unfortunate wit to be brought before him, and, after paying him what was computed to be his share, sent him to immediate execution, saying at the same time, "Go, and tell Augustus,[2] that you have received your legacy." Not a day passed without some new proof of that sullen malignity, which he pampered in solitude, and converted, at length, into a rooted hatred of mankind. The most common occurrences irritated his passions, and discovered the rancour of his heart. In a few days after he arrived at Capreæ, as he was walking in a sequestered part of the island, a fisherman, eager to mark his respect for the emperor, made his way over rugged steeps, and pointed rocks, to present a barbel[3] of uncommon size. Alarmed by this intrusion on his privacy, Tiberius ordered the man's face to be well rubbed with his own barbel. The astonished fisherman, as soon as he recovered from his fright, congratulated himself, that he had not brought with him a large crab, which he had taken on the coast. Tiberius called for the crab, and with the claws, and edge of the shell, cut and mangled the poor fellow's features, till he made his countenance a woeful spectacle.

These, it must be acknowledged, are minute particulars, and may be thought unworthy of the historian's pen; but when they serve to produce strokes of character, and lay open the inward temper of the man, even such materials may be allowed to merit our attention. The merciless disposition of Tiberius, and the unrelenting cruelty, with which he took away the lives of the most illustrious citizens, have been seen in a variety of tragic issues, and, perhaps, will be placed in a conspicuous light by those smaller incidents, which the diligence of other writers has collected, and which, for that reason, deserve to be here recorded. Death was considered by Tiberius as the end of human sorrow, and, consequently, as the slightest punishment that he could inflict. Whenever the unhappy prisoner wished to die, and lay down at once his load of affliction, that relief was sure to be denied: he was condemned to groan in misery. It happened that a man, of the name of Carvilius,[4] finding himself accused

1 Suetonius, in Tib. s. 62.
2 The story is told by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 57.
3 Suetonius, s. 60.
4 Suetonius, s. 61.

of some real or pretended crime, put a period to his days. Being informed of the fact, Tiberius exclaimed, "That man has escaped from me." Upon another occasion, he thought fit to make all his prisoners pass in review before him. One of them, harassed out with pain, petitioned for a speedy execution. "No," said Tiberius, "I have not yet made up my quarrel with you."

42. To give a minute and exact account of all his cruelties, is not the purpose of this undertaking; and yet, nothing that affords an insight into the character of a deliberate and systematic tyrant, can with propriety be omitted. His band of astrologers, and the Greek philosophers, whom he retained at his court, did not meet with more kindness and humanity, than the unhappy wretches, whom he tortured in prison, and threw from rocks and precipices into the sea. He entered into conversation with Zeno,[5] a man celebrated for his acquisitions in literature, and in all the various branches of science. The philosopher was curious in his choice of words, and spoke with a degree of elegance, that bordered on too much refinement. Surprised at one of his expressions, Tiberius asked him, which of the Greek dialects supplied him with such nice and difficult phraseology? Zeno told him, the Doric, which it seems, was the language in use at the isle of Rhodes. Tiberius was enraged at the answer: he conceived it to be a sarcastic allusion to the time of his residence in that island, and, in his rage, banished the philosopher to the isle of Cinaria.

Seleucus,[6] the grammarian, was also invited to enjoy the sweets of meditation in the solitary retreats of Capreæ. He found that the emperor came to his evening repast, well provided with abstract questions, which he had gleaned from his morning studies. In order to be prepared for all difficulties, the philosopher made it his business to learn, from the attendants of the emperor, what authors their master chose for his amusement in the course of the day. In consequence of this intelligence, no question came upon him by surprise. Tiberius heard of the stratagem, and was fired with indignation. He thought it an attempt to pry into his actions with inquisitive eyes. The philosopher, now considered as a spy, received orders to appear no more at court, and, in a short time afterwards, was put to death.

Historians relate another transaction, which by a difference of opinion among themselves they have rendered somewhat doubtful: but since they have transmitted it as a problem to exercise the judgment of posterity, it may, with propriety, be inserted in this place, and left to try its fortune with the reader. A man, whose name is not mentioned, but, as it seems, an architect by profession, was employed by Tiberius, to repair an arch, that was tottering to its fall. He succeeded in the work, to the surprise of all who beheld it; and, after receiving a reward for his skill and ingenuity, was, by the jealous malignity of the emperor, sent into banishment. Addicted to the mechanic arts, and fond of useful inventions, this man found the method of manufacturing glass[7] to a degree of perfection unknown before. Having prepared his materials, and made a vase of the most beautiful composition, he went to present it to Tiberius in the isle of Capreæ, little doubting but that, for so fine a piece of workmanship, he should obtain his pardon. Tiberius had a circle of his courtiers round him. The transparent vessel excited the admiration of all. The artist received it from the hands of the emperor, and, to show the wonders of his skill, dashed it on the ground. The company was alarmed, but in a short time, stood astonished to see, that, instead of flying into fragments, it was only bent and flattened in the part that struck against the ground. Their surprise was still more increased, when they saw the ingenious mechanic take out his hammer, and restore the glass to its original form, as if it had the flexibility of a malleable metal. Tiberius desired to know, whether he had communicated the secret of his art to any other person; and, being assured, that no one knew it, he ordered him to be hurried away to instant execution, giving for his reason, that a manufacture, which could transmute ordinary ingredients into so fine a form, would lessen the value of brass, and gold, and silver, and ought, for that reason, to be abolished for ever.

43. Such were the repeated acts of fell and savage cruelty which Tiberius hoped to hide in the solitude of Capreæ. Rome, in the mean time, was a scene of slaughter, where superior talents, virtue, truth, and innocence, perished by the

5 Suetonius, in Tib. s. 56.
6 Suetonius, *ibidim.*

7 This account of malleable glass, and the fate of the manufacturer, are told by Dio, lib. lvii. Pliny relates the same story, but seems to doubt the truth of it. Lib. xxxvi. s. 26. Petronius, whose romance called Satyricon, is a disguised and pleasant satire on the private life of Claudius and Nero, has put the history of this transaction into the mouth of *Trimalcion*, a ridiculous character who seems to be introduced to enliven the narrative, and divert the reader by his blunders. "Do not," says Trimalcion, "take me for an Ignoramus; I know the origin of the Corinthian metal. At the sacking of Troy, Hannibal, that sly freebooter, having gathered into a heap all the gold and silver statues, with the *bronze* and other rarities, caused them to be melted down into one enormous mass, which was afterwards shivered to fragments, and by the artists converted into dishes, plates, and statues. That is your Corinthian metal; neither this, nor that; but a mixture of all." After this pleasantry we have the anecdote of Tiberius and the glass manufacturer, which, whether true or false, is told with an air of ridicule, and, consequently, brought into disrepute.

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THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

VI. In the course of these prosecutions, no less than four and forty speeches were made before the senate; some of them dictated by fear, and others by servile adulation, the epidemic vice of the times. Amidst the general wreck, a senator[1] of distinguished eminence, and superior dignity of mind, finding himself doomed to destruction, called a meeting of his friends, and spoke to the following effect. "There was a time, when no human prudence could foresee, that the friendship, which subsisted between Sejanus and me, would either prove a reproach to him, or a calamity to myself. A reverse of fortune has changed the scene. And yet, even at this day, the great person who chose Sejanus for his colleague, and even for his son-in-law, does not condemn his own partiality. Numbers there were, who courted the minister in his meridian splendour, but in the moment of his decline turned against him, with treachery and base ingratitude. The first was their servility; the last was their crime. Which of the two evils is the worst, to suffer, on the one hand, for a faithful attachment, or, on the other, to blacken the character of the man whom we have loved, I shall not decide. The dilemma is dreadful. For myself, I will not poorly wait to feel either the cruelty or the compassion of any man. While I yet am free, while I enjoy the congratulations of my own conscience, I will act as becomes a man, and outstrip the malice of my enemies. To you, my friends, this is my last request: Pursue me not with tears and vain regret: consider death as an escape from the miseries of life; and add my name to those heroic spirits, who chose to die with glory, rather than survive to see the ruin of their country."

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their family. They were both seized by order of the senate, and dragged to prison. The son was grown up to years of discretion; but the daughter, as yet a tender infant, was insensible of her sad condition. She was hurried through the streets, asking in a tone of simplicity, "What fault she had committed? Whither they were leading her? Tell her her offence, and she would be guilty of the like no more: they might chastise her, and she would promise to be good." A virgin[1] sentenced to capital punishment was, at that time, a thing unheard of at Rome: but we are told by writers of good authority, that, to satisfy the forms of law, a detestable artifice was employed. The executioner deflowered her first, and strangled her afterwards. Her brother suffered at the same time. Their bodies were thrown into the *Gemoniæ*, or the common charnel, where the vilest malefactors were exposed.

X. About this time a report was spread through Greece and Asia, that Drusus, the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the islands called the Cyclades, and afterwards on the continent. A young man, it seems, about the age of Drusus, assumed the name of that unfortunate prince. The emperor's freedmen encouraged the impostor, intending to favour him at first, and betray him in the end. A name so celebrated as that of Drusus drew together a large conflux of the common people. The genius of the Greeks, fond of novelty, and at all times addicted to the marvellous, helped to propagate the story. The prince, they said, had escaped from his confinement, and was then on his way to head the armies of Asia, formerly commanded by his father. With that force he intended to make himself master of Egypt, or of Syria. Such was the tale dressed up by the lively genius of the Greeks. What they invented, they were willing to believe. The hero of this romance had his train of followers, and the wishes of the multitude favoured his cause. The impostor, flushed with success, began to anticipate his future grandeur.

Meanwhile, Poppæus Sabinus, the proconsular governor of Macedonia and Greece, but engaged at that time in the former province, received an account of this wild attempt. He resolved to crush the adventurer without delay, and accordingly having passed the two bays of Toronis and Thermes, he crossed over to Eubœa, an island in the Ægean sea. From that place he sailed to Piræum, on the coast of Athens, and thence to Corinth and the adjoining isthmus. He there embarked on the opposite sea, and steered his course to Nicopolis, a Roman colony, where he was informed that the impostor, when interrogated by persons of skill and judgment, declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus. After this discovery, the number of his adherents falling off, he went on board a vessel, with intent, as he himself gave out, to pass over into Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius. The affair ended here: of its origin, progress, or final issue, nothing further has reached our knowledge.[2]

Towards the close of the year, warm dissensions broke out between the two consuls. Their animosities, which had been festering for some time, were now gathered to a head. Trio was by nature restless, bold, and turbulent. He had been formerly exercised in the practice of the bar,[3] and thence more ready to provoke hostilities. He charged his colleague with too much lenity towards the accomplices of Sejanus. Regulus was a man of moderation; if not insulted, modest; if provoked, neither stupid, nor unwilling to resent an injury. Not content with refuting his adversary, he threatened to arraign him, as an accomplice in the late conspiracy. The fathers interposed their good offices to compromise a quarrel, which was likely to end in the ruin of both; but the ill will between the two consuls was not to be appeased. They continued at variance, provoking and threatening each other during the rest of the year.

1 The original calls it the triumviral punishment, because (as appears in the Digest. i. tit. ii. s. 30) it was the duty of the triumvir to see execution done on such as were condemned to die. The men who felt no compassion for an innocent child, thought it right to be scrupulous about forms in order to commit a legal murder. Suetonius relates the fact as stated by Tacitus. In Tib. s. 61.

2 Dio says that the impostor was taken, and sent a prisoner to Tiberius. But Dio is at times either too credulous, or too much pleased with his own invention.

3 Trio has been mentioned, Annals, ii. s. 28, as a practised informer, a man of dangerous talents, and an infamous character. *Celebre inter accusatores Trionis ingenium erat, avidumque famæ malæ.*

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BOOK VI.

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These transactions include near six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
785	32	Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus.
786	33	Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla.
787	34	Paulus Fabius Persicus, Lucius Vitellius.
788	35	C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus.
789	36	Sext. Papinius Allenius, Quintus Plautius.
790	37	Cneius Acerronius Proculus, Caius Pontius Nigrinus.

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BOOK VI.

I. Cneius Domitius[1] and Camillus Scribonianus succeeded to the consulship [A. U. C. 785. A. D. 32.] They had not been long in office, when Tiberius crossed the narrow sea that divides the isle of Capreæ from Surrentum, and sailing along the coast of Campania, made his approach towards Rome, in doubt whether to enter the city; or, perhaps, because he had determined otherwise, choosing to raise expectations, which he never meant to gratify. He went on shore at various places; visited his gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and, at length, having amused the people with false appearances, went back to hide himself, his vices, and sensualities, amidst the rocks of Capreæ. In that place he gave a loose to his inordinate appetites, a tyrant even in his pleasures. With the pride of eastern despotism, he seized the young men of ingenuous birth, and forced them to yield to his brutal gratifications. Elegance of shape and beauty of feature were not his only incentives. The blush of modesty served as a provocative; and to stain the honour of respectable families, gave a zest to his enjoyments. New modes of sensuality were invented, and new terms for scandalous refinements in lascivious pleasure. Then, for the first time, were introduced into the Roman language the words Sellarii[2] and Spintriæ; two words of the vilest import, signifying at once the place of clandestine vice, and the unnatural experiments of infamous prostitution. Slaves were employed to provide objects of desire, with full commission to allure the venal with presents, and to conquer the reluctant by threats and violence. If friends interposed in the defence of youth and innocence, if a parent attempted to protect his child, ruffian force was exercised. Compulsion and captivity followed. Like slaves by conquest, all were at the mercy of a detestable crew, whose business it was to pander for the passions of their master.

II. At Rome, in the mean time, the guilt of the younger Livia,[3] as if she had not been sufficiently punished, was resumed with warmth and violence. The senate thundered forth decrees against her memory, and her very statues. The property of Sejanus was ordered to be removed from the public treasury,[4] to the coffers of the prince; as if, in either place, it would not have been equally at his disposal. The Scipios, the Silani, and the Cassii were the authors of this alteration. They proposed the measure, and enforced it with their best ability, but with little variance either in the language, or the argument.

Togonius Gallus had the ill-timed ambition to mix his name, however obscure and insignificant, with men of the highest rank. He made himself ridiculous: and malignity, for that reason, was willing to listen to him. He proposed that out of a number of senators, chosen by the prince, twenty should be drawn by lot, to serve under arms, as a guard to Tiberius whenever he should choose to honour the senate with his presence. This extravagant motion sprung from the folly of a man, who was weak enough to believe[5] that the emperor was in

1 Domitius, commonly called Domitius Ænobarbus, is the person whom we have seen married to Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus. Annals, book iv. s. 75. See the Genealogical Table, No. 93. Suetonius draws his character in the blackest colours; and adds, that he was so sensible of his own depravity, as to say, when he was told of Nero's birth, "Nothing can spring from Agrippina and myself but a monster of vice, and a scourge of human kind." When Tiberius died, he was confined in prison, charged, among other crimes, with an incestuous commerce with Lepida, his sister. He was saved by the change of the times, and not long after died of a dropsy at the town of Pyrgi. Suetonius in Nero, s. 5 and 6. The other consul, Camillus Scribonianus, is the same who ten years after, in the reign of Claudius, was proclaimed emperor by the legions in Dalmatia, and in a few days murdered by the soldiers.

2 Suetonius explains the word Spintriæ, and adds that there were cells in woods and groves, furnished with lascivious pictures and statues, whence the word *Sellarii*. In Tib. s. 43.

3 This is Livia, who conspired with Sejanus against the life of Drusus, her husband; and suffered for that crime in the manner already mentioned. See book v. in the Supplement, s. 38.

4 It will not be amiss to repeat, that *Ærarium* was the public treasury, and Fiscus the private treasury of the prince.

5 Suetonius, in Tib. s. 65.

earnest, when he desired, by letter, that one of the consuls should be sent to guard him on his way from Capreæ to Rome. Tiberius, according to his custom, mingling a vein of irony with serious business, thanked the fathers for this mark of their care. He desired to know, "who were to be elected into the body-guard, and who rejected? Was it to be an office for life, or by rotation? Were they to be draughted from the younger part of the senate, or to consist of such as had passed through the gradations of the magistracy? Must they be actually magistrates, or men in a private station? And again, when the senators, sword in hand,[1] were drawn up rank and file in the porch of the senate-house, what kind of scene would that motley appearance present to the people? A life, which must be thus defended, was not worth his care." In this strain of raillery he replied to Togonius, adding nothing harsh, and not a word of serious tendency to overrule the motion.

III. Junius Gallio[2] was not let off on the same easy terms. He had given his opinion that the soldiers of the prætorian band, having served the requisite time, should enjoy the privilege of sitting on the fourteen rows[3] of the theatre, appropriated to the Roman knights. Against the mover of this innovation, Tiberius launched out with vehemence, and, though absent, with all the ardour of a personal expostulation. He asked, "what business has Gallio to interfere with the military line? Why intermeddle with those, whose duty it is to receive their orders, and the reward of their service, from the emperor only? A new plan of policy, unknown to the wisdom of Augustus, has been broached by the superior genius of this able statesman! Perhaps, it was the project of a man, bred in the school of Sejanus, with a view to kindle the flame of discord, and, under colour of dispensing military honours, to seduce the affections of the army, to the ruin of discipline and all good order." Such were the wages earned by flattery. Gallio intended to pay his court, and, for his attempt, was expelled the senate, and banished out of Italy. He retired to Lesbos; but it being suggested, that, in the charming scenes of that delightful island, what was intended as a punishment, would be, in fact, a pleasing recompense, he was brought back to Rome, and ordered into close confinement in the house of a civil magistrate.

In the letter which directed this proceeding, Tiberius marked out Sextius Paconianus, of prætorian rank, as another victim. The fathers received, with pleasure, the condemnation of a man, whom they knew to be of a bold and turbulent spirit, willing to embark in any scheme of iniquity, and infamous for the pernicious talent of worming himself into the secrets of others. When Sejanus began to meditate the destruction of Caligula, he chose this man for his confidential agent. That dark conspiracy being now laid open, every breast was fired with indignation; and if the miscreant had not prevented his fate, by offering to make important discoveries, the senate was ready to adjudge him to instant death.

IV. The person, against whom he informed, was the well-known Latinius Latiaris. The accuser and the accused were objects of public execration: and the spectacle, which they both presented, diffused a universal satisfaction. Latiaris,[4] the reader will remember, was the chief instrument in the ruin of Sabinus. Of the several actors in that foul transaction, he was the first that paid the forfeit of his crimes. In the course of this day's debate, Haterius Agrippa attacked the consuls of the preceding year. "After mutual accusations, why did they now remain silent? Fear, and their own consciences, have made them compromise all matters in dispute. They are joined in bonds of the strictest union. But the senate heard their mutual accusations, and ought now to institute a serious inquiry." Regulus replied, that in due time it was his intention to bring the business forward, but he waited for the presence of the emperor. Trio observed, that their hostilities were nothing more than the jealousy that often happens between colleagues in office; but such petty disputes ought not to be revived. This did not satisfy Agrippa. He still persisted, till Sanguinius Maximus, of consular rank, rose to

1 If Tiberius had seriously intended to enter the senate-house, he was a better politician than to be the dupe of a plan proposed by Togonius Gallus. None were admitted into the senate but the fathers, and those to whom they occasionally gave audience, or who were cited to their bar. If Tiberius was in fear of the senators, he knew better than to put arms in their hands. He would have desired to enter that assembly with a picked number of the prætorian guards.

2 Junius Gallio was the brother of Seneca. See Annals, xv. s. 73.

3 Roscius Otho, tribune of the people, was the author of a law, called *Lex Roscia*, A. U. C. 685; by which fourteen rows in the theatre, next to the patrician order, were assigned to the Roman knights, with an express provision, that no freedman, nor even the son of a freedman, should be admitted into the equestrian order. Horace describes a man, who was grown suddenly rich, taking his seat in those rows of the theatre, in contempt of Otho and his low.

Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques,
Othone contempto, sedet. Epod. iv.

In the time of Augustus this law was falling into disuse; but the subsequent emperors, in order to give a distinguished preference to the freedmen whom they enriched, revived the Lex Roscia in all its force. Hence Juvenal says, Let the man who is not worth the sum by law required, rise from the equestrian cushion, and make room for pimps and the sons of pimps.

——— Exeat, inquit,
Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
Cujus res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
Lenonum pueri quocumque in fornice nati.
Sat. iii. ver. 153.

4 See book v. s. 71.

allay the ferment. He entreated the fathers to be cautious how they multiplied the cares of the emperor. To be ingenious in framing new complaints, was not their province. They might rely on the wisdom of Tiberius, comprehensive as they knew it to be, and equal to the task of remedying every evil. In consequence of this conciliating speech, Regulus remained in full security, and the ruin of Trio[5] was deferred to a further day. As to Haterius Agrippa, the violence of his conduct made him more than ever an object of the public hatred. Too indolent for a life of business, he passed his days in sleep, and his nights in riot and debauchery. His vices made him an enervated sluggard, and, at the same time, screened him from the cruelty of a jealous and unforgiving tyrant. And yet this man, amidst the joys of wine, and in the harlot's lap, had the malevolence to plan the ruin of the most illustrious citizens.

V. Messalinus Cotta, the ready author of the most sanguinary measures, was the next person accused. This prosecution called forth a multitude of enemies. All were eager to have their full blow at a man long known and detested. The charge against him was, that, to fix on Caius Cæsar[6] the imputation of unnatural vices, he had called the young prince by the female name of Caia, and, at a banquet given by the pontiffs, in honour of the birth-day of Livia, he called that feast a[7] funeral entertainment. It was further alleged, that, in a law-suit with Manius Lepidus, and Lucius Arruntius, he complained of the weight and influence of his adversaries, but said at the same time, "Let them boast of their interest with the senate; my little friend Tiberius will outweigh them all." In support of this charge, the first men in Rome were willing witnesses. Cotta knew how to baffle his enemies. He removed the cause by appeal to the emperor. Tiberius, in a letter to the senate, made the apology of Cotta: he stated the friendship which had long subsisted between them, and the obligations, by which he himself was bound. He concluded with a request, that words casually spoken, and sallies of vivacity in the moments of convivial mirth, might not be converted into crimes.

VI. The letter, sent by Tiberius on this occasion, is too remarkable to be here omitted. His words were as follows: "What to write,[8] conscript fathers; in what terms to express myself, or what to refrain from writing, is a matter of such perplexity, that if I know how to decide, may the just gods, and the goddesses of vengeance, doom me to die in pangs, worse than those under which I linger every day." We have here the features of the inward man. His crimes retaliated upon him with the keenest retribution; so true is the saying of the great philosopher,[9] the oracle of ancient wisdom, that if the minds of tyrants were laid open to our view, we should see them gashed and mangled with the whips and stings of horror and remorse. By blows and stripes the flesh is made to quiver, and, in like manner, cruelty and inordinate passions, malice and evil deeds, become internal executioners, and with unceasing torture, goad and lacerate the heart. Of this truth Tiberius is a melancholy instance. Neither the imperial dignity, nor the gloom of solitude, nor the rocks of Capreæ, could shield him from himself. He lived on the rack of guilt, and his wounded spirit groaned in agony.

VII. Cæcilianus, the senator, had taken an active part in the prosecution of Messalinus Cotta. For that offence Tiberius left him to the discretion of the fathers, who thought fit to inflict the pains and penalties, which they had pronounced against Aruseius and Sanguinius, the two informers against Lucius Arruntius. The decision was honourable to Cotta; a man, it is true, of illustrious birth, but beggared by his vices, and for the profligacy of his manners universally abhorred. The redress, which he now obtained, placed him on a level with the unblemished excellence that distinguished the character of Arruntius.

Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus were, in the next place, both arraigned. The former was of prætorian rank, and had been the companion of Germanicus in all his expeditions; the latter was a Roman knight, who had enjoyed the friendship of Sejanus, but with reserve and moderation. Their misfortunes excited compassion. Tiberius declared against them both. He called them the principal agents in that dark conspiracy, and, for proof of the fact, desired

5 For the end of Fulcinius Trio, see this book, s. 38.

6 Caius Cæsar, more known by the name of Caligula. Brotier's edition has *C. Cæsarem*, and some have *Caium Cæsarem*. The last reading is adopted in this translation. Caligula was guilty of incest with his sister, Drusilla, whilst he was under age. Suetonius, in Calig. s. 24.

7 The original says, *novemdialem cœnam*, because the grief of the Romans for the loss of a friend lasted nine days, and then concluded with a solemn feast in honour of the dead. Cotta's meaning was, that celebrating the birth-day of an old woman ready to sink into her grave, was nothing different from a *novemdial*, or mourning-festival. In the fragments of Cyrus, there is a fine verse, importing that when an old woman laughs, death grins a ghastly smile. *Anus cum ridet, morti delicias facit.*

8 Suetonius has the same letter in the very words here reported. In Tib. s. 67.

9 Socrates, here properly called the Oracle of Ancient Wisdom, says, in Plato's Republic, "A tyrant is the worst of slaves. Were his heart and inward sentiments laid open to our view, we should see him stretched on the torture of the mind, distracted by his fears, and goaded by the pangs of guilt." Tacitus had his eye on this passage. Possessed of the supreme power, Tiberius lives in misery. His grief is heard from the solitude, and the rocks of Capreæ. His case was like that of Œdipus, as described by Statius, in a fine picturesque line: *Sæva dies animi, scelerumque in pectore dira.*

that Cestius, a member of the senate, would give in evidence what he had written to the emperor. Cestius became their accuser.

Among the calamities of that black period, the most trying grievance was the degenerate spirit, with which the first men in the senate submitted to the drudgery of common informers; some without a blush, in the face of day; and others by clandestine artifices. The contagion was epidemic. Near relations, aliens in blood, friends and strangers, known and unknown, were, without distinction, all involved in one common danger. The fact recently committed, and the tale revived, were equally destructive. Words alone were sufficient; whether spoken in the forum, or amidst the pleasures of the table, was immaterial. Whatever the occasion or the subject,[1] every thing was a constructive crime. Informers struggled, as it were in a race, who should be first to ruin his man; some to secure themselves; the greater part infected by the general corruption of the times.

Minutius and Servæus were both condemned, but saved themselves by giving evidence against others. They accused Julius Africanus, a native of Gaul, and Seius Quadratus, of whose origin no account remains. Of the various dangers that threatened numbers, and the execution of others, I am aware that no accurate account is to be found in the historians of the time. The writer sunk under the weight of his materials, and, feeling himself oppressed by the repetition of tragic events, was unwilling to fatigue his readers with the uniformity of blood and horror. It has happened, however, that, in the researches which I have made, several facts have come to light untouched, it is true, by the pen of others, yet not unworthy of being recorded.

VIII. In that dangerous crisis, when the creatures of Sejanus, denying their connections, were making from the wreck, Marcus Terentius, a Roman knight, had the spirit to avow his friendship in a speech to the following effect: "In my situation, conscript fathers, I know the danger of owning myself the friend of Sejanus; and I know that to disclaim him altogether would be the best mode of defence. Be it as it may, I am willing to declare my sentiments. I was the friend of that minister: I sought his patronage, and I gloried in it. I saw him associated with his father in the command of the prætorian bands: I saw him afterwards, not only at the head of the military department, but invested with the whole civil authority. His friends and relations rose to honours; and to be in his good graces, was a sure road to the favour of the prince. On the other hand, all, on whom the minister frowned, were either crushed by the weight of power, or left to languish in obscurity. I forbear to mention names. Speaking in my own defence, I plead the cause of all who, like myself, were connected with the favourite, and, like myself, were unconscious of his last designs.

"In paying court to Sejanus, it was not the Vulsinian citizen, whom we endeavoured to conciliate: it was a branch of the Claudian and the Julian families; it was the son-in-law of Cæsar; it was his colleague in the consulship; it was his vicegerent in the administration, to whom our homage was offered. Is it the pleasure of the emperor to raise a favourite above his fellow-citizens, it is not for us to estimate the merit of the man, nor ours to weigh the motives that determine the choice. The supreme power is in the hands of the prince; committed to him by the gods: and submission is the virtue of every citizen. Of the mysteries of state we see no more than what he is willing to reveal: we see who is raised to dignities, and who has power to distribute the rewards and the terrors of government. That the rays of majesty were collected, and fell on Sejanus, no man will deny. The sentiments of the prince are to us impenetrable. The secret springs of action it is not in our power to discover; the attempt were dangerous, and may deceive the ablest statesman.

"When I speak of Sejanus, conscript fathers, I do not speak of the minister, fallen from the height of power, undone and ruined. I speak of Sejanus, sixteen years in the meridian of his glory. During that time, a Satrius Secundus and a Pomponius commanded our respect. And if his freedmen, or the porter at his gate, condescended to be gracious, we considered it as the highest honour. But to come to the point: Shall this be the defence of all who followed the fortunes of Sejanus? By no means, conscript fathers; draw the line yourselves; let the enemies of the commonwealth, and the conspirators against the prince, be delivered up to public justice; but let the offices of friendship remain inviolate; and let the principle which justifies the choice of the prince, be at least an apology for the subject."

IX. The firmness of this speech, and the spirit of the man, who could boldly utter what others only dared to think, made such an impression, that the prosecutors, for their former crimes added to their present malignity, were either driven into banishment, or condemned to death. Tiberius soon after sent an accusation against Sextus Vestilius, of prætorian rank, and for-

1 Seneca relates a curious attempt by an informer at a convivial meeting: One of the guests wore the image of Tiberius on his ring. His slave, seeing his master intoxicated, took the ring off his finger. The informer, in some time after, insisted that the owner, to mark his contempt of Tiberius, was sitting upon the figure of the emperor. For this offence he drew up an accusation, and was getting it attested by subscribing witnesses, when the slave showed to the whole company that he had the ring in his hand all the time. Seneca asks, Was the servant a slave? and was the informer a bottle-companion? *Si quis hunc servum vocat, et illum convivam vocabit.* De Beneficiis, lib. iii. cap. 26.

merly high in favour with Drusus, the emperor's brother. Tiberius, for that reason, had received him with open arms, and ranked him in the number of his intimate friends. The crime now laid to his charge was a satirical piece against Caligula, for which Vestilius, the real, or the supposed author, was excluded from the emperor's table. In despair, he opened a vein, but with the trembling hand of age. The wound was slight, and he tied it up again, in order to try the effect of a petition. Having received an obdurate answer, he once more made use of his weapon, and bled to death.

The next prosecution was intended to make a sweep of a great number at once. Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, and Sabinus Calvisius, were grouped together in a charge of violated majesty. Vinicianus was added to his father Pollio. They were all men of the first rank, and some of them invested with the highest civil honours. The senate was struck with terror. Few in that assembly stood detached, either in point of friendship or alliance, from the persons accused. It happened that the evidence of Celsus, a tribune of the city cohorts, and one of the prosecutors, acquitted Appius Silanus, and Calvisius. The trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was put off, by order of Tiberius, till he himself should think proper to attend in person. In the mean time, some pointed expressions in his letter plainly showed, that Scaurus was the chief object of his resentment.

X. Not even the softer sex could find a shelter from the calamity of the times. Women, it is true, could not be charged with designs to overturn the government; but natural affection was made a crime, and the parental tear was treason. Vitia, the mother of Fufius Geminus, wept for her son, and for that offence, at an advanced age, she was put to death. Such were the horrible proceedings of the senate. Tiberius in his island was no less vindictive. By his order, Vescularius, Flaccus, and Julius Marinus, his two earliest friends, who had followed him to the isle of Rhodes, and still adhered to him in the isle of Capreæ, were hurried to execution. In the ruin of Libo, the first had been the active agent of the emperor; and in the plot, by which Sejanus wrought the downfall of Curtius Atticus, Marinus was the principal actor. The public saw, with pleasure, that the authors of destruction perished by their own pernicious arts.

About this time Lucius Piso, the præfect of Rome,[2] paid his debt to nature. He had lived his days with honour, and what was rare in that black period, though high in rank and authority, he died by mere decay. A man of principle, and never, of his own motion, the author of harsh or violent measures; he was able frequently to prevent or migitate destructive counsels. Piso the censor, as already mentioned, was his father. The son lived to the age of fourscore. By his services in the wars of Thrace he obtained triumphal ornaments; but his truest triumph, the glory of his character, arose from the wisdom, with which he acted as governor of Rome, tempering, with wonderful address, the rigour of an office, odious on account of its novelty, and rendered, by its duration, a galling yoke to the people.

XI. The origin of this institution may be traced in the early ages of Rome. While the monarchy continued, and afterwards under the consular government, that the city might not be left, during the absence of the king or consuls, in a state of anarchy, a civil magistrate was invested with the whole executive authority. By Romulus, we are told, Romulius Denter was appointed; Numa Marcius, by Tullus Hostilius; and Spurius Lucretius,[3] by Tarquin the Proud. That precedent was followed by the consuls; and, even at this day, we find an image of the custom in the temporary magistrate, who, during the Latin festivals, discharges the functions of the consul. In the time of the civil wars, Augustus delegated the supreme authority, both at Rome and throughout Italy, to Cilnius Mæcenas, a Roman knight. When the success of his arms made him master of the empire, finding an unwieldy government on his hands, and a slow and feeble remedy from the laws, he chose a person of consular rank, to restrain by speedy justice, the slaves within due bounds, and to control the licentious spirit of the citizens, ever turbulent, and, if not overawed, prone to innovation. The first that rose to this important post was Messala Corvinus, who found himself unequal to the task, and resigned in a few days. Taurus Statilius succeeded, and, notwithstanding his advanced age, acquitted himself with honour and ability. Lucius Piso was the next in office. During a series of twenty years, he discharged the duties of that difficult station with such an even tenor, and such constant dignity, that, by a decree of the senate, he was honoured with a public funeral.

XII. A report relating to a book of the Sibyls,[4]

2 The passage in which L. Piso was mentioned by Tacitus, is lost with other parts of the fifth book. See the Supplement, s. 19, and note.

3 He is mentioned by Livy in the character of præfect of the city. *Imperium in urbe Lucretio, præfecto urbis jam ante ab rege instituto, reliquit.* Lib. i. s. 59.

4 The history of the Sibylline Books, as much of it at least as can be condensed into a note, is as follows: A woman supposed to be the Cumean Sibyl, presented to Tarquin the Proud three books, of which, according to the account of Pliny the elder, lib. xiii. cap. 13, three were burned by her own direction. Other authors, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lib. v. cap. 62; and Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 19, mention nine books, six of which, they say, were committed to the flames, and three preserved with care. Whatever the number was, it perished in the conflagration that destroyed the Capitol, not

was presented to the senate by Quinctilianus, a tribune of the people. Caninius Gallus, who was of the college of fifteen, considered this book as the undoubted composition of the Cumæan prophetess; and, as such, desired that, by a decree, it might be enrolled in the proper archives. The question was put and carried[1] without opposition. Tiberius, by letter, condemned the whole proceeding. The youth of Quinctilianus, he admitted, might be an apology for his ignorance of ancient customs; but he observed, and not without asperity, that it ill became a man like Gallus, versed in the science of laws and religious ceremonies, to adopt the performance of an uncertain author, without having first obtained the sanction of the quindecemviral college, and without so much as reading it, as had been the practice, at a meeting of the pontiffs. Besides this, the vote was passed by surprise in a thin meeting of the senate. He added further, that since the world abounded with spurious productions, falsely ascribed to the venerable name of the ancient Sibyl, it had been the wisdom of Augustus[2] to fix a stated day, on or before which all papers of the kind were to be deposited with the prætors, and none, after the limited time, to remain in private hands. For this regulation there was an ancient precedent. After the social war, when the capitol was destroyed by fire, diligent search was made at Samos, at Ilium, at Erythræ, in Africa, Sicily, and all the Roman colonies, in order to collect the Sibylline verses, whether the production of a single prophetess, or of a greater number; and the sacerdotal order had directions, as far as human sagacity could distinguish, to separate the fictitious from the genuine composition. In consequence of this letter, the book in question was referred to the college of fifteen, called the QUINDECEMVIRI.

XIII. During the same consulship, the distress occasioned by a dearth of corn, well nigh excited a popular insurrection. For several days the clamour in the theatre was outrageous beyond all former example. Tiberius wrote to the senate, and, in terms of keen reproach, censured the inactivity of the magistrates, who suffered the mutinous spirit of the populace to rage without control; he stated the quantity of grain imported annually by his orders, and the provinces from which he drew his supplies, far exceeding the importation formerly made by Augustus. To restore the public tranquillity, the senate passed a decree in the style and spirit of the old republic. The consuls followed it with an edict of equal rigour. The emperor took no part in the business; but his silence gained him no popularity; he flattered himself with hopes that it would pass for the moderation of a republican prince; but it was deemed the sullen pride of a tyrant.

XIV. Towards the end of the year, three Roman knights, by name, Geminius, Celsus, and Pompeius, were charged with a conspiracy, and condemned to suffer. Geminius had been a man of pleasure and great prodigality. His taste for expense and luxury recommended him to the friendship of Sejanus, but a friendship merely convivial, leading to no serious connection. Junius Celsus, at that time one of the tribunes, as he lay fettered in prison, contrived to lengthen out his chain, so as to wind it round his neck, and strangle himself.

About the same time, Rubrius Fabatus, who had fled from the city, with intent to seek among the Parthians a refuge from the disasters of the time, was apprehended by a centurion, near the straits of Sicily, and brought back to Rome. Being questioned, he was not able, with any colour of probability, to account for his sudden departure on so long a journey. He escaped, however, though not by an act of clemency. He continued to live in safety, not pardoned, but forgotten.

XV. Servius Galba and Lucius Sylla were the next consuls [A. U. C. 786. A. D. 33.] Ti-

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during the social war, as said by mistake in the original, but in the civil war between Marius and Sylla, A. U. C. 671. Those books had been always considered as a sacred deposit, containing prophetic accounts of the grandeur of Rome, and the certain means of propitiating the gods in the day of distress, or when portents and prodigies gave notice of some impending calamity. Tarquin committed this invaluable treasure to the care of two officers appointed for the purpose. The number, A. U. C. 387, was increased to ten. After the fire of the Capitol, when the political and religious oracle of the state was lost, the senate ordered diligent search to be made in Italy, Asia, and Africa, for all kinds of Sibylline verses, and that compilation was given in charge to fifteen officers called QUINDECEMVIRI. They, and they only, were to have access to those mysterious books, that contained the fame and fate of the Romans; *famamque et fata nepotum*: but even they were not allowed to inspect the predictions without the special orders of the senate. As long as the pagan superstition lasted, the Sibylline books continued to be the political creed of the emperor. In the reign of Honorius, Stilico, the ambitious minister, and pretended convert to Christianity, ordered all the Sibylline books to be burnt. Paganism groaned and expired. It appeared that there had been in various places a great number of Sibylline women, whose verses were obtruded on the world by a pious fraud; but the Cumæan Sibyl, so called from *Cumæ*, a town on the coast of Campania, was the only genuine prophetess. It is well known that Virgil, not understanding what was foretold of the birth of Christ, applied the whole prediction to another purpose in his fourth eclogue, called the POLLIO. The name of Sibyl was compounded of σιος, Æolica voce, pro Θεος, *Deus*, and βουλη, *consilium*. See the Delphin Virgil, lib. vi. v. 36: and see the fine description of the Sibyl in her prophetic ecstasy, v. 46.

1 The senate had two ways of coming to a resolution; if there was no debate, the house decided *per discessionem*. When there was an opposition, the fathers were called upon *seriatim* for their opinions. See Aulus Gellius, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

2 See to the same effect Suetonius in Aug. s. 31.

berius saw his [3] granddaughters in the season of life, that made it proper to dispose of them in marriage. On that subject he had deliberated for some time. His choice, at length, fixed on Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. Vinicius was born at a small municipal town, known by the name of Cales. His father and grandfather were of consular rank; but the family, before their time, never rose higher than the equestrian order. Their descendant united to his amiable manners a vein of pleasing eloquence. Cassius was born at Rome, of a plebeian, but respected family. He was educated under the strict tuition of his father, but succeeded more through happiness than care and industry. To these two the daughters of Germanicus were given in marriage; Drusilla to Cassius, and Julia to Vinicius. Tiberius, in his letters to the senate, made honourable mention of the young men, but in the style of reserve. He touched on his long absence from the capital, and, after glossing it over with vague and frivolous reasons, talked in a more serious tone of the weight of government, and the animosities which he was obliged to encounter. He desired that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards, with a small number of tribunes and centurions, might have directions to guard his person, as often as he should attend the senate. A decree was passed in the amplest form, according to his desire, without limitation of rank or number. Tiberius, notwithstanding, never appeared in the assembly of the fathers, nor even entered the walls of Rome. He made feigned approaches, still retreating through devious roads, suspecting the people, and flying from his country.

XVI. The practice of usury was a grievance that distressed the whole community. Against such as sought to increase their wealth by placing out money [4] at exorbitant interest, actions were commenced. The money-lenders were accused under a law enacted by Julius Cæsar, whereby the terms of lending on land security, throughout Italy, were defined and settled; a wise and salutary law, but fallen into disuse, the public good, as is too often the case, giving way to private advantage. Usury, it must be admitted, was an early canker of the commonwealth, the frequent cause of tumult and sedition. Laws were made to repress the mischief, while yet the manners were pure and uncorrupted. In the first ages of the commonwealth, interest of money was arbitrary, depending on the will and pleasure of the opulent; but, by a law of the twelve tables, it was reduced to one for the hundred. More was declared illegal. In process of time a new regulation, proposed by the tribunes, lowered it to one half; and, finally, it was abolished altogether. It began however to revive, and, to suppress its growth, new sanctions were established by the authority of the people: but fraud found new expedients, often checked, and as often re-appearing in different shapes. In the reign of Tiberius, at the point of time now in question, the complaint was brought before Gracchus the prætor, who was empowered, by virtue of his office, to hear and determine. That magistrate, however, seeing numbers involved in the question, submitted the whole to the consideration of the senate. In that order few were exempt from the general vice. Alarmed for themselves, and wishing to obtain a general immunity, the fathers referred the business to the emperor. Tiberius complied with their request. A year and six months were granted, that men in that time might adjust and settle their accounts, according to law.

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3 As Germanicus was adopted by Tiberius, Annals i. s. 3, his daughters were, consequently, the grandchildren of Tiberius.

4 The grievances of the people, labouring under the oppression of their creditors, occur so often in Livy, that it is needless to cite particular instances. The law of Julius Cæsar, mentioned in this passage, is explained by Suetonius. It was expected, he says, that all debts should be cancelled; but Cæsar ordered, that all debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to a fair estimate of their estates, at the rates at which they were purchased before the commencement of the civil wars; deducting from the principal the interest that had been paid; and by those means about a fourth part of the debt was sunk. Suetonius, in Jul. Cæs. s. 42. See also Cæsar de Bell. Civ. iii. s. 1. The late Sir William Blackstone says, Many good and learned men perplexed themselves, and other people, by raising questions about the reward for the use of money, and by expressing their doubts about the legality of it *in foro conscientiæ*. A compensation for the loan of money is generally called *interest*, by those who think it lawful; and *usury*, by those who think otherwise; for the enemies to *interest* in general make no distinction between that and *usury*, holding any increase of money to be indefensibly usurious. The arguments in support of that opinion are refuted by Sir William Blackstone, who proves that the taking of a moderate reward for the use of money, is not only, not *malum in se*, but highly useful to society. See his Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 454 to 457. Brotier states the different rates of interest known at Rome, at different times. Some of them were usurious on account of their excess, as may be seen in the following table:

Fœnus	Semiunciarium,	*Half per Cent.*
	Unciarium, -	*One per Cent.*
Usura	Quadrans, - .	*Three per Cent.*
	Triens, - -	*Four per Cent.*
	Quincunx, - -	*Five per Cent.*
	Semis, - -	*Six per Cent.*
	Bes, - - -	*Eight per Cent.*
	Deunx, - -	*Eleven per Cent.*
	Centessima, -	*Twelve per Cent.*
	Centessima Quaterna,	*Forty-eight per Cent.*
Anatocismus, - -		*Interest upon Interest.*

When the sum for the use of money is excessive, or what is now deemed *usurious*, Tacitus calls it *versura*; and so the word is used by Cicero, *Salaminii cum Romæ* VERSURAM *facere vellent, non poterant; quod lex Gabinia vetabat.* Ad Atticum, lib. v. epist. 21. See an Essay on the subject of Roman Usury, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxviii. See also Montesquieu, Spirit of Laws, book xxii. chap. 22.

XVII. The want of current money brought on a new scene of distress. Creditors pressed to have their accounts balanced, and judgment was signed against such as stood indebted. Their effects were sold, and all the specie was either carried to the public treasury, or swallowed up in the coffers of the prince. To alleviate this inconvenience, the senate ordered, by a decree, that two-thirds of each man's debt should be secured on lands in Italy. But still the creditors claimed the whole of their demand, and the debtor by consequence, was reduced to the brink of ruin. He wished to save his honour; the necessity pressed; meetings were held, supplications were tried, but the law took its course. The tribunal of the prætor resounded with complaints, and noise, and lamentations. The project of obliging the debtor to sell his lands, and the creditors to purchase, instead of healing the mischief, made it worse. The usurers lay in wait to buy at a reduced price, and, for that purpose, hoarded up their money. The value of lands sunk in proportion to the number of estates on sale, and the debtor was left without resource. Whole families were ruined; their credit was destroyed, and every prospect vanished. Tiberius interposed with seasonable relief. He opened a fund of one hundred thousand great sesterces, as a public loan, for three years, free from interest, on condition that the borrower, for the security of the state, should mortgage lands of double the value. By this salutary aid public credit was revived. The money, which had lain in private hands, began to circulate; and the order of the senate, directing the sale of land-property, fell into disuse. Like most plans of reformation, it was embraced at first with ardour; but the novelty ceased, and the scheme ended in nothing.

XVIII. The rage of prosecutions, from which Rome had an interval of rest, broke out again with collected fury. The first that suffered was Confidius Proculus, on a charge of violated majesty. On his birth-day, while he was celebrating that annual festival, he was seized, in the moment of joy, and conducted to the senate-house, where he was tried, condemned, and hurried away to execution. His sister, Sancia, was interdicted from fire and water. The prosecutor, who appeared against her, was Quintus Pomponius, a fierce and turbulent spirit. To curry favour with the prince, and thereby save his brother, Pomponius Secundus, was the pretence with which this man endeavoured to palliate his iniquity. The senate proceeded next against Pompeia Macrina. She was condemned to banishment. Her husband, Argolicus, and Laco, her father-in-law, both of distinguished rank in Achaia, had, before this time, fallen victims to the cruelty of Tiberius. Macrina's father, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, who was of prætorian rank, to avoid a similar sentence, put an end to their lives. The crime alleged against them was, their ancestor, Theophanes of Mitylene, had b the confidential friend of Pompey the Great; that divine honours were paid to the memor Theophanes by the flattering genius of the G nation.

XIX. Sextus Marius, who held the lar possessions in Spain, was the next victim. cest with his own daughter was the imp crime: he was precipitated down the Tarp rock. That the avarice of Tiberius was motive for this act of violence, was seen be the possibility of a doubt, when the gold-m of the unfortunate Spaniard, which were feited to the public, were known to be seize the emperor for his own use. He was no far plunged in blood, that executions served to whet his cruelty. At one blow, he or all, who were detained in prison for their posed connection with Sejanus, to be pu instant death. A dreadful carnage follo neither sex nor age was spared; the noble ignoble perished without distinction; dead b in mangled heaps, or scattered up and d presented a tragic spectacle. Neither fr nor relation, dared to approach: none were mitted to soothe the pangs of death, to weep the deceased, or to bid the last farewell. G were stationed to watch the looks of all friends, and to catch intelligence from tears, till, at length, the putrid bodies thrown into the Tiber, to drive at the mer the winds and waves. Some were carried by the current; others were thrown on s but to burn or bury them was allowed man. All were struck with terror, and th office of humanity was suppressed. C went on increasing, and every sentiment heart was smothered in silence.

XX. About this time, Caligula, who close attendance on his grandfather in the i Capreæ, was married to Claudia,[1] the da of Marcus Silanus. This young prince h art to conceal, under a veil of modesty, th detestable of human characters. Neith condemnation of his mother, nor the banis of his brother, could extort from him on of compassion. He studied the humours berius; he watched the whim of the day, his features accordingly, in dress and la the mimic of his grandfather. Hence the remark of Passienus, the famous orator; " never was a better slave, nor a more det master." A prophetic expression that fe Tiberius concerning Galba, who was thi in the office of consul, may not unaptly serted in this place. Having called him audience, in order to penetrate his thoughts, he tried him on various topics, length, told him in Greek, " You too, G

1 See the Genealogical Table, No. 87.

a future day, will have a taste of sovereign power;" alluding to his elevation late in life, and the shortness of his reign. To look into the seeds of time was the early study of Tiberius. In the isle of Rhodes, judicial astrology was his favourite pursuit. In the acquisition of that science, he there employed his leisure, under Thrasullus, whose abilities he tried in the following manner.

XXI. Whenever he chose to consult an astrologer, he retired with him to the top of the house, attended by a single freedman, selected for the purpose, illiterate, but of great bodily strength. This man conducted the soothsayer, whose talents were to be tried, along the ridge of the cliff, on which the mansion stood; and as he returned, if the emperor suspected fraud, or vain affectation of knowledge, he threw the impostor headlong into the sea. Tiberius was, by these means, left at ease, and no witness survived to tell the story. Thrasullus was put to the same test. Being led along the precipice, he answered a number of questions; and not only promised imperial splendor to Tiberius, but opened a scene of future events, in a manner that filled his imagination with astonishment. Tiberius desired to know, "whether he had cast his own nativity? Could he foresee what was to happen in the course of the year? nay, on that very day?" Thrasullus consulted the position of the heavens, and the aspect of the planets: he was struck with fear; he paused; he hesitated; he sunk into profound meditation; terror and amazement shook his frame. Breaking silence at last, "I perceive," he said, "the crisis of my fate; this very moment may be my last." Tiberius clasped him in his arms, congratulating him both on his knowledge, and his escape from danger. From that moment, he considered the predictions of Thrasullus as the oracles of truth, and the astrologer was ranked in the number of the prince's confidential friends.

XXII. When I reflect on this fact, and others of a similar nature, I find my judgment so much on the balance, that, whether human affairs are governed[2] by fate and immutable necessity, or left to the wild rotation of chance, I am not able to decide. Among the philosophers of antiquity, and the followers of their different sects among the moderns, two opposite opinions have prevailed. According to the system of one party, "in all that relates to man, his formation, his progress, and his end, the gods have no concern; and by consequence, calamity is often the good man's portion, while vice enjoys the pleasures and advantages of the world." In opposition to this hypothesis, another school maintains, "that the immutable law of fate is perfectly consistent with the events of the moral world; that law," they tell us, "does not depend on the course of wandering planets, but is fixed in the first principles of things, supported and preserved by a chain of natural causes. Man, notwithstanding, is left at liberty to choose his sphere of action; but the choice once made, the consequences follow in a regular course, fixed, certain, and inevitable." By this sect we are further taught, "that good and evil are not always what vulgar error has so defined; on the contrary, many, whom we see struggling with adversity, are yet perfectly happy; while others, in all the pride and affluence of fortune, are truly wretched. The former, by their fortitude, tower above the ills of life; and the latter, by their indiscretion, poison their own felicity."

Sublime as this theory may be, there is still a third opinion, which has taken root in the human mind, and cannot be eradicated. According to this doctrine, the colour of our lives is fixed in the first moment of our existence; and though what is foretold, and the events that follow, may often vary, the fallacy is not to be imputed to the art itself, but to the vanity of pretenders to a science, respected by antiquity, and in modern times established by undoubted proof. In fact, the reign of Nero was foretold by the son of this very Thrasullus: but this, to avoid a long digression, shall be reserved for its proper place.

XXIII. During the same consulship, the death of Asinius Gallus[3] became publicly known. That he died by famine no man doubted; but whether through compulsion, or wilful abstinence, is uncertain. Application was made for leave to perform his funeral obsequies; nor did Tiberius blush to grant as a favour, what was the common right of man. He regretted, however, that a criminal, before he could be convicted in his presence, had escaped the hand of justice; as if in three years, since the charge was laid, there was not sufficient time to proceed against a man of consular rank, and the father of consuls.

The death of Drusus[4] followed. By order of Tiberius he was to be starved to death. By chewing the weeds that served for his bed, the unhappy prince lingered nine days in misery. At the time when Macro received his orders to

2 This whole passage about Fate and Chance shows, after all the philosophy of Plato and Cicero, that nothing but Revelation could disperse the mist, in which the best understandings were involved. The reasoning of Tacitus calls to mind the passage in Milton:

Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thought more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

3 Asinius Gallus was thrown into prison three years before. See book v. Supplement, s. 14.

4 Drusus, the son of Germanicus: Genealogical Table, No. 83. See an account of his imprisonment in the lower part of the palace, book v. Supplement, s. 7.

act with vigour against Sejanus, Tiberius, as some writers assert, gave directions, if that desperate minister had recourse to arms, that Drusus, confined in the palace, should be produced to the people, and proclaimed emperor. In consequence of this report, an opinion prevailed, that the prince was on the point of being reconciled to his grandson and his daughter-in-law. But to relent was not in the temper of Tiberius: he was supposed to be mercifully inclined, and he chose rather to display his cruelty.

XXIV. The death of Drusus was not sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of Tiberius. He persecuted the memory of the prince with unextinguished hatred; he imputed to him unnatural passions, and represented him as a person who had not only lost all family affection, but, being possessed of an aspiring genius, was actually employed in concerting measures to overturn the government. He ordered a day-book to be read before the fathers, in which the words and actions of Drusus were carefully recorded. In the annals of history is there any thing to match this black, this horrible inquisition? For a length of time spies of state were appointed to keep a register of words, to interpret looks, and note the groans that issued from the heart. That the grandfather could countenance a plot so black and detestable; that he could listen to the whispered tale; read a clandestine journal, and not only read it in secret, but produce it in the face of day; appears too atrocious to be believed, if the fact was not authenticated by the letters of Aetius the centurion, and Didymus the freedman. In the narrative left by those men, we find the names of the slaves employed about the prince's person. One struck him, as he came forth from his chamber; another overpowered him with terror and dismay.

The centurion, as if brutality were a merit, boasts of his savage expressions. He relates the words of the prince, in the last ebb of life, spoken against Tiberius, at first, perhaps, in a feigned delirium, but when his end drew near, in a tone of solemn imprecation, imploring the gods, that he who imbrued his hands in the blood of his daughter-in-law; who murdered his nephew; who destroyed his grandchildren, and in his own family laid a scene of slaughter; might not escape the punishment due to his crimes. "Reserve him," he said, "reserve him, gods! for your own just vengeance: let him fall a terrible example to the present age, and to all posterity." The fathers, affecting to shudder at imprecations so eager and emphatic, interrupted the reading; but they felt the impression at their hearts. With horror and astonishment they beheld a tyrant, who, with close hypocrisy, had hitherto concealed his crimes, but was now so hardened, that, without shame or remorse, he could throw open the prison-walls, and show his grandson under the centurion's lash, exposed to common ruffians, and, in the agony of famine, begging a wret pittance to support expiring nature, but be it in vain.

XXV. The grief occasioned by the m cholv death of Drusus, had not subsided, the public[1] received another shock from tragic end of Agrippina. The fall of Se afforded a gleam of hope, which, it may be jectured, helped to support her spirits for time; but when she saw no alteration of sures, worn out and tired of life, she resol close the scene. Her death was said to be v tary; but if it be true that all nourishmen withheld from her, it is evident that an tale was fabricated, to give the appearan suicide to a cruel and barbarous murder. after her decease, Tiberius continued still i cable. He loaded her memory with the f imputations; he charged her with incontin he pronounced Asinius Gallus her adult and when she lost her paramour, life, he was no longer worth her care. But the c ter of Agrippina was invulnerable. It is that a mind like hers could not brook an Ambition was her ruling passion; and i views of grandeur the soft desires of he were lost. Tiberius added, as a circum worthy of being recorded, that she died anniversary of the day that freed the from Sejanus two years before. That sh not strangled and thrown into the co charnel-house, he thought fit to celebrate act of clemency. The senate thanked him f tender indulgence, and ordained, by a decre the fifteenth before the calends of Nov (the day on which Sejanus and Agrippin expired) should be observed as a solemn fe with annual offerings on the altar of Jupi

XXVI. Soon after these transactions, Co Nerva,[2] the constant companion of the a man distinguished by his knowledge of both human and divine, possessing a splend tune, and still in the vigour of health, grew of life, and formed a resolution to lay th den down. Tiberius, on the first intell paid him a visit; he entered into close c sation; he desired to know his motiv expostulated, tried the force of entreat declared, without reserve, that if a man, so favour, without any apparent reason, put to his life, it would be a stab to the em peace of mind, and a stain indelible to hi tation. Nerva declined the subject. He pe in wilful abstinence, and shortly after his days. From those who best knew hi acter and way of thinking, we learn the of his conduct. He saw the cloud th ready to burst on the commonwealth, and at once, with fear and indignation, he re

1 See Annals, book v.-Supplement, s. 5.
2 Coccelus Nerva has been mentioned, book

while yet his honour was unblemished, to escape with glory from the horrors of the time.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the death of Agrippina drew after it the ruin of Plancina. She was formerly the wife of Cneius Piso. The reader will remember the savage joy, with which she heard of the death of Germanicus. When her husband perished, the influence of Livia, and, still more, the enmity of Agrippina, screened her from the punishment due to her crimes. But court-favour and private animosity were at an end, and justice took its course. The charge against her was founded on facts of public notoriety. In despair she laid violent hands on herself, and suffered, at last, the slow, but just reward of a flagitious life.

XXVII. Amidst the tragic events that covered the city of Rome with one general face of mourning, a new cause of discontent arose from the marriage of Julia (the daughter of Drusus,[3] and lately the wife of Nero) with Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather, a native of Tibur, and never of higher distinction than the equestrian rank, was fresh in the memory of men still living. Towards the end of the year, the funeral of Ælius Lamia was celebrated with all the honours of the censorian order. He had been for some time the nominal governor of Syria, and having resigned that imaginary title, was made præfect of Rome. Illustrious by his birth, he lived to a vigorous old age; and not being suffered to proceed to the provinces of Syria, he derived from that very restraint an additional dignity.[4]

The death of Pomponius Flaccus,[5] proprætor of Syria, which happened soon after the decease of Lamia, produced a letter from Tiberius to the senate, remonstrating, that officers of rank, who by their talents were fit to be at the head of armies, declined the service; and, by consequence, the emperor was reduced to the necessity of requesting, that the fathers would use their influence, to induce men of consular rank to undertake the office. He forgot, however, that ten years before, Arruntius was appointed to the government of Spain, but, during that whole time, was never permitted to leave the city.

In the course of this year died Manius Lepidus,[6] whose wisdom and moderation have been already mentioned. To say any thing of the nobility of his birth were superfluous, since it is well known, that the house of the Æmilii, from whom he derived his pedigree, produced a race of eminent citizens. If any of the family degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, they continued, notwithstanding, to support the splendour of an ancient and illustrious race.

XXVIII. Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius[7] succeeded to the consulship [A. U. C. 787. A. D. 34.] In the course of the year, the miraculous bird, known to the world by the name of the phœnix,[8] after disappearing for a series of ages,

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3 Julia, the daughter of Drusus and Livia, and granddaughter to Tiberius. Genealogical Table, No. 74.

4 The name of this person was Cossus Ælius Lamia. He united in his character many excellent qualities, but was addicted to liquor, as we learn from Seneca, who says, that Tiberius, having experienced the good effects of Piso's administration, which succeeded notwithstanding his love of liquor, see book v. Supplement, s. 19, and note, appointed Cossus to the office of præfect of the city; a man of wisdom and moderation, but fond of wine, and apt to drink deep. *Cossum fecit urbis præfectum, virum gravem, moderatum, sed merum vino et madentem; puto quia bene cesserat Pisonis ebrietas.* Seneca, epist. 83. He obtained the province of Syria, but was not suffered to proceed to his government. This, we are told by Tacitus, was a state of suspense habitual to Tiberius. See book i. s. 80, where we are also told why the detention of Lamia added to his dignity. Tiberius was afraid of eminent virtue: *Ex optimis periculum.*

5 Pomponius Flaccus was another of Tiberius's bottle-companions. Suetonius says, that the name of the emperor being, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed Biberius Caldius Mero; and after he came to the empire, he passed a whole night and two days in a carousing party with Lucius Piso and Pomponius Flaccus. Sueton. in Tiberio, s. 42.

6 Manius Lepidus has been mentioned, book i. s. 13; book iv. s. 20.

7 Lucius Vitellius, the new consul, was the father of Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor. See more of him, s. xxxii.

8 The accounts given by the ancients of this wonderful bird, if collected together, would swell into a volume. Tacitus was aware of the decorations of fable; but of the real existence of such a bird, and its periodical appearance in Egypt, he entertained no kind of doubt. It has been objected by some critics, that he breaks the thread of his narrative for the sake of a trifling digression: but it should be remembered, that what is now known to be a fable, was formerly received as a certain truth. It was, therefore, in the time of Tacitus, an interesting description, and even now curiosity is gratified with the particulars of so celebrated a fiction. La Bleterie observes, that since the Christian era, many learned and pious writers have been carried away by the torrent, and embraced the popular opinion. He says, the word φοῖνιξ, signifying *palma*, the palm-tree, as well as the bird in question, Tertullian was so ingenious as to find the phœnix mentioned in Scripture. The Latin translators have said *Justus ut palma florebit;* he translates it, *Justus ut phœnix florebit.* Pliny the naturalist seems to dwell with pleasure on the particulars of the birth, the age, the death, and revival, of this wonderful bird. He says that a pretended phœnix was brought to Rome from Egypt, A. U. C. 800, and exhibited as a public spectacle in the forum; but the people considered it as an imposition. *Quem falsum esse nemo dubitavit.* Pliny, lib. x. s. 2. Pomponius Mela has given an elegant description of the phœnix. The substance of what he says, is, when it has lived five hundred years it expires on its own nest, and being regenerated, carries the bones of its former frame to Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, and there, on an altar covered with Arabian spices, performs a fragrant funeral. Mela, lib. iii. s. 9. Mariana, the Spanish historian, who wrote in modern times, may be added to the Christian writers who have mentioned this bird with pious credulity. He considers the re-appearance of the phœnix, towards the end of Tiberius, as a prognostic of the resurrection, because it revives out of its own ashes. See his History of Spain, lib. iv. cap. i.; See also Sir John Mandeville.

revisited Egypt. A phenomenon so very extraordinary could not fail to produce abundance of curious speculation. The learning of Egypt was displayed, and Greece exhausted her ingenuity. The facts, about which there seems to be a concurrence of opinions, with other circumstances, in their nature doubtful, yet worthy of notice, will not be unwelcome to the reader.

That the phœnix is sacred to the sun, and differs from the rest of the feathered species, in the form of its head, and the tincture of its plumage, are points settled by the naturalists. Of its longevity, the accounts are various. The common persuasion is, that it lives five hundred years, though by some writers the date is extended to fourteen hundred and sixty-one. The several eras, when the phœnix has been seen, are fixed by tradition. The first, we are told, was in the reign of Sesostris; the second, in that of Amasis; and in the period when Ptolemy, the third of the Macedonian race, was seated on the throne of Egypt, another phœnix directed its flight towards Heliopolis, attended by a group of various birds, all attracted by the novelty, and gazing with wonder at so beautiful an appearance. For the truth of this account, we do not presume to answer. The facts lie too remote; and covered, as they are, with the mists of antiquity, all further argument is suspended.

From the reign of Ptolemy to Tiberius, the intermediate space is not quite two hundred and fifty years. From that circumstance it has been inferred by many that the last phœnix was neither of the genuine kind, nor came from the woods of Arabia. The instinctive qualities of the species were not observed to direct its motions. It is the genius, we are told, of the true phœnix, when its course of years is finished, and the approach of death is felt, to build a nest in its native clime, and there deposit the principles of life, from which a new progeny arises. The first care of the young bird, as soon as fledged, and able to trust to its wings, is to perform the obsequies of his father. But this duty is not undertaken rashly. He collects a quantity of myrrh, and, to try his strength, makes frequent excursions with a load on his back. When he has made his experiment through a long tract of air, and gains sufficient confidence in his own vigour, he takes up the body of his father, and flies with it to the altar of the sun, where he leaves it to be consumed in flames of fragrance. Such is the account of this extraordinary bird. It has, no doubt, a mixture of fable; but that the phœnix, from time to time, appears in Egypt, seems to be a fact sufficiently ascertained.

XXIX. Rome continued to stream with the blood of eminent citizens. Pomponius Labeo, who had been, as already mentioned, governor of Mysia, opened his veins and bled to death. His wife Paxæa had the spirit to follow his example. Suicide was the only refuge from the hand of the executioner. Those wl for the sentence of the law, incurred a and were, besides, deprived of the rit ulture; while to such as died by their funeral ceremonies were allowed, and t were valid. Such was the reward of d Self-destruction was made the interes kind. On the subject of Labeo's de rius wrote to the senate. He obser in ancient times, when all ties of frienc to be dissolved, it was the custom to g to the discarded party, that his visits longer agreeable. In that manner he with Labeo: all connection was a But that unhappy man, finding himse with the iniquity of his government, a by the weight of other crimes, made injured innocence, with intent to

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1 Tacitus seems here to make the apolog It was fear of the executioner that hurried destruction. *Promptas ejusmodi mortes met faciebat.* A second reason was, the accuse before sentence of condemnation by their saved their effects for their relations, and w the rites of sepulture. The idea of being st thrown into the Tiber, was shocking to the It is remarkable, that a law against suic known to the Romans in every period of t The motives for embracing a voluntary deat as stated by Tacitus, till the reign of Anto emperor, A. U. C. 965, of the Christian era cated the effects of all who put an end to th avoid final judgment. In other respects, not restrained; it was rather countenanced. cution was commenced, the estate of the pe a fit of insanity destroyed himself, passed b descended to his heirs. So far was right: rule was extended to those who were weary for that reason put an end to their days. *D corporis aut tædio vitæ.* See the Code, ix *bonis eorum qui mortem sibi consciveru* maxim of the stoic school, that there was n in human life than the power of ending it. *bonis, quæ homini tribuit natura, nullum tempestiva morte; idque in ea optimum, sibi quisque præstare poterit.* Pliny, lib. The impious tenets of a dogmatical sect silence the law of nature. Socrates was c opinion; that best of philosophers says, i of Plato, that we are all placed by Provi proper stations, and no man has a right post. Aristotle calls suicide the act of a ti noble mind. It was the maxim of Pyth without leave from the commander-in-c from God, it is unlawful to quit our post; who records that excellent doctrine (*De* says, in another place, that it is the duty and pious, to keep the soul in its tenement without the order of him who gave it, n rush out of this life, lest he incur the guilt the gift of Providence. *Piis omnibus re animus in custodia corporis; nec injuss illis est vobis datus, ex hominum vita mi ne munus humanum assignatum a D videamini.* Somnium Scipionis, s. 7. Si of nature, speaking in the human he attended to, no wonder that the voice of a phers was not heard. The Pagans require revelation

odium of his death on the emperor. The example was fatal to his wife. She took the alarm, and perished with her husband. She might have quelled her fears; for, though her guilt was manifest, she might have lived in safety."

A new prosecution was commenced against Mamercus Scaurus,[2] a distinguished senator, famous as well for his eloquence as the nobility of his birth, but a libertine in his conduct. He had been connected with Sejanus, but on that account no danger threatened him. The enmity of Macro, who practised the wiles of Sejanus, but with deeper policy, was the cause of his ruin. A tragedy, written by Scaurus, was the ground of the charge. Some lines were cited from the piece, and, by a strained construction, said to point obliquely at Tiberius. But to make sure work, Servilius and Cornelius, two informers by profession, accused him of adultery with the younger Livia,[3] and of secret practices in the magic art. Scaurus, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Æmilii, from whom he was descended, resolved not to linger for a public sentence. His wife Sexitia exhorted him to an act of bravery, and died herself with the courage which she recommended.

XXX. Amidst these acts of violence, the informers, in their turn, were abandoned to their fate. Servilius and Cornelius, who, by their conduct to Scaurus, had brought on themselves the public detestation, were charged with taking a bribe, to compound a prosecution commenced by themselves against Varius Ligur. They were both interdicted from fire and water, and transported to the islands. A similar fate attended Abudius Rufo. This man had discharged the office of ædile, and also served, at the head of a legion, under Lentulus Gætulicus. He turned informer against his commanding officer, alleging that he had projected a match between his daughter and one of the sons of Sejanus. He construed this into a crime, and, for the attempt, was banished from Rome. At the time when this prosecution was set on foot, Gætulicus commanded the legions in Upper Germany. Distinguished by his clemency, and without rigour maintaining military discipline, he was the idol of the soldiers. By his interest with his father-in-law, Lucius Apronius, he was also high in credit with the other army, which was stationed at a small distance. In this situation it is said, not without probability, that he had the courage to despatch a letter to Tiberius, to the following effect: "The proposed alliance with Sejanus did not originate with himself: the emperor had recommended it. The meanest citizen is liable to error, no less than the prince. To mistake with impunity cannot be the prerogative of the emperor, and, at the same time, a crime in others. For himself, his fidelity remained inviolate, and if no snare was laid for his ruin, nothing could shake his principles. Should a successor be sent to supersede him in the command, he should understand it as the prologue to a sentence of condemnation. But there were conditions, on which something like a treaty between both parties might be settled: he desired to remain unmolested in the government of the province, and Tiberius might give the law to the rest of the Roman world." Incredible as this anecdote may appear, it gains an air of authenticity, when it is considered, that, of all the favourites of Sejanus, Gætulicus was the only person who had the secret to preserve his life, and live in the good graces of the prince. The truth is, Tiberius knew that he had incurred the public hatred. Worn out with age and infirmities, he was wise enough to reflect, that fame and the opinion of mankind, rather than the exercise of power, must for the future be the pillars of his government.

XXXI. In the consulship of Caius Cestius[4] and Marcus Servilius, [A. U. C. 788. A. D. 35.] a deputation from the Parthian nobility, without the concurrence or privity of Artabanus, their king, arrived at Rome. While the arms of Germanicus filled the east with terror, that monarch continued to adhere with good faith to the Romans, and to rule his own dominions with equity and moderation. He broke out afterwards with open violence; to Rome, proud and arrogant; to his people, fierce and unrelenting. The prosperous events of war with the neighbouring nations inspired him with the pride and insolence of victory. He saw Tiberius, in the

2 We have seen Mamercus Scaurus marked as a victim, this book, s. 9. Seneca says, he was designed by nature for a great orator, but he fell short, owing to his own neglect. *Scire posses, non quantum oratorem præstaret Scaurus, sed quantum desereret.* Controv. lib. v. in Præfatione. Dio informs us, that the tragedy for which he was accused, was founded on the story of Atreus; and that Tiberius, thinking himself glanced at, said, Since he makes me another Atreus, I will make him an Ajax, meaning, that he would force him to destroy himself. Dio, lib. lviii.

3 The wife of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. See the Genealogical Table, No. 71.

4 La Bletterie in his note, at the opening of this year, says, Since Tacitus has given the history of the phœnix, he thinks an account of the extraordinary crow, that for a long time amused the people of Rome, will not be unacceptable to the reader. He gives the whole detail from Pliny the elder. The crow it seems belonged to a shoemaker, and was soon taught to articulate words. It went every morning to the Rostrum, and there distinctly pronounced, Good day, Tiberius! Good day, Germanicus! Good day, Drusus! This continued for several years. The bird was at last killed by another shoemaker in the neighbourhood, who fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the populace. The bird was afterwards buried near the Appian road with the greatest parade, and a long procession of Roman citizens. See Pliny, lib. x. cap. 43.

decline of life, a feeble prince,[1] disarmed, and powerless. Armenia was the object of his ambition. Artaxias,[2] king of the country, was no sooner dead, than he placed his eldest son, Arsaces, on the vacant throne. His arrogance did not stop there. By his ambassadors he demanded, in haughty and imperious terms, immediate restitution of the treasures left by Vonones[3] in Syria and Cilicia. He laid claim, besides, to all the territories, formerly belonging to the Persians and Macedonians. He added, in a style of vain-glory, that whatever was possessed by Cyrus, and afterwards by Alexander, was his undoubted right, and he was determined to recover the same by force of arms.

The Parthians, in the meantime, by the advice of Sinnaces, a man of great opulence and noble birth, sent their secret embassy to Rome. The measure was supported by Abdus,[4] the eunuch. In the eastern nations the loss of manhood is no degradation: on the contrary, it leads to power and preferment. With those two leading chiefs the grandees of Parthia entered into a conspiracy. But still to wear the regal diadem, one only of the race of the Arsacides could be found. The greatest part of that family was cut off by Artabanus, and the survivors were too young to govern. The Parthians, therefore, desired that Tiberius would send Phraates,[5] son of the king of that name, to mount the throne of his ancestors. That title and the sanction of Rome would be sufficient. Let a prince of the house of Arsaces, under the protection of Tiberius, show himself on the banks of the Euphrates, and nothing more was necessary; a revolution would be the certain consequence.

XXXII. The enterprise was agreeable to the wishes of Tiberius. He despatched Phraates, enriched with presents, and every mark of splendour suited to the royal dignity. But still it was his fixed plan not to depart from his former resolution to work by stratagem, and, if possible, to avoid a war. The secret transpired at the Parthian court. Artabanus was thrown into a state of violent perplexity. Revenge and fear took possession of him by turns. In the idea of an eastern monarch, indecision is the mark of a servile mind. Vigour an enterprise are attributes of the royal In the present juncture, those notions g and his interest conquered prejudices. vited Abdus to a banquet, and, by a slo rendered him unfit for action. With he thought it best to dissemble. He lo with presents, and by employing him affairs, left him no leisure for clandesti nations. Meanwhile Phraates arrived Willing to conform to the customs of he threw off the dress and manners of mans. The transition, however, was to and his constitution proving unequal den a change, he was carried off by a ness. Tiberius was unwilling to rel measure which he had once approved. Tiridates, descended from the same s Phraates, as a fit rival to contend w banus.

In order to recover the kingdom of he entered into an alliance with Mith prince of the Iberian line, having b contrived to reconcile him to his brot asmanes, then the reigning monarch An important scene was now openi east. To conduct the whole, Tiberiu command to Lucius Vitellius.[6] The of this officer is well known. He sh self in his true colours to the people insomuch that his memory is held in d In the east, however, his conduct was i able. He acted in the province with rity of an ancient Roman. After his renounced that character altogether apostate from every virtue. His dres

1 Suetonius says, Tiberius was severely lashed in a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, upbraiding him with parricide, murder, cowardice, and luxury; and advising him to expiate his guilt by a voluntary death. In Tib. s. 66.

2 Artaxias III. who was seated on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus. See book ii. s. 56 and 64.

3 Vonones was deposed by the Armenians, and obliged to take refuge at Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia. Annals, book ii. s. 4 and 58.

4 The custom of advancing eunuchs to the highest stations, has been, in all ages, a custom with the princes of the east.

5 He was the son of Phraates IV. and had been sent by his father as an hostage to Augustus. Annals, book ii. s. 1.

6 L. Vitellius was consul in the preceding this book, s. 28, and note. In his administra he conducted himself with integrity and on his return to Rome, he thought it the be atone for his virtues by the practice of eve gave rise to the worshipping of Caligula as approached that emperor with his face vei prostrate at his feet. Caligula received homage, and forgave Vitellius all his merit He ranked him among his favourites. Cali to have it thought that he was a lover of th highly favoured by that goddess. He appea lius as an eye-witness of his intrigue: "S courtier, "when you gods are in conjunct invisible to mortal eyes." In the following cure the favour of Claudius, who was the his wives, he requested it as the greatest fa salina, that she would be graciously please take off her shoes. His petition was grant carried the shoes to his own house, and ma stant practice to kiss them before compa shipped the golden images of Narcissus an ranked them with his household gods. W celebrated the secular games, which were end of every century (see book xi. s. 11), h adulation so far, as to say to the emperor, " perform this ceremony!" *Sæpe facias*. It of him, that he left his virtues in his pro Rome resumed his vices. See Suet. in Vit

gula, and his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into an abject slave. He is now remembered as a model of the vilest adulation. What was praiseworthy in the beginning of his days, changed to infamy in his riper years. The virtues of youth gave way to the vices of age.

XXXIII. Mithridates was the first of the petty kings of Asia who took a decisive part. He drew his brother Pharasmanes into the league, and engaged that monarch to employ both force and stratagem to promote the enterprise. By their agents they bribed the servants of Arsaces to end their master's life by poison. The Iberians, in the meantime, entered Armenia with a numerous army, and took possession of the city of Artaxata. On the first intelligence Artabanus despatched his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian forces, to oppose the enemy, and, in the meantime, sent out his officers to negotiate for a body of auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on his part, spared no pains to reinforce his army. He engaged the Albanians in his service. He listed the Sarmatians; but a part of that people, called the Sceptucians, were willing, according to the custom of the nation, to be hired by any of the powers at war, the ready mercenaries in every quarrel. They were at that time actually engaged on both sides, and of course divided against themselves. The Iberians, having secured the defiles and narrow passes of the country, poured down from the Caspian mountains, a large body of their Sarmatian auxiliaries, and soon overran all Armenia. The Parthians were not able to advance. The enemy was in force at every post, one only road excepted, and that, extending between the Caspian sea and the mountains of Albania, was impassable in the summer months. In that season of the year the Etesian[8] winds blow constantly one way, and, driving the waves before them, lay the country under water. In the winter, the wind from the south rolls the flood back into the deep, and leaves the country a dry and naked shore.

XXXIV. While Orodes saw his succours cut off, Pharasmanes with augmented numbers advanced against him. He offered battle, but the enemy declined the conflict. The Iberian rode up to the intrenchments; he endeavoured to provoke the enemy; he cut off their forage, and invested their camp. The Parthians, not used to brook dishonour, gathered in a body round the prince, and demanded the decision of the sword. Their main strength consisted in their cavalry. Pharasmanes added to his horse a large body of infantry. His own subjects, and the forces from Albania, dwelling chiefly in wilds and forests, were inured, by their mode of life, to labour and fatigue. If we may believe the account which they give of their origin, they are descended from the people of Thessaly, who followed Jason when that adventurer, having issue by Medea, returned to Colchis, on the death of Æetes, to take possession of the vacant throne. Concerning the Greek hero, and the oracle of Phryxus,[9] various traditions are current amongst them. For the last their veneration is such, that in their sacrifices a ram is never offered as a victim, the people conceiving that Phryxus was conveyed across the sea by an animal of that species, or in a ship with that figure at the head. The two armies were drawn out in order of battle. Orodes, to animate the valour of his men, called to mind the glory of the eastern empire, and the race of the Arsacidæ. "They were now to cope with a band of mercenaries; led by an Iberian chief, of mean extraction, ignoble, and obscure." In the opposite army, Pharasmanes pressed every topic that could inflame the ardour of his troops. "They were men that never yielded to the Parthian yoke: they fought now for conquest: the more bold the enterprise, the greater would be their glory. If they gave ground, or turned their backs on the enemy, shame and ruin would pursue them. Look round," he said, "and view both armies. Behold on our side a dreadful front of war; on that of the enemy an unwarlike band of Medes, gay in their apparel, and glittering with gold. Here we have men and steel; there cowards, and booty to reward our valour."

XXXV. In the Sarmatian ranks it was not the general only that harangued the men. By mutual exhortations, according to their custom, they roused each other's valour. They resolved to reserve their darts, and to rush on to a close engagement. The field of battle presented an attack in different forms. The Parthians, skilled alike in the onset and the retreat, endeavoured to open their ranks, in order to gain room for the discharge of their arrows. The Sarmatians threw their bows aside, determined with their swords and pikes to decide the fortune of the day. In one place was seen an engagement of the cavalry; they advanced to the charge; they wheeled about; they charged with sudden velocity. In another quarter the infantry fought hand to hand, and buckler to buckler. They attacked and were repulsed; they wounded, and were wounded. The Iberians and Albanians grappled with the enemy; they pulled them by main force from their horses; they distracted them by two different modes of engaging. Their cavalry rushed on, and their infantry stood close embodied. The two adverse generals, Orodes and Pharasmanes, exerted every effort. They

8 The Etesian wind, or the *North-East*, begins in the beginning of July, and blows during the dogdays. The *Hibernus Auster*, the *South-West*, continues during the winter.

9 Phryxus was the first that sailed to Colchos in pursuit of riches. Jason went afterwards on the same errand, which was called the *Golden Fleece*.

rushed into the heat of the action; they encouraged the brave; they rallied the broken ranks, and signalized themselves in every part of the field. Conspicuous to all, at length they knew each other. At the sight, with instinctive fury, their horses at full speed, they rushed forward to the charge, bellowing revenge, and darting their javelins. Pharasmanes, with a well-directed weapon, pierced the helmet of Orodes; but, hurried on by the fury of his horse, he was not able to pursue his advantage. Orodes was sheltered by his guards, who fled to his assistance. A report that he was slain spread through the ranks. The spirit of the Parthians began to droop, and victory declared for the Iberians.

XXXVI. Artabanus, to repair the loss, marched with the whole strength of his kingdom. The Iberians knew the course of the country, and by their valour gained a second victory. The Parthian, notwithstanding, kept the field till such time as Vitellius advanced with his legions, intending, as was industriously given out, to enter Mesopotamia. To avoid a war with Rome, the Parthian king abandoned Armenia, and returned to his own dominions. From that time his ruin may be dated. Vitellius carried on a correspondence with the leading men of Parthia, and, to incite them to a revolt, represented Artabanus as a king, cruel in time of peace, and in war disastrous to the whole nation. Sinnaces, at the head, as already mentioned, of a powerful faction, drew to his interest his father, Abdageses, and other malcontents, who were now, by the unprosperous events of war, determined to throw off the mask. A great number through fear, and not from principle, hitherto inactive, went over to the disaffected. Artabanus found himself deserted on every side. He had only one expedient left. He chose for his body-guard a band of mercenaries, men void of honour, the outcast of their country, to good and evil, vice and virtue, alike indifferent, and for their hire ready to perpetrate every crime. With these attendants the fugitive monarch sought the frontiers of Scythia. His ruined cause, he still hoped, would find support from the Carmanians, and the people of Hyrcania, with whom he was connected by ties of affinity. He relied, moreover, on the fickle temper of the Parthians. A wavering and inconstant people, always disgusted with the reigning prince, and, after his expulsion, prone to repent, might act towards himself with the same versatility, and once more declare in his favour.

XXXVII. The throne being in this manner vacant, and the Parthians, in their rage for innovation, appearing ready to embrace a new master, Vitellius thought it time to fire the ambition of Tiridates, and, to support him in the enterprise, marched with the auxiliaries, and the strength of his legions, to the banks of the Euphrates. In order to propitiate the river-god,[1] preparations were made for a solem fice. The Roman, according to the rites country, offered a swine, a ram, and a bull: was the victim slain by Tiridates. Whi were thus employed, the people of the c came in with an account that the Euphrates out any fall of rain, swelled miraculously its banks, and the waves with a rapid turning round in circling eddies, the foam surface presented the form of a diadem. was deemed a favourable omen. By othe judged with more penetration, the pro was seen in a different light. According interpretation, it promised success at fi a speedy reverse of fortune. In support opinion it was observed, that the ear heavens hold forth unerring signals; l omens, collected from the appearance of were, like the element from which they always uncertain. They appear and van moment.

A bridge of boats being prepared, the army passed over the Euphrates. Whi lay encamped, Ornospades, at the hea large body of cavalry, amounting to thousands, came in as an auxiliary. T was a native of Parthia, formerly b from his country; but for his service Tiberius, during the war in Dalmatia,[2] ted to the privileges of a Roman Being afterwards reconciled to his prince, he rose to the first honours state, and was appointed governor of tha region which lies between the Tigris Euphrates, for that reason called Me MIA.[3] Sinnaces, in a short time after the army with a strong reinforcement. geses, the pillar of the party, delivered royal treasure, and the richest ornament crown. Vitellius considered the busi finished. The Roman eagles appeared banks of the Euphrates, and more wa cessary. He gave his best advice to T and the authors of the revolution. Ad himself to the prince, "Remember," "that you are the grandson of Phraa that you have been trained up by T let that reflection be ever present mind: it will animate you in the c glory." He exhorted the grandees of to pay obedience to their king, and spect to the Roman name. By being to both, they would at once fulfil their ments, and maintain their honour. made this arrangement, he returned legions into Syria.

XXXVIII. In relating these transa

1 Rivers were supposed to have their presi and were therefore worshipped by the Persia Oriental nations as well as by the Romans.

2 Tiberius ended the Dalmatic war, A. U. C

3 See the Geographical Table.

have thrown together, in one connected series, the business of two campaigns; in order, by a view of Asiatic affairs, to relieve the attention of the reader, and give the mind some respite from domestic misery. From the death of Sejanus three years had elapsed, and yet neither time nor supplications, nor even a deluge of blood, could soften the cruelty of Tiberius. Things that mitigate the resentment of others, made no impression on that unforgiving temper. Crimes of an ancient date were revived as recent facts, and charges without proof passed for demonstrations of guilt. The band of informers joined in a league against Fulcinius Trio.[4] That citizen, knowing that his fate was determined, put an end to his life. In his will he spoke in the bitterest terms of Macro, and the emperor's freedmen. Nor did he spare Tiberius. His understanding, he said, was reduced by years and infirmity to a state of dotage, and his long absence was no better than banishment from his country. These reflections the heirs of Trio wished to suppress; but Tiberius ordered the will to be read in public: perhaps to show the world that he could allow full liberty of thinking, and despise the censure that pointed at himself; perhaps, having been for many years blind to the villany of Sejanus, he chose, at last, that invectives of every sort should be brought to light, to the end that truth, always warped by flattery, might reach his ear, though undisguised, and at the expense of his reputation. About the same time died by his own hand Granius Martianus, a member of the senate, who found himself attacked by Caius Gracchus on the law of violated majesty. Tatius Granius, who had served the office of prætor, was prosecuted in like manner, and condemned to suffer death.

XXXIX. The same fate attended Trebellienus Rufus[5] and Sextius Paconianus: the former despatched himself, and the latter for some sarcastic verses against the emperor, the production of his prison-hours, was strangled in the jail. Of all these tragic scenes Tiberius had the earliest intelligence; not, as before, by messengers that crossed the sea to the isle of Capreæ; he heard the news in the very neighbourhood of Rome, hovering about the city at so small a distance, that often on the same day, or, at most, a single night intervening, the consuls received his answers to their despatches, and his final orders for immediate vengeance. He placed himself in a situation so near the theatre of horror, that he could almost see the blood that streamed in every family, and hear the stroke of the executioner.

Towards the end of the year died Poppæus Sabinus,[6] a man of humble birth, but, by the partiality of two emperors, raised to the consulship, and distinguished by triumphal honours. During a series of four and twenty years, the government of considerable provinces was committed to his care, not for any extraordinary talents, but because he had a capacity of a level for business, and not above it.

XL. The next consulship was that of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papinius. In the course of this year [A. U. C. 789. A. D. 36.] Lucius Aruseius and others died under the hand of the executioner: their fate, however cruel, passed unheeded among the common occurrences of the time. Scenes of blood were grown familiar, and made no impression. And yet the fate of Vibulenus Agrippa was attended with circumstances that struck a general panic. His trial came on before the senate. As soon as the prosecutors closed their case, he swallowed a deadly poison which he had concealed under his robe, and instantly expired. He was seized notwithstanding, and in that condition dragged to a dungeon, where the lictor fastened his cord[7] round the neck of a dead man. Even Tigranes,[8] who had formerly swayed the sceptre of Armenia, suffered without distinction. The title of royalty did not exempt him from the lot of a common citizen.

Caius Galba,[9] of consular rank, and the two Blæsi, embraced a voluntary death; Galba, because, by letters from Tiberius, written in terms of acrimony, he was excluded from the usual mode of obtaining a province by lot; and the Blæsi, because the order of priesthood, which had been promised in their day of prosperity, was, since they were no longer in favour, withheld from them, and to those vacant dignities others were appointed. A step so decisive they considered as nothing less than a signal to die; and they obeyed.

Æmilia Lepida,[10] whose marriage with Drusus has been mentioned, remained, during the life of Lepidus her father, in perfect security, but detested by the public. Her protector being now no more, the informers seized their opportunity, and accused her of adultery with a slave. Of her guilt no doubt was entertained. She made no defence, but executed justice on herself.

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4 A virulent prosecutor. See book ii. s. 28. He was consul with Memmius Regulus, from August to the end of the year 784. See book v. Supplement, s. 29.

5 Trebellienus Rufus was made guardian to the children of Cotys, the Thracian king. Book ii. s. 67. For Paconianus, see this book, s. 3 and 4.

6 Poppæus Sabinus was consul in the time of Augustus, A. U. C. 762. He commanded in Mæsia, Achaia, and Macedonia, and obtained triumphal honours. Book i. s. 80.

7 This was done, that, under colour of dying by the hands of the executioner, his goods might be confiscated. See in this book, s. 29.

8 Josephus mentions this fact. He says, Tigranes was grandson to Herod.

9 Caius Galba was brother to Galba, afterwards emperor.

10 See the Genealogical Table, No. 83 and 84.

XLI. About this time the Cliteans, a people subject to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, impatient of being taxed according to the system practised in the Roman provinces, made a secession to the heights of mount Tauris. Being there possessed of the advantage-ground, they were able to defend themselves against their sovereign, and his unwarlike troops. To quell the insurgents, Vitellius, governor of Syria, despatched Marcus Trebellius, at the head of four thousand legionary soldiers, and a select detachment of auxiliaries. The Barbarians had taken post on two hills; the least was called CADRA, and the other DAVARA. Trebellius inclosed both with lines of circumvallation. All who dared to sally out were put to the sword; the rest were reduced by thirst and famine.

Meanwhile, Tiridates was well nigh established on the throne of Parthia. The cities of Nicephorium, Anthemusia, and other places, originally settled by the Macedonians, and from their founders deriving names of Greek termination, opened their gates to the new monarch. Halus and Artemita, two Parthian cities, followed the example; the people every where vieing with each other in demonstrations of joy. A revolution, by which Artabanus, a tyrant bred among the Scythians, was driven from the throne, gave universal satisfaction to the Parthians. They knew that Tiridates had been educated among the Romans, and, from his arts of civilization, expected a mild and equitable government.

XLII. The inhabitants of Seleucia[1] declared for the new king in a style of flattery that exceeded all their neighbours. Seleucia is a fortified city of considerable strength. The barbarity of Parthian manners never gained admission amongst them. Being a colony planted by Seleucus, they still retained the institutions of their Grecian founder. A body of three hundred, chosen for their wealth or superior wisdom, gave the form of a senate. The people have their share in the government. When both orders act with a spirit of union, they are too strong for the Parthians. If they clash among themselves, and one faction looks abroad for support, the foreign prince, who arrives as the friend of a party, becomes the oppressor of all. In the reign of Artabanus this fatal consequence was actually felt. That monarch threw the whole weight into the scale of the nobles, and the people, by consequence, were surrendered as the slaves of a violent aristocracy. This form of government was agreeable to the ideas of eastern despotism. A regular democracy holds too much of civil liberty, while the domination of the few differs but little from absolute monarchy.

The reception of Tiridates at Seleucia, was splendid beyond all example. To the homage which the practice of ages had established, new honours were added by the inventive ge flattery. Amidst the applause and accla of the people, reproaches loud and ve were thrown out against Artabanus, a ma ed, by the maternal line only, to the hous Arsacidæ, and, by his actions, a disgrac name. Tiridates sided with the people o cia, and restored the democracy. A day coronation was still to be fixed. Wh business was in agitation, despatches arriv Hiero and Phraates, two leading men, a ernors of extensive provinces. They desi the ceremony might be deferred for a fe A request from men of their importanc with weight, and was accordingly follow court, in the meantime, removed to Ct the capital of the empire, and the seat ernment. New delays were thrown in by the two grandees, and the busines coronation was protracted from time to t length the regent of the country, called RENA,[2] proceeded, according to the natic tom, to solemnize the inauguration of t In the presence of a numerous assem amidst the shouts and acclamations of th he invested Tiridates with the regal di

XLIII. If, after this ceremony, Tirid penetrated at once into the heart of the l and shown himself to the interior provi that decisive step the minds of such as had been fixed, and the prince had mo throne with the consent of the nati staid imprudently to amuse himself siege of a castle, in which were lodged cubines of Artabanus, with all the royal The delay gave time for treachery an Phraates, Hiero, and others of the nob were not present at the coronation, tu thoughts, with their usual love o tion, towards the deposed king. For duct their motives were various. S from their fears, and others from their Abdageses, who had gained the suprem ity at court, and the entire ascendan new monarch. The malcontents wen of Artabanus. He was found in Hyrc ered with wretchedness, and with hi arrow procuring his daily sustenance first appearance of his friends, he w with terror, suspecting nothing less th ery, and a design against his life. Bei of their fidelity, and their resolution him to his dominions, he felt his hope and whence, he said, this sudden chan gave the answer: "Tiridates is than a boy; nor is the royal dign in a prince descended from the line o sacidæ. Enervated by the luxuries the stripling contents himself wit

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 The office of *Surena* was in point of di the prince.

dow of authority, while the whole power of the state is in the hands of Abdageses."

XLIV. The politic king, formed during a long reign in the school of experience, knew that men, whose friendship is fallacious, may notwithstanding be believed, when they avow their hatred. Without loss of time he raised a supply of men among the Scythians, and marched forward with intent to give no time either to the arts of his enemies, or the natural levity of his friends. The sordid habit in which he was found, he still continued to wear; hoping, by his wretched appearance, to make an impression on the passions of the multitude. He omitted nothing that could serve his cause; by fraud, by entreaty, by every artifice, he tried to allure the wavering, and to animate the brave. By rapid marches he soon reached the neighbourhood of Seleucia, at the head of a powerful army.

Tiridates, alarmed at the news of his approach, and, soon after, terrified at his actual presence, began to deliberate about the measures in that exigence fittest to be pursued. Should he try the issue of a battle, or draw the war into length? In his councils there was nothing like decision. The officers of warlike spirit were for a sudden blow, while the rash levies of Artabanus, out of heart, fatigued by their march, and not yet united by principle, had as yet no affection for a king whom they had so lately deposed. Traitors yesterday, they were no better than pretended friends. Abdageses was of a contrary opinion. To retreat into Mesopotamia was, in his judgment, the safest measure. Having gained the opposite side of the river, Tiridates might there stand at bay, till the Armenians, the Elymæans, and other nations in the rear, had time to take the field. Succours might be expected from the Roman general. When their forces were all assembled, it would then be time to hazard a battle. This measure was adopted. Abdageses was high in authority, and the unwarlike genius of Tiridates shrunk from danger. Their retreat had the appearance of an army put to the rout. The consequences were fatal. The Arabs were the first to abandon Tiridates: a general defection followed. Some betook themselves to their native home, and others went over to the standard of Artabanus. Tiridates, with a handful of men, passed into Syria, and by his conduct made the apology of all who deserted his cause. None had reason to blush for betraying a man, who betrayed himself.

XLV. In the course of this year a dreadful fire broke out at Rome, and laid mount Aventine, with part of the adjoining circus, in ashes. Tiberius had the address to turn this calamity to his own glory. He ordered the value of the houses and insulated mansions,[3] which were destroyed, to be paid to the respective owners. The sum amounted to no less than one hundred thousand great sesterces. The munificence of the prince was more applauded, as building for his own use was not his taste. The temple of Augustus, and Pompey's Theatre, were his only public structures. When both were finished, he did not so much as think of dedicating them; perhaps to show his contempt of fame; perhaps, because old age had sunk his vigour. To estimate the damage sustained by each individual, his four sons-in-law were appointed, namely, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus. At the desire of the consuls, Publius Petronius was added to the commission. Public honours were decreed to the emperor with all the variety that adulation could suggest. Which where acceptable, and which rejected, is uncertain; since he was then near his end, and perhaps never declared his mind.

In a short time after [A. U. C. 790, A. D. 37] Cneius Acerronius and Caius Pontius entered on the consulship, and it was their lot to close the reign of Tiberius. Macro was, at this time, in the zenith of his power. He had been assiduous in paying his court to Caligula; and now, when he saw the emperor declining fast, his zeal for the young prince became every day more conspicuous. In a short time after the death of Claudia,[4] who had been married to Caligula, he made his own wife, Ennia, throw out the lure for his affections, till she obtained a promise of marriage. In this she found no difficulty. Caligula wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to seize the sovereign power; and, to second his ambition, there was no project which he was not ready to embrace. The ferocity of his nature left him little time for reflection, and the violence of his passions clouded his understanding: he had studied under his grandfather, and in that school acquired the arts of dissimulation.

XLVI. The character of Caligula did not escape the penetrating eye of Tiberius. Hence his irresolution on the important point of naming a successor.[5] His grandsons naturally were

3 Houses, detached entirely, and contiguous to no other building, were called insulated houses.

4 See this book, s. 20. Suetonius says, she died in childbed. Life of Calig. s. 12. The intrigue with Ennia is there related in a manner somewhat different.

5 Hereditary succession was unknown to the Romans. Under colour of preserving ancient forms, the senate was still supposed to be the depository of the public mind, and, in case of a demise, the prince was elective. The legions soon usurped the right of naming a successor. The Cæsarean line, as long as it lasted, was respected by the army. After the death of Nero, the last of the Cæsars, wars fierce and bloody were the consequence. The states of Europe, during several centuries, experienced similar convulsions, till, in more enlightened times, the nature of civil government being better understood, hereditary succession was established for the benefit of mankind. See more on this subject, Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xix.

present to his mind. The heir of his son Drusus was the nearest in blood, and natural affection spoke in his favour: but the prince was still of tender years. Caligula had attained the prime of manhood; but he was the son of Germanicus, and, for that reason, a favourite of the people; both strong motives to excite the aversion of Tiberius. Claudius was not entirely overlooked. His time of life rendered him fit for that exalted station, and he had shown a taste for the liberal arts; but he wanted vigour of mind: nature had given him talents, but withheld the power of using them with any solid advantage. In this perplexity Tiberius weighed every circumstance, but still could form no resolution. To name a person who was not of the imperial family, were to degrade the memory of Augustus, and leave the house of Cæsar exposed to the contempt of posterity. This, in all events, he was determined to avoid, not with a view to present fame, for that had long since ceased to be his passion; and yet he wished to preserve the glory of an illustrious line, and transmit it unimpaired to future ages.

At length, fatigued with thinking, and growing every day weaker, he left to chance what he had not vigour to decide. He had, notwithstanding, some foreknowledge of what was to happen after him. From certain expressions that fell from him this may be collected. His reproach to Macro, "that he turned from the setting to the rising sun," was neither dark nor equivocal. He said to Caligula, who, on some occasion, treated the character of Sylla with contempt and ridicule, "You will have the vices of that great man, without one of his virtues." In a short time after, while with tears of affection he clasped in his arms the youngest[1] of his grandsons, he observed the stern countenance of Caligula, and calmly told him, "You will kill this boy, and fall yourself by some other hand." Tiberius was now declining fast, and yet, in that decay of nature, he abated nothing from his usual gratifications. Dissembling to the last, he endured every encroachment on his constitution with calm composure. Patience, he thought, would pass for vigour. To ridicule the practice of physic,[2] and make a jest of all who, after thirty, did not understand their own constitutions, had been long the bent of his humour.

XLVII. At Rome, in the meantime, prosecutions were set on foot, to terminate in after the death of Tiberius. Acutia, fo the wife of Publius Vitellius,[3] was char the law of violated majesty by Lælius I She was condemned; but the decree, by the senate adjudged a recompense to the cutor, was suspended by the interposit Junius Otho, the tribune of the people. that moment Vitellius and Otho becam enemies. Fierce contentions followed, last, ended in the banishment of Otho. cilla, a woman famous for the variety intrigues, and her marriage with Satrius dus[4] (the man who informed against Se was charged with a conspiracy against the Cneius Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Arruntius, were all three involved in th prosecution, being, as was alleged, conne a course of adultery with Albucilla, and, sequence, accomplices in all her crimes illustrious birth of Domitius has been mentioned. Marsus derived great sp from his ancestors, and was, besides, eminent degree adorned with literature. state of the proceedings laid before the se appeared that Macro presided at the exan of the witnesses, and saw the slaves pu question; but no letter on the subject from Tiberius. Hence, a strong suspici Macro, taking advantage of the feeble his master, seized the opportunity to w malice on Arruntius, whom he was kn prosecute with inveterate hatred.

XLVIII. Domitius, relying on his employed himself in the necessary prep Marsus gave out that he was resolved to days by famine. The artifice saved bo lives. The friends of Arruntius tried influence and their best advice. They e him to protract the time by studied Arruntius answered with firmness: "T part cannot, with propriety, be acted characters. What is honourable in one unworthy in another. As to myself, lived long enough, nay too long, and to disgrace. For that, and that only, I proach myself. I have lingered in life surrounding dangers: I have dragged old age, exposed to the proud man's in the malice of pernicious ministers; hate by Sejanus, and now by Macro; in eve of life obnoxious to lawless power. My

1 This was the son of Drusus, who had been cut off by Sejanus. Book iv. s. 8. He was afterwards put to death by Caligula; see Suet. in Calig. s. 23. Caligula himself died by the assassin's dagger. Suet. in Calig. s. 58.

2 Plutarch, in his Tract on the Art of preserving Health, says, he himself heard Tiberius say, that the man who at sixty wanted the advice of a physician, must be absurd and ridiculous. Tacitus, with great probability, confines the maxim to the age of thirty; and he is confirmed by Suetonius, in Tib. s. 68.

3 For Publius Vitellius, see book v. s. 8. T lator is sorry to find, that by some inadverte take has crept into the text. It is said, *Vit Otho became* open enemies; but Vitellius wa should be BALBUS and Otho. Balbus was th of Acutia, and he lost his reward by the inter the tribune.

4 Satrius Secundus had been the active age nus; see book iv. s. 34. But he ruined his pa end; see book v. Supplement, s. 27; and book

had no crime to lay to my charge, unless it be a crime to detest evil men, and evil measures. Life is no longer worth my care: it may, indeed, be prolonged beyond the term that seems to remain for Tiberius: but from a youthful tyrant, ready to seize the commonwealth as his prey, what shield can guard me? In despotic power there is a charm that can poison the best understanding. Of this truth Tiberius is an example. And is it to be expected that Caligula, scarce yet arrived to the state of manhood, a novice in business, with a mind trained up in the most pernicious maxims, will, under such a guide as Macro, pursue better measures? Macro will direct his councils; that very Macro, who, for his preeminence in guilt, was selected to work the downfall of Sejanus. Since that time, what has been his character? He has been the scourge, the oppressor of the commonwealth. A period of calamity, more dreadful than what we have seen, is yet to come: from the memory of the past, and the pangs of future misery, I choose to make my escape." Having, in this prophetic strain, delivered his sentiments, he opened his veins, and bled to death. That he acted with wisdom, as well as courage, the times that follow will give ample proof.

Albucilla made an attempt on her own life; but the wound not proving mortal, she was, by order of the senate, hurried away to prison. The senate passed a decree against such as were connected with her in adulterous practices. By that sentence, Grafidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, was banished to an island, and Pontius Fregellanus was expelled the senate. The like judgment was pronounced against Lælius Balbus, the fathers concurring with pleasure in the condemnation of a man, whose pernicious talents and overbearing eloquence were ever ready to work the ruin of truth and virtue.

XLIX. About the same time, Sextus Papinius,[5] a man descended from a family of consular rank, chose a mode of death both shocking and ignominious. He threw himself headlong from a precipice, and expired on the spot. The cause of this dreadful catastrophe was imputed to his mother. Having conceived an unnatural passion for her son, this woman, though often repulsed, still persisted to solicit his passions, and, at length, by alluring arts and the baits of luxury, reduced the young man to a situation, in which an act of despair was his only remedy. Being cited to appear before the senate, she threw herself at the feet of the fathers, and tried by every art to awaken compassion. The anguish of a parent, she said, pierced her to the quick, and the weakness of her sex was unequal to such a load of misery. She omitted nothing that could touch the heart, and mitigate resentment; but the fathers were inexorable. She was banished from Rome for ten years, that, in the meantime, her second son might pass the season of life, in which the young and tender mind is liable to seduction.

L. Tiberius now drew near his end: his strength declined, his spirits sunk, and every thing failed, except his dissimulation. The same austerity still remained, the same energy and rigour of mind. He talked in a decisive tone; he looked with eagerness; and even, at times, affected an air of gaiety. Dissembling to the last, he hoped by false appearances to hide the decay of nature. Weary, restless, and impatient, he could not stay long in one place. After various changes, he stopped at a villa, formerly the property[6] of Lucullus, near the promontory of Misenum. It was here first known that his dissolution was approaching fast. The discovery was made in the following manner. A physician, of the name of Charicles, highly eminent in his profession, attended the train of Tiberius, not employed to prescribe, but occasionally assisting with friendly advice. Pretending to have avocations that required his attendance elsewhere, he approached the emperor to take his leave, and respectfully laying hold of his hand, contrived, in the act of saluting it, to feel his pulse. The artifice did not escape the notice of Tiberius. It probably gave him offence, but, for that reason, he smothered his resentment. With an air of cheerfulness, he ordered the banquet to be served, and, seemingly with intent to honour his departing friend, continued at table beyond his usual time. Charicles was not to be deceived. He saw a rapid decline, and assured Macro that two days, at most, would close the scene. For that event measures were immediately taken: councils were held in private, and despatches were sent to the army, and the several commanders at their respective stations. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, Tiberius had a fainting fit: he lay for some time in a state of languor, speechless, without motion, and was thought to be dead. A band of courtiers surrounded Caligula, eager to pay their court, and all congratulating the prince on his accession to the imperial dignity. Caligula was actually going forth to be proclaimed emperor, when word was brought, that Tiberius was come to himself, and called for a cordial to revive his fainting spirits. The whole party was struck with terror: the crowd dispersed; some with dejected looks, others with a cheerful mien, as if unconscious of what had happened. Cali-

5 Brotier thinks he was one of the consuls for the preceding year: but as he is in this place said to be a young man, seduced by the arts of a wicked mother, it is not probable that he ever rose to the consulship.

6 We are told by Plutarch, that this villa, formerly the property of Caius Marius, was purchased by Lucullus at an immense price. Plutarch, Life of Marius. Brotier says, the ruins are still to be seen, near the promontory of Misenum.

Great a [illegible] of a figure! He must have had damned long legs!

gula stood at gaze, astonished, and almost out of his senses. He had, but a moment before, one foot on the throne, and now was thrown from the summit of his ambition. He remained fixed in despair, as if awaiting the stroke of death. Macro alone was undismayed. With firmness and presence of mind, he cleared the emperor's room, and gave orders that the remains of life should be smothered under a load of clothes. Such was the end of Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

LI. He was the son of Tiberius Nero; by the paternal and maternal line of the house of Claudius, though his mother passed by adoption into the Livian, and afterwards into the Julian family. The beginning of his days was clouded with misfortunes, and exposed to various perils. In his infancy, he was torn away from Rome, and forced to wander with his father, then on the list of the proscribed. When a marriage took place between Livia and Augustus, he was introduced into the imperial house, but had to contend with powerful rivals, as long as Marcellus, Agrippa, and the two Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, flourished at the court of Augustus. In the eyes of the people, his brother Drusus overshadowed him. By his marriage with Julia, his situation was rendered still more embarrassing. Whether he connived at her vices, or abandoned her in resentment, the dile either way, full of difficulty. Bein from the isle of Rhodes, he found Au prived of heirs, and from that time con twelve years without a rival, the pillar of the imperial family. He su the empire, and governed Rome near twenty years. His manners, like hi had their revolutions, and their disti riods; amiable,[1] while a private man; highest employments under Augustus, and honoured. During the lives of D Germanicus, he played an artificial concealing his vices, and assuming the of virtue. After their decease, and mother lived, good and evil were equal in his conduct. Detested for his cruel the art, while he loved or feared S throw a veil over his most depraved a appetites. All restraint being at length he broke out without fear or shame, a the remainder of his life, hurried aw own unbridled passions, made his scene of lust, and cruelty, and horror.

1 Velleius Paterculus has said the same great elegance and equal truth. Lib. ii. s. 1 It is in his account of the reign of Tiberi adulation of that historian betrays a want o

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THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

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These transactions include two years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
800	47	Claudius, 4th time, Lucius Vitellius, 3d time.
801	48	Aulus Vitellius, L. Vipsanius.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XI.

I. Messalina [A. U. C. 800. A. D. 47.] was convinced that Poppæa had been for some time engaged in a course of adultery with Valerius Asiaticus, who had enjoyed the honour of two consulships.[1] She had, besides, an eye to the elegant gardens, formerly the pride of Lucullus, which Asiaticus had improved in the highest taste and magnificence. Bent on the destruction of Poppæa and her lover, she suborned Suillius[2] to carry on the prosecution. Sosibius, the tutor of Britannicus, entered into the conspiracy. This man had the ear of Claudius. In secret whispers, and under a mask of friendship, he alarmed the emperor with the necessity of being on his guard against the machinations of his enemies. "Overgrown wealth," he said, "in the hands of a private citizen, is always big with danger to the reigning prince. When Caligula fell, Asiaticus was the principal actor in that bloody tragedy. He owned the fact in a full assembly of the people, and claimed the glory of the deed.[3] That bold exploit has made him popular at Rome; his fame is spread through the provinces; and, even now, he meditates a visit to the German armies. Born at Vienne,[4] he has great family interest and powerful connections in Gaul. A man thus supported will be able to incite his countrymen to a revolt." The hint was enough for Claudius. Without further inquiry, he despatched Crispinus, who commanded the prætorian guards, with a band of soldiers. Their march resembled a body of troops going on a warlike expedition. Asiaticus was seized at Baiæ, and brought to Rome in chains.

II. He was not suffered to appear before the senate. The cause was heard in the emperor's chamber, in the presence of Messalina. Suillius stood forth as prosecutor. He stated the corruption of the army, and accused Asiaticus as the author of it. By bribes, by largesses, and by the practice of abominable vices, the soldiers were seduced from their duty: they were prepared for any enterprise, however atrocious. The crime of adultery with Poppæa helped to swell the charge; and, to crown all, the prisoner had unmanned himself by his unnatural passions. Stung to the quick by this imputation, Asiaticus turned to the prosecutor, "And ask your sons," he said; "they will tell you that I am a man." He went into his defence in such a strain of pathetic eloquence, that Claudius felt the strongest emotions. Even Messalina dropped a tear. She left the room to wipe the gush of nature from her eyes; but first charged Vitellius not to suffer the prisoner to escape. In the meantime, she hastened the destruction of Poppæa. She sent her agents to alarm her with the horrors of a jail, and drive her, by that dismal prospect, to an act of desperation. Her malice was unknown to Claudius. He was so little in the secret, that, a few days afterwards, having invited Scipio as his guest, he asked him, "Why his wife was not of the party?"[5] Scipio made answer, "She is dead."

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1 The former part of this book, comprising no less than six years, is lost, with other parts of Tacitus. Claudius succeeded to Caligula, who was put to death by Chærea and other conspirators, on the 24th of January, A. U. C. 794. The present book begins abruptly in the year of Rome 800, when Claudius had reigned six years. The very first sentence is imperfect. The historian, beyond all doubt, had been speaking of Messalina and Poppæa Sabina, but neither of them is mentioned in the mutilated text. To avoid beginning with a broken passage, the translator has added their names, and the sense will now be found complete. Valerius Asiaticus had been consul twice; the first time, for some months, to supply the place of the consuls who began the year A. U. C. 796; the second time, in conjunction with Marcus Junius Silanus, A. U. C. 799. Suetonius, in Claud. c. 14.

2 Suillius has been already mentioned, Annals, book iv. c. 31; and for the infamy of his character, see book xiii. c. 42.

3 In the tumult occasioned by the death of Caligula, when the people were wild with contending passions, and the prætorian guards paraded the streets denouncing vengeance against the conspirators, Valerius Asiaticus (according to Josephus) rushed forward to meet them, proclaiming aloud, "I wish the tyrant had fallen by my hand." See Seneca, De Constantia, cap. 18.

4 Formerly the capital of the Allobroges; now Vienne in Dauphine.

5 This was agreeable to the Roman manners. What man is ashamed, says Cornelius Nepos, to take his wife with him to a convivial meeting? *Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium?* Corn. Nep. in Præfatione.

III. Claudius was, for some time, in suspense. He was inclined to favour Asiaticus, but Vitellius interposed. With tears in his eyes, he talked of the friendship which had long subsisted between the prisoner and himself; he mentioned their mutual habits at the court of Antonia, the emperor's mother; he stated the public merits of Asiaticus; and, in particular, the glory of his late expedition into Britain; he omitted nothing that could excite compassion, but, at last, concluded (with a stroke of treachery), that to allow him to choose his mode of dying was an indulgence due to so distinguished a character. This cruel species of clemency was adopted by Claudius. The friends of Asiaticus recommended abstinence, as a mode of death easy and gradual. He scorned the pretended lenity, and betook himself to his usual exercises. He bathed and supped with alacrity of mind. "To die," he said, "by the intrigues of an artful woman, or the treachery of a debauched and profligate impostor, such as Vitellius, was an ignominious catastrophe. He envied those who perished by the systematic cruelty of Tiberius, or the headlong fury of Caligula." Having declared these sentiments, he opened a vein, and bled to death. Before he gave himself the mortal wound, he had the fortitude to survey his funeral pile. Perceiving that the flame might reach the branches of the trees, and hurt the shade of his garden, he ordered it to be removed to a more distant spot. Such was the tranquillity with which he encountered death.

IV. The senate was convened. Suillius followed his blow. He preferred an accusation against two Roman knights of the name of Petra; both distinguished by their rank and character. The crime objected to them was, that they had made their house convenient to Poppæa, when she carried on her intrigue with Mnester. The charge against one of them imported, that in a dream, his imagination presented to him the figure of Claudius crowned with a sheaf of corn, but the ears inverted downward. This vision was understood by the criminal as the prognostic of an approaching famine. Some will have it, that the wreath consisted of vine-branches, with the leaves entirely faded; and this was deemed an omen of the emperor's death towards the end of the ensuing autumn. Whatever it might be, it is certain that it was held to be an act of treason. The two brothers died for a dream. By a decree of the senate, Crispinus was rewarded with fifteen thousand sesterces, and the prætorian dignity. On the motion of Vitellius, a vote of ten thousand sesterces passed in favour of Sosibius, the preceptor of Britannicus, and the faithful adviser of the emperor. In the debate on this occasion, Scipio was called upon for his opinion: he rose, and said, "Since the conduct of my wife Poppæa must appear to me in the same light that it does to this assembly, let me be thought to concur with the general voice." A delicate st prudence yielding to the necessity of the yet not forgetting the ties of conjugal tion.

V. From this time the rage of Suilliu no bounds. A number of others follo the same track, all rivals in iniquity constitution had been long since annil the functions of the magistrates were out of their hands; the will of the prin the law; and, by consequence, the crew formers grew rich by injustice and opp Their eloquence was put up to sale, li other commodity at market. Samius, a knight of distinction, has left a memora stance. He had retained Suillius with ten thousand crowns; but finding that h was betrayed, he went to the house of fidious orator, and fell upon his own swo check this fatal mischief, a motion was the senate by Caius Silius, then const Of this man, his elevation, and his d due notice will be taken hereafter. He sented, in strong colours, the avarice of vocates. The fathers, with one voice, a revive the Cincian law,[1] by which it dained in ancient times, that no advocat fee, or gratuity of any kind, should p his talents.

VI. The informers opposed the motion saw that the blow was aimed at the Silius grew more eager. He was at o mity with Suillius, and, for that reason, the business with his utmost vigour. the orators of ancient times, men of upright principles, who considered hone and the fair applause of posterity, as reward of genius. "Eloquence," he sa first of liberal arts, if it condescended out for hire, was no better than a sordi If it became mercenary, and sold itsel highest bidder, no truth can be expec tegrity is at an end. Take from venal all its view of interest, and the nu suitors will, of course, be diminished. reigning corruption of the modern for vate feuds, mutual accusations, family hatred, and animosity, are kept aliv practisers live by the passions of ma physicians thrive by an epidemic di Call to mind Caius Asinius, Marcus Mes

1 Marcus Cincius, tribune of the people, was of the *Cincian Law*, so called after his na consulship of Sempronius and Cethegus, A. It provided against the receipt of gifts and pr in a course of time fell into disuse, till Augustu 732, thought fit to revive it, with an additional which the advocate, who pleaded for hire, demned to pay four times the sum. Claudiu be seen s. 7.) softened the rigour of the law, certain fee, and ordaining, that whoever should be obliged to make restitution.

among the names of more recent date, remember the Arruntii and the Æserini: men who never set themselves up to auction: never made a bargain and sale of their talents, but rose by their integrity and their unbought eloquence to the highest honours of the state." This speech from the consul elect was heard with general approbation. The fathers were on the point of declaring by a decree, that all who took the wages of oratory should be deemed guilty of extortion. Suillius and Cossutianus, with many others who were conscious of their evil practices, clearly saw, that if the decree passed the senate, it would be nothing less than a vote of pains and penalties against themselves. To ward off the blow, they pressed round the emperor, praying an indemnity for past transactions. Claudius seeming by a nod to assent to their petition, they took courage, and argued their case as follows:

VII. "Where is the orator who can flatter himself that his name will reach posterity? The interests of society require advocates by profession, men versed in questions of right and wrong, and ready, as well as able, to protect the weak against the proud and affluent. But eloquence is not a gratuitous gift; it is acquired by toil and industry. To conduct the affairs of others, the orator neglects his own concerns. Life is variegated with different employments: some betake themselves to the profession of arms; others to the arts of husbandry; no man embraces a particular calling, without having beforehand made an estimate of the profit. Asinius and Messala have been cited: but it was easy for men in their situation, enriched as they were in the civil wars between Augustus and Antony, to forego all further views of emolument. It was easy for the Arruntii and the Æserini, the heirs of great and opulent families, to act with an elevation of mind superior to the profits of the bar. And yet we are not now to learn what prodigious sums Publius Clodius and Caius Curio received as the reward of their eloquence. As to ourselves, we have not the advantages of fortune: in a time of profound tranquillity, it is but just that we should live by the arts of peace. The case of men descended from plebeian families merits consideration. Without the career of eloquence, they have no way to emerge from obscurity. Take from men the just fruit of their studies, and learning will grow to seed." This reasoning was far from honourable, but it had weight with Claudius. He took a middle course, and fixed the legal perquisite at the sum of ten thousand sesterces. All who presumed to transgress that line were to be deemed guilty of extortion, by law compellable to refund.

VIII. About this time Mithridates, who, as has been mentioned, swayed the sceptre of Armenia, and was brought in chains to the tribunal of Caligula,[2] was released by the direction of Claudius. He set out from Rome to take possession of his kingdom, relying on the support of his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia. By advices from that monarch, it appeared that the Parthian state was convulsed by internal divisions, and, while the regal diadem was at stake, a people so distracted among themselves would not have leisure to engage in foreign wars. Gotarzes had seized the throne of Parthia, and spilt a deluge of blood. He had murdered his own brother Artabanus, with his wife and son, and by these and other acts of cruelty, gave his subjects nothing to expect but slaughter and desolation. Determined to shake off the yoke, the people planned a revolution in favour of Bardanes, the surviving brother of Gotarzes. This prince was by nature formed for enterprise. In two days he made a march of no less than three thousand furlongs. He took Gotarzes by surprise, attacked him with sudden fury, and obliged him to consult his safety by flight. He pushed on with vigour to the adjacent provinces, and all, except Seleucia,[3] submitted without resistance. The inhabitants of that city shut their gates. Fired with indignation against a people, who had offered the same affront to his father, Bardanes yielded to the impulse of resentment, instead of pursuing the measures which prudence dictated. He staid to amuse himself with the siege of a place strong by nature, well fortified, amply provided with stores, and on one side defended by a rapid river.[4] Gotarzes, in the mean time, having obtained succours from the Dahans[5] and Hyrcanians, returned with a powerful army to renew the war. Bardanes was compelled to raise the siege of Seleucia. He retired to the plains of Bactria, and there pitched his camp.

IX. While the east was thus thrown into convulsions, and the fate of Parthia hung on the doubtful event, Mithridates seized the opportunity to invade the kingdom of Armenia. The Roman legions and the Iberians supported the enterprise. By the former, all the forts and places of strength were levelled to the ground, and by the latter, the open country was laid waste. The Armenians, under the conduct of Demonax, at that time governor of the country, hazarded a battle, and, being defeated, were no longer able to make a stand. The new settle-

2 Mithridates, brother to Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was appointed by Tiberius to sway the sceptre of Armenia, A. U. C. 783. See Annals, book vi. s. 32. He was afterwards brought to Rome in chains, and thrown into prison by Caligula, A. U. C. 793. Tacitus says, he had given an account of this transaction; but the history of Caligula is unfortunately lost.

3 For Seleucia, see the Geographical Table.

4 The river here intended is the Tigris. See Geographical Table.

5 For the Dahæ and Hyrcani see the Geographical Table.

ment, however, was for some time retarded by Cotys,[1] king of the lesser Armenia. A party of the nobles had declared in his favour; but, being intimidated by letters from Claudius, they abandoned their project. Mithridates mounted the throne of Armenia, with more ferocity than became a prince in the opening of a new reign. Meanwhile, the competitors for the Parthian monarchy, in a moment when they were going to try the issue of a decisive action, agreed on terms of peace. A conspiracy had been formed against them both; but being detected by Gotarzes, the two brothers came to an interview. The meeting was at first conducted with reserve on both sides. After balancing for some time, they embraced; and, taking each other by the hand, bound themselves by an oath before the altar of the gods, to join with their united force, in order to punish the treachery of their enemies, and, on equitable terms, to compromise the war. The people declared for Bardanes. Gotarzes, accordingly, resigned his pretensions; and, to remove all cause of jealousy, withdrew to the remotest parts of Hyrcania. Bardanes returned in triumph; and Seleucia threw open her gates, after having, during a siege of seven years, stood at bay with the whole power of the Parthian monarchy, to the disgrace of a people, who, in such a length of time, were unable to reduce that city to subjection.

X. Bardanes, without delay, made himself master of the most important provinces. He intended to invade Armenia; but Vibius Marsus, the governor of Syria, threatening to repel him by force, he abandoned the project. Meanwhile, Gotarzes had leisure to repent of his abdication. The Parthian nobility, who in peaceful times are always impatient of the yoke of slavery, invited him to return. Roused by the call of the people, he soon collected a powerful army. Bardanes marched to meet him as far as the banks of the Erinde.[2] The passage over the river was warmly disputed. After many sharp engagements, Bardanes prevailed. He pushed his conquest with uninterrupted success as far as the river Sinden, which flows between the Dahi and the territory of the Arians. His career of victory ended at that place. Though flushed with the success of their arms, the Parthians disliked a war in regions so far remote. To mark, however, the progress of the victorious troops, and to perpetuate the glory of having put under contribution so many distant nations, where the Arsacidæ had never penetrated, Bardanes raised a monument on the spot, and marched back to Parthia, proud of his exploits, more oppressive than ever, and, by consequence, more detested. A conspiracy was formed to cut him off; and accordingly, while the king on a hunting party, void of all suspicion, pursued the pleasures of the chase, his enemies fell upon him with sudden fury. Bardanes, in the prime and vigour of his days, expired under repeated blows. The glory of his reign, however short, would have eclipsed the few of his predecessors who enjoyed a length of days, if to gain the hearts of his people had been as much his ambition, as it was to render himself the terror of his enemies. By his death the kingdom was once more thrown into commotions. The choice of a successor divided the whole nation into factions. A large party adhered to Gotarzes; others declared for Meherdetes, a descendant of Phraates, at that time a hostage in the hands of the Romans. The interest of Gotarzes proved the strongest; but the people, in a short time, weary of his cruelty and wild profusion, sent a private embassy to Rome, requesting that the emperor would be graciously pleased to send Meherdetes to fill the throne of his ancestors.

XI. During the same consulship, in the year of Rome eight hundred, the secular games were celebrated, after an interval of sixty-four years since they were last solemnized in the reign of Augustus. The chronology observed by Augustus differed from the system of Claudius; but this is not the place for a discussion of that point. I have been sufficiently explicit on the subject in the history of Domitian[3] who likewise gave an

1 This is the same Cotys who has been already mentioned, as king of part of Thrace. See Annals, book iv. s. 67; and see the note. Caligula added his division of that country to the dominions of Rhœmetalces, and made Cotys king of the lesser Armenia A. U. C. 791.

2 For the river Erinde and Sinden, see the Geographical Table.

3 The secular games were exhibited by Augustus, in the consulship of Caius Furnius and C. Silanus, A. U. C. 737. The famous *Carmen Sæculare* of Horace has made them universally known. In their first institution they were to be celebrated at the end of every century; but that regulation, as we learn from Horace, was changed to every hundred and ten years.

> Certus undenos decies per annos
> Orbis, ut cantus referatque ludos
> Ter die clara, totiesque grata
> Nocte frequentes.

The first secular games were in the consulship of Valerius and Virginius, A. U. C. 298.

The second, in the consulship of Valerius Corvinus and Caius Pætilius, A. U. C. 408.

The third, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Varus, A. U. C. 518.

The fourth, in the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Aurelius, A. U. C. 698.

The fifth, by Augustus, as above mentioned, 737.

The sixth, by Claudius, A. U. C. 800.

Tacitus says, Claudius differed from the computation of Augustus; and for an explanation of that matter he refers us to the history of Domitian, who also gave the secular games, A. U. C. 841. But the history of Domitian has not reached posterity. That monster has escaped the vengeance due to his crimes from the pen of Tacitus. The difference between the calculation of Augustus and that of Claudius, appears to be a fallacy of the latter emperor. Suetonius says, he exhibited the secular games, under a pretence of their having been anticipated by Augustus; and yet Claudius, in his history, fairly owns,

exhibition of the secular games. Being at that time one of the college of fifteen, and invested with the office of prætor, it fell to my province to regulate the ceremonies. Let it not be imagined that this is said from motives of vanity. The fact is, in ancient times the business was conducted under the special directions of the quindecemviral order, while the chief magistrates officiated in the several ceremonies. Claudius thought proper to revive this public spectacle. He attended in the circus, and, in his presence, the Trojan game[4] was performed by the youth of noble birth. Britannicus, the emperor's son, and Lucius Domitius, who by adoption took the name of Nero, and afterwards succeeded to the empire, appeared, with the rest of the band, mounted on superb horses. Nero was received with acclamations, and that mark of popular favour was considered as an omen of his future grandeur. A story, at that time current, gained credit with the populace. Nero in his infancy was said to have been guarded by two serpents;[5] but this idle tale held too much of that love of the marvellous which distinguishes foreign nations. The account given by the prince himself, who was ever unwilling to derogate from his own fame, differed from the common report. He talked of the prodigy, but graced his narrative with one serpent only.

XII. The prejudice in favour of Nero rose altogether from the esteem in which the memory of Germanicus was held by the people at large. The only male heir of that admired commander was naturally an object of attention; and the sufferings of his mother Agrippina touched every heart with compassion. Messalina, it was well known, pursued her with unrelenting malice: she was, even then, planning her ruin. Her suborned accusers soon framed a list of crimes; but the execution of her schemes was, for a time, suspended. A new amour, little short of phrensy, claimed precedence of all other passions. Caius Silius[6] was the person for whom she burned with all the vehemence of wild desire. The graces of his form and manner eclipsed all the Roman youth. That she might enjoy her favourite without a rival, she obliged him to repudiate his wife, Junia Silana, though descended from illustrious ancestors. Silius was neither blind to the magnitude of the crime, nor to the danger of not complying. If he refused, a woman scorned would be sure to gratify her revenge; and, on the other hand, there was a chance of deceiving the stupidity of Claudius. The rewards in view were bright and tempting. He resolved to stand the hazard of future consequences, and enjoy the present moment. Messalina gave a loose to love. She scorned to save appearances. She repeated her visits, not in a private manner, but with all her train. In public places she hung enamoured over him; she loaded him with wealth and honours; and at length, as if the imperial dignity had been already transferred to another house, the retinue of the prince, his slaves, his freedmen, and the whole splendour of the court, adorned the mansion of her favourite.

XIII. Claudius, in the mean time, blind to the conduct of his wife, and little suspecting that his bed was dishonoured, gave all his time to the duties of his censorial office. He issued an edict to repress the licentiousness of the theatre. A dramatic performance had been given to the stage by Publius Pomponius,[7] a man of consular rank. On that occasion the author, and several women of the first condition, were treated by the populace with insolence and vile scurrility. This behaviour called for the interposition of the prince. To check the rapacity of usurers, a law was also passed, prohibiting the loan of money to young heirs, on

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that they had been neglected before the time of Augustus; but that emperor made an exact calculation of the time, and again brought the games to their regular order. For this reason, when the crier, by order of Claudius, invited the people, in the usual form, *to games, which no one had ever seen, and would never see again,* the people could not refrain from laughing, as many then living had seen them in the time of Augustus, and some of the players, who had acted on that occasion, were now brought upon the stage again. Suet. in Claud. s. 21.

4 The *Trojan Game*, commonly ascribed to Æneas, is beautifully described by Virgil, Æneid. v. ver. 545. Suetonius says it was exhibited by Julius Cæsar, when two companies, one consisting of grown up lads, and the other of boys of a lesser size, displayed their skill in horsemanship. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 39. This may account for the appearance of Britannicus and Domitius Nero, both at that time extremely young. Britannicus was born A. U. C. 794; Nero in the year 790. See the Genealogical Table, No. 108 and No. 35.

5 Suetonius explains the origin of this fable. He says, there was a report, that certain assassins were hired by Messalina to strangle Nero in his bed, in order to remove the rival of Britannicus. The men went to execute their purpose, but were frightened by a serpent that crept from under his pillow. This tale was occasioned by the finding of a serpent's skin near Nero's pillow, which, by his mother's order, he wore for some time upon his right arm, inclosed in a golden bracelet. Suetonius, in Neron. s. 6.

6 Silius was consul elect, as already mentioned in this book, s. 5. Juvenal says,

——————Eligo quidnam
Suadendum esse putes, cui nubere Cæsaris uxor
Destinat. Optimus hic, et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciæ, raptur miser extinguendus
Messalinæ oculis. Sat. x. ver. 331.

Now Silius wants thy counsel; give advice;
Wed Cæsar's wife, or die. The choice is nice.
Her comet-eyes she darts on every grace,
And takes a fatal liking to his face.
Dryden's Juvenal.

7 Pomponius had been consul, but not in the beginning of the year, and therefore his name does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*. Quintilian praises his dramatic genius, and admires his tragedies. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 13, note.

the contingency of their father's death. The waters, which have their source on the Simbruine hills,[1] were conveyed in aqueducts to Rome. Claudius, at the same time, invented the form of new letters, and added them to the Roman alphabet, aware that the language of Greece, in its original state, could not boast of perfection, but received, at different periods, a variety of improvements.

XIV. The Egyptians were the first who had the ingenuity to express by outward signs the ideas passing in the mind. Under the form of animals they gave a body and a figure to sentiment. Their hieroglyphics were wrought in stone, and are to be seen at this day, the most venerable monuments of human memory. The invention of letters[2] is also claimed by the Egyptians. According to their account, the Phœnicians found legible characters in use throughout Egypt, and, being much employed in navigation, carried them into Greece; importers of the art, but not entitled to the glory of the invention. The history of the matter, as related by the Phœnicians, is, that Cadmus, with a fleet from their country, passed into Greece, and taught the art of writing to a rude and barbarous people. We are told by others, that Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus the Theban, or Palamedes the Argive, who flourished during the Trojan war, invented sixteen letters:[3] the hon-

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1 The *Simbruine Hills*, according to Brotier and other commentators, are the hills that overlook the town, formerly called *Sublaqueum*, now *Subjaco*, about forty miles from Rome, towards the east, and not far from the *Sacred Cave*, now *Il Monastero del Sacro Speco*. The waters issuing from two fountains, known by the names of *Curtius* and *Cæruleus*, were, by the direction of Claudius, brought to Rome in canals made with great labour and vast expense. See Pliny's Description, lib. xxxvi. s. 15.

2 The invention of letters, one of the happiest exertions of the human mind, presents a subject of so curious and complicated a nature, that the discussion of it cannot be condensed into a note. Plato and Cicero were so struck with the wonderful artifice of alphabetical characters, as to conclude that it was not of human invention, but a preternatural gift of the immortal gods. Dr. Warburton has given a dissertation on the subject, in which profound learning and sound philosophy are happily united. After him, it may be stated, that man, being formed for society, soon found two ways of communicating his thoughts; namely, by sounds and significant action. But both were transient. Something permanent was still required; something, by which the conceptions of the mind might be preserved and communicated at a distance. This was done by the images of things, properly called picture-writing. Sensible objects were easily represented, but abstract ideas demanded further improvement. That difficulty was also conquered. Men conversant in matter wanted sensible images to convey the ideas formed by the operations of the understanding. For that purpose, every object, in which could be found any kind of resemblance or analogy, was introduced to represent the inward sentiment; as an EYE, for knowledge; a CIRCLE, for eternity. This was the symbolic writing of the Egyptians, who attended principally to the animal creation, and thereby established the *brute-worship* of their country. The several animals and symbolic figures being carved on pyramids and obelisks, by direction of the sacerdotal order, the art of expressing ideas by analogous representation was deemed sacred, and thence called HIEROGLYPHIC. It had, at first, nothing in it of mystery: it was dictated by the necessities of man in social life. The Chinese in the east had their hieroglyphics. Picture-writing was known to the Mexicans, in a world then undiscovered; and, accordingly, ACOSTA tells us, that the first account of a Spanish fleet on the coast, was sent to Montezuma in delineations painted on cloth. The same writer adds, things that had a bodily shape were represented by their proper figures; and those that were invisible, by other expressive characters; and thus the Mexicans wrote or painted every thing they had occasion to express. The Peruvians made use of arbitrary marks. With their knotted cords of different colours, and various sizes, they contrived to convey their thoughts to one another. The Chinese proceeded from their hieroglyphics to the invention of a significant mark for every idea. It is a mistake to say that they formed an alphabet, or letters to be the sign of simple sounds. Their characters do not stand for syllables, of which articulate words are composed; they express the idea, or the object itself; and it is said that they have no less than seventy thousand of such arbitrary characters. The confusion that must follow is obvious. Signs for WORDS, not THINGS, were still the grand desideratum. Some happy genius (who, it is not known) arose in Egypt. He had the sagacity to observe the formation of sounds by the human organs, and soon perceived that several were frequently united to constitute a word. By decompounding these, and fixing a mark for vowels and consonants, which might be afterwards blended and varied as the word required, the art of writing was reduced to simplicity, and finally established in its present form. Moses brought alphabetic letters, with the rest of his learning, from Egypt, and was, therefore, able to reduce his books to writing. Cadmus was of Thebes in Egypt, and passed from Phœnicia into Greece. His native country shows whence he derived his alphabet; though the Phœnicians were, by vulgar error, said to be the people who invented letters, and first taught the art of *stopping the flying sound*.

> Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
> LUCAN, lib. iii. ver. 220.

Pliny the elder gives the honour to the Assyrians: he says, *Literas semper arbitror fuisse Assyrias*. Lib. vii. s. 56. It is plain, however, that he was not rightly informed. See Warburton's Divine Legation, vol. iii. page 66, &c.; and see Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xxxii. page 212.

3 Dr. Warburton says the Hebrew alphabet, which Moses employed in the composition of the Pentateuch, is considerably fuller than that which Cadmus brought into Greece. Cadmus had only sixteen letters, and the Hebrew had two and twenty. Divine Legat. vol. iii. page 148. We find from Tacitus, that the Greek alphabet received considerable additions. As to the three letters added by Claudius to the Roman alphabet, Suetonius says, he invented three new letters, concerning which he published a book, while he was yet a private citizen; and, after his elevation to the imperial seat, his authority introduced them into common use, and the same were still extant in books, registers, and inscriptions on buildings. See Life of Claudius, s. 41. Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, has given, from a brass table found at Lyons, a speech made by Claudius to the senate; but in that monument of antiquity no trace appears of those new letters.

our of adding to the number, and making a complete alphabet, is ascribed to different authors, and, in particular, to Simonides. In Italy, Demaratus of Corinth, and Evander the Arcadian, introduced the arts of civilization: the former taught the Etrurians, and the latter, the aborigines or natives of the country where he settled. The form of the Latin letters was the same as the characters of the ancient Greeks: but the Roman alphabet, like that of all other nations, was scanty in the beginning. In process of time, the original elements were increased. Claudius added three new letters, which, during the remainder of his reign, were frequently inserted, but after his death fell into disuse. In tables of brass, on which were engraved the ordinances of the people, and which remain to this day, hung up in the temples, and the forum, the shape of the three characters may still be traced.

XV. To regulate the college of augurs was the next care of Claudius. He referred the business to the consideration of the senate, observing to that assembly, "that an ancient and venerable institution ought not to be suffered, for want of due attention, to sink into oblivion. In times of danger, the commonwealth resorted to the soothsayers, and that order of men restored the primitive ceremonies of religion. By the nobility of Etruria the science of future events was esteemed, and cultivated. The authority of the senate gave additional sanctions, and those mysteries have ever since remained in certain families, transmitted from father to son. In the present decay of all liberal science, and the growth of foreign superstition, the sacred mysteries are neglected, and, indeed, almost extinguished. The empire, it is true, enjoys a state of perfect tranquillity; but, surely, for that blessing, the people should bend in adoration to the gods, not forgetting, in the calm season of peace, those religious rites, which saved them in the hour of danger." A decree passed the senate, directing that the pontiffs should revise the whole system, and retrench or ratify what to them should seem proper.

XVI. In the course of this year, the Cheruscans applied to Rome for a king to reign over them. They had been distracted by civil dissensions, and in the wars that followed, the flower of their nobility was cut off. Of royal descent there was only one surviving chief, by name Italicus, and he at that time resided at Rome. He was the son of Flavius, the brother of Arminius; by the maternal line, grandson to Catumer, the reigning king of the Cattians. He was comely in his person, expert in the use of arms, and skilled in horsemanship, as well after the Roman manner, as the practice of the Germans. Claudius supplied him with money; appointed guards to escort him; and, by seasonable admonitions, endeavoured to inspire him with sentiments worthy of the elevation to which he was called. He desired him to go forth with courage, and ascend the throne of his ancestors with becoming dignity. He told him, that being born at Rome, and there entertained in freedom, not kept as a prisoner, he was the first, who went clothed with the character of a Roman citizen, to reign in Germany. The prince was received by his countrymen with demonstrations of joy. A stranger to the dissensions, which had for some time disturbed the public tranquillity, he had no party views to warp his conduct. The king of a people, not of a faction, he gained the esteem of all. His praise resounded in every quarter. By exercising the milder qualities of temperance and affability, and, at times, giving himself up to wine and gay carousals, which among Barbarians are esteemed national virtues, he endeared himself to all ranks of men. His fame reached the neighbouring states, and by degrees spread all over Germany.

His popularity, however, gave umbrage to the disaffected. The same turbulent spirits, who had before thrown every thing into confusion, and flourished in the distractions of their country, began to view the new king with a jealous eye. They represented to the adjacent nations, that "the rights of Germany, transmitted to them by their forefathers, were now at the last gasp. The grandeur of the Roman empire rises on the ruins of public liberty. But is the Cheruscan nation at so low an ebb, that a native, worthy of the supreme authority, cannot be found amongst them? Is there no resource left, but that of electing the son of Flavius, that ignominious spy, that traitor to his country? It is in vain alleged in favour of Italicus, that he is nephew to Arminius. Were he the son of that gallant warrior; yet fostered, as he has been, in the arms, and in the bosom of Rome, he is, by that circumstance, unqualified to reign in Germany. From a young man, educated among our enemies, debased by servitude, and infected with foreign manners, foreign laws, and foreign sentiments, what have we to expect? And if this Roman king, this Italicus, inherits the spirit of his father; let it be remembered, that Flavius took the field against his kindred and the gods of Germany. In the whole course of that war, no man showed a spirit so determined; no man acted with such envenomed hostility against the liberties of his country."

XVII. By these, and such like incentives, the malcontents inflamed the minds of the people, and soon collected a numerous army. An equal number followed the standard of Italicus. "Their motives," they said, "were just and honourable: the young king did not come to usurp the crown; he was invited by the voice of a willing people. His birth was illustrious, and it was but fair to make an experiment of his

virtues. He might, perhaps, prove worthy of Arminius, his uncle, and of Catumer, his grandfather. Even for his father,[1] the son had no reason to blush. If Flavius adhered with fidelity to the cause of Rome, he had bound himself by the obligation of an oath; and that oath was taken with the consent of the German nations. The sacred name of liberty was used in vain to varnish the guilt of pretended patriots; a set of men, in their private characters, void of honour; in their public conduct, destructive to the community; an unprincipled and profligate party, who, by fair and honest means, having nothing to hope, looked for their private advantage in the disasters of their country." To this reasoning the multitude assented with shouts of applause. The Barbarians came to action. After an obstinate engagement, victory declared for Italicus. Elate with success, he broke out into acts of cruelty, and was soon obliged to fly the country. The Langobards[2] reinstated him in his dominions. From that time, Italicus continued to struggle with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, in success no less than adversity the scourge of the Cheruscan nation.

XVIII. The Chaucians,[3] at this time free from domestic broils, began to turn their arms against their neighbours. The death of Sanguinius, who commanded the legions in the lower Germany, furnished them with an opportunity to invade the Roman provinces; and as Corbulo, who was appointed to succeed the deceased general, was still on his way, they resolved to strike their blow before his arrival. Gannascus, born among the Caninefates, headed the enterprise; a bold adventurer, who had formerly served among the auxiliaries in the Roman army. Having deserted afterwards, he provided himself with light-built shallops, and followed the life of a roving freebooter, infesting chiefly the Gallic side of the Rhine,[4] where he knew the wealth and the unwarlike genius of the people. Corbulo entered the province. In his first campaign he laid the foundation of that prodigious fame, which afterwards raised his character to the highest eminence. He ordered the strongest galleys to fall down the Rhine, and the small craft, according to their size and fitness for the service, to enter the æstuaries and the recesses of the river. The boats and vessels of the enemy were sunk or otherwise destroyed. Gannascus was obliged to save himself by flight.

By these operations Corbulo restored tranquillity throughout the province. The re-establishment of military discipline was the next object of his attention. He found the legions relaxed in sloth, attentive to plunder, and active for no other end. In order to make a thorough reform, he gave out in orders, that no man should presume to quit his post, or venture to attack the enemy, on any pretence, without the command of his superior officer. The soldiers at the advanced stations, the sentinels, and the whole army, performed every duty, both day and night, completely armed. Two of the men, it is said, were put to death as an example to the rest; one because he laboured at the trenches without his sword; and the other for being armed with a dagger only; a severity, it must be acknowledged, strained too far, or, perhaps, not true in fact: but the rigid system, peculiar to Corbulo, might, with some colour of probability, give rise to the report. It may, however, be fairly inferred, that the commander, concerning whom a story like this could gain credit, was, in matters of moment, firm, decided, and inflexible.

XIX. By this plan of discipline, Corbulo struck a general terror through the army: but that terror had a twofold effect; it roused the Romans to a due sense of their duty, and repressed the ferocity of the Barbarians. The Frisians,[5] who, ever since their success against Lucius Apronius, remained in open or disguised hostility, thought it advisable, after giving hostages for their pacific temper, to accept a territory within the limits prescribed by Corbulo, and to submit to a mode of government, which he judged proper, consisting of an assembly in the nature of a senate, a body of magistrates, and a new code of laws. In order to bridle this people effectually, he built a fort in the heart of their country, and left it strongly garrisoned. In the meantime, he tried, by his emissaries, to draw over to his interest the leading chiefs of the Chaucian nation. Against Gannascus he did not scruple to act by stratagem. In the case of a deserter, who had violated all good faith, fraud and circumvention did not appear to him inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman name. Gannascus was cut off. His death inflamed the resentment of the Chaucians; nor was Corbulo unwilling to provoke a war. His conduct, however, though applauded at Rome by a great number, did not escape the censure of others. "Why enrage the enemy? If he failed in his attempt the commonwealth must feel the calamity: if crowned with success, a general of high renown, under a torpid and unwarlike prince, might prove a powerful and a dangerous citizen." Claudius had no ambition to extend his dominions in Germany. He ordered the garrisons to be withdrawn, and the whole army to repass the Rhine.

1 For an account of Flavius, the father, see Annals, book ii. s. 9 and 10.

2 See the Geographical Table.

3 For the Chaucians, see the Geographical Table.

4 The countries now called *Zelande*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*. In those parts there were several canals and inlets of the sea, between the *Scheld*, the *Meuse*, and the *Rhine*.

5 For the Frisians, see the Geographical Table: and for Lucius Apronius, see Annals, book iv. s. 73 and 74.

XX. Corbulo had already marked out his camp in the enemy's country, when the emperor's letters came to hand. The contents were unexpected. A crowd of reflections occurred to the general; he dreaded the displeasure of the prince; he saw the legions exposed to the derision of the Barbarians, and in the opinion of the allies his own character degraded. He exclaimed with some emotion, "*Happy the commanders who fought for the old republic!*" Without a word more, he sounded a retreat. And now, to hinder his men from falling again into sluggish inactivity, he ordered a canal, three and twenty miles in length, to be carried on between the Meuse and the Rhine, as a channel to receive the influx of the sea, and hinder the country from being laid under water. Claudius, in the meantime, allowed him the honour of triumphal ornaments: he granted the reward of military service, but prevented the merit of deserving it.

In a short time afterwards, Curtius Rufus obtained the same distinction: the service of this man was the discovery of a mine in the country of the Mattiaci [6] in which was opened a vein of silver, of little profit, and soon exhausted. The labour was severely felt by the legions; they were obliged to dig a number of sluices, and in subterraneous cavities to endure fatigues and hardships, scarce supportable in the open air. Weary of the labour, and finding that the same rigorous services were extended to other provinces, they contrived, with secrecy, to despatch letters to the emperor, praying, that, when next he appointed a general, he would begin with granting him triumphal honours.

XXI. Curtius Rufus,[7] according to some, was the son of a gladiator. For this I do not pretend to vouch. To speak of him with malignity is far from my intention, and to relate the truth is painful. He began the world in the train of a quæstor, whom he attended into Africa. In that station, while, to avoid the intense heat of the mid-day sun, he was sitting under a portico in the city of Adrumetum,[8] the form of a woman, large beyond the proportions of the human shape,[9] appeared before him. A voice, at the same time, pronounced, "You, Rufus, are the favoured man, destined to come hereafter into this province with proconsular authority." Inspired by the vision, he set out for Rome, where, by the interest of his friends, and his own intriguing genius, he first obtained the quæstorship. In a short time after, he aspired to the dignity of prætor; and, though opposed by competitors of distinguished rank, he succeeded by the suffrage of Tiberius. That emperor, to throw a veil over the mean extraction of his favourite candidate, shrewdly said, "*Curtius Rufus seems to be a man sprung from himself.*" He lived to an advanced old age, growing grey in the base arts of servile adulation, to his superiors a fawning sycophant, to all beneath him proud and arrogant, and with his equals surly, rude, and impracticable. At a late period of his life, he obtained the consular and triumphal ornaments, and finally, to verify the prediction, went proconsul into Africa, where he finished his days.

XXII. About this time Cneius Noyius, a man of equestrian rank, was seized in the circle at the emperor's court, with a dagger concealed under his robe: his motives were unknown at that time, and never since discovered. When he lay stretched on the rack, he avowed his own desperate purpose, but, touching his accomplices, not a syllable could be extorted from him. Whether his silence was wilful obstinacy, or proceeded from his having no secret to discover, remains uncertain. During the same consulship, Publius Dolabella proposed a new regulation, requiring that a public spectacle of gladiators should be exhibited annually, at the expense of such as obtained the office of quæstor. In the early ages of the commonwealth, that magistracy was considered as the reward of virtue. The honours of the state lay open to every citizen who relied on his fair endeavours, and the integrity of his character. The difference of age [10] created no incapacity. Men, in the prime of life, might be chosen consuls and dictators. The office of quæstor was instituted during the monarchy, as appears from the law CURIATA,[11] which was afterwards put in force by Lucius Junius Brutus. The right of election was vested in the consuls, till, at last, it centred in the people

6 For the Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table.

7 Some of the commentators will have this person to be Quintus Curtius, the historian of Alexander the Great; but this opinion is without foundation. Tacitus would not omit a circumstance so very remarkable.

8 For Adrumetum, see the Geographical Table.

9 This story is related as a fact by the younger Pliny, lib. vii. ep. 27.

10 In the consulship of Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, A. U. C. 575, Lucius Villius, tribune of the people, preferred a *rogatio* or bill, which passed into a law, to settle at what age the different magistracies might be obtained. *Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio, tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque.* Livy, lib. xl. s. 43. The quæstorship was the first office any person could bear in the commonwealth, and, by the new regulation, might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five years. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 115.

11 The *Comitia Curiata* owe their original to the division which Romulus made of the people into thirty curiæ, ten being contained in every tribe. They answered, in most respects, to the modern divisions of cities into parishes. Before the institution of the *Comitia Centuriata*, or assemblies of the people in their centuries, which were in number 193, instituted by Servius Tullius, all the great concerns of the state were transacted in the curiæ; such as the electing of magistrates, the making or abrogating of laws, and the decision of capital causes. Kennet's Roman Antiquities, page 129

at large; and, accordingly, we find that about sixty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamercus were the first popular quæstors, created to attend the armies of the republic. The multiplicity of affairs increasing at Rome, two were added to act in a civil capacity. In process of time, when all Italy was reduced to subjection, and foreign provinces augmented the public revenue, the number of quæstors was doubled. Sylla created twenty: he had transferred all judicial authority to the senate; and to fill that order with its proper complement was the object of his policy. The Roman knights, it is true, recovered their ancient jurisdiction; but even during those convulsions, and from that era to the time we are speaking of, the quæstorship was either obtained by the merit and dignity of the candidates, or granted by the favour and free will of the people. It was reserved for Dolabella to make the election venal.

XXIII. Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipsanius were the next consuls. [A. U. C. 801. A. D. 48.] The mode of filling the vacancies in the senate became the subject of debate. The nobility of that part of Gaul styled GALLIA COMATA[1] had for some time enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens: on this occasion they claimed a right to the magistracy and all civil honours. The demand became the topic of public discussion, and in the prince's cabinet met with a strong opposition. It was there contended, "That Italy was not so barren of men, but she could well supply the capital with fit and able senators. In former times, the municipal towns and provinces were content to be governed by their own native citizens. That system was long established, and there was no reason to condemn the practice of the old republic. The history of that period presents a school of virtue. It is there that the models of true glory are to be found; those models that formed the Roman genius, and still excite the emulation of posterity. Is it not enough that the Venetians and Insubrians[2] have forced their way into the senate? Are we to see a deluge of foreigners poured in upon us, as if the city were taken by storm? What honours and what titles of distinction will, in that case, remain for the ancient nobility, the true genuine stock of the Roman empire? And for the indigent senator of Latium what means will then be left to advance his fortune, and support his rank? All posts of honour will be the property of wealthy intruders; a race of men, whose ancestors waged war against the very being of the republic; with fire and sword destroyed her armies; and finally laid siege to Julius Cæsar in the city of Alesia.[3] But these are modern instances: what shall be said of the Barbarians, who laid the walls of Rome in ashes, and dared to besiege the capitol and the temple of Jupiter? Let the present claimants, if it must be so, enjoy the titular dignity of Roman citizens; but let the senatorian rank, and the honours of the magistracy, be preserved unmixed, untainted, and inviolate."

XXIV. These arguments made no impression on the mind of Claudius: he replied on the spot, and afterwards in the senate delivered himself to this effect:[4] "To decide the question now depending, the annals of Rome afford a precedent: and a precedent of greater cogency, as it happened to the ancestors of my own family. Attus Clausus, by birth a Sabine, from whom I derive my pedigree, was admitted, on one and the same day, to the freedom of Rome, and the patrician rank. Can I do better than adopt that rule of ancient wisdom? It is for the interest of the commonwealth, that merit, wherever found, should be transplanted to Rome, and made our own. Need I observe that to Alba we are indebted for the Julii, to Camerium for

1 Gallia *Comata*, a general name for the whole country on this side of the Alps. See the Geographical Table.

2 For the *Veneti* and *Insubres*, see the Geographical Table.

3 Alesia was besieged by Julius Cæsar. The town, situated on the ridge of a hill, was almost impregnable. It could not be taken by assault. Vercingetorix commanded the garrison. Cæsar formed his lines of circumvallation, and was obliged to sit down before the place for a considerable time. He has left a circumstantial account of all his operations, and also of the speech of CRITOGNATUS, a leading chieftain among the Gauls, when the garrison, pressed by famine, debated whether they should capitulate, or sally out in a body, and die with glory, sword in hand. Cæsar records this man's speech, on account of its singular and nefarious cruelty: *propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem.* CRITOGNATUS opposed all terms of accommodation. To sally out, he said, might be called an effort of brave despair; but it was in fact the pusillanimity of men who dreaded the hardships of an approaching famine. But what was the conduct of the ancient Gauls, when besieged by the Cimbri and the Teutones? Reduced to the last distress, they devoured the bodies of all who were incapable of bearing arms, and held out to the last. That, he said, was a glorious precedent; it deserved to be imitated, and transmitted to posterity. Alesia, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered at discretion, and Vercingetorix was delivered up. Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. lib. vii. s. 68 to the end of 89. For ALESIA, see the Geographical Table.

4 It has been mentioned, note, s. 14, that a speech of Claudius, engraved on a tablet of brass, has been found at Lyons. It is set forth at length by Brotier, in his edition of Tacitus, vol. ii. 4to. page 349, and by Dotteville, vol. iv. page 422. The speech relates to the question stated by Tacitus, namely, the admission of the Gauls into the Roman Senate. The historian has not given the argument in the form and words of the original speech. He has seized the substance, and expressed it with his usual brevity, in a style suited to an emperor, of whom he says, that in his prepared speeches he never wanted elegance. *Nec in Claudio quoties meditata loqueretur, elegantiam requireres.*

the Coruncani, and to Tusculum for the Portii? Without searching the records of antiquity, we know that the nobles of Etruria, of Lucania, and, in short, of all Italy, have been incorporated with the Roman senate. The Alps, in the course of time, were made the boundaries of the city; and by that extension of our privileges, not simple individuals, but whole nations, were naturalized at once, and blended with the Roman name. In a period of profound peace, the people beyond the Po were admitted to their feedom. Under colour of planting colonies, we spread our legions over the face of the globe; and, by drawing into our civil union the flower of the several provinces, we recruited the strength of the mother country. The Balbi came from Spain, and others of equal eminence from the Narbon Gaul: of that accession to our numbers have we reason to repent? The descendants of those illustrious families are still in being; and can Rome boast of better citizens? Where do we see more generous ardour to promote her interest?

"The Spartans and the Athenians, without all question, acquired great renown in arms: to what shall we attribute their decline and total ruin? To what, but the injudicious policy of considering the vanquished as aliens to their country? The conduct of Romulus, the founder of Rome, was the very reverse: with wisdom equal to his valour, he made those fellow-citizens at night, who, in the morning, were his enemies in the field. Even foreign kings have reigned at Rome. To raise the descendants of freedmen to the honours of the state, is not, as some imagine, a modern innovation: it was the practice of the old republic. But the Senones waged war against us: and were the Volscians and the Æqui always our friends? The Gauls, we are told, well nigh overturned the capitol: and did not the Tuscans oblige us to deliver hostages? Did not the Samnites compel a Roman army to pass under the yoke? Review the wars that Rome had upon her hands, and that with the Gauls will be found the shortest. From that time, a lasting and an honourable peace prevailed. Let them now, intermixed with the Roman people, united by ties of affinity, by arts, and congenial manners, be one people with us. Let them bring their wealth to Rome, rather than hoard it up for their own separate use. The institutions of our ancestors, which we so much and so justly revere at present, were, at one time, a novelty in the constitution. The magistrates were, at first, patricians only; the plebeians opened their way to honours; and the Latins, in a short time, followed their example. In good time we embraced all Italy. The measure, which I now defend by examples will, at a future day, be another precedent. It is now a new regulation: in time it will be history."

XXV. This speech was followed by a decree, in consequence of which the Æduans, by way of distinction, were, in the first instance, declared capable of a seat in the senate. Of all the Gauls, they alone were styled the brethren of the Roman people, and by their strict fidelity deserved the honour conferred upon them. About the same time, Claudius enrolled in the patrician order such of the ancient senators as stood recommended by their illustrious birth, and the merit of their ancestors. The line of those families, which were styled by Romulus the FIRST CLASS OF NOBILITY, and by Brutus THE SECOND, was almost extinct. Even those of more recent date, created in the time of Julius Cæsar by the CASSIAN LAW, and, under Augustus, by the SÆNIAN,[5] were well nigh exhausted. This new distribution of honours was agreeable to the people, and this part of his censorial office Claudius performed with alacrity. A more difficult business still remained. Some of the senators had brought dishonour on their names; and to expel them, according to the severity of ancient usage, was a painful task. He chose a milder method. "Let each man," he said, "review his own life and manners; and, if he sees reason, let him apply for leave to erase his name. Permission will of course be granted. The list which he intended to make would contain, without distinction, those who retired of their own motion, and also such as deserved to be expelled. By that method, the disgrace of being degraded would be avoided, or, at least, alleviated."

For these several acts, Vipsanius the consul moved that the emperor should be styled THE FATHER OF THE SENATE. The title, he said, of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY would be no more than common; but peculiar merit required a new distinction. This stroke of flattery gave disgust to Claudius. He therefore overruled the motion. He then closed the lustre of five years, and made a survey of the people. The number of citizens amounted nearly to six millions.[6] From this time the emperor no longer remained in stupid insensibility, blind to the conduct of his wife.

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5 We read in Suetonius, that Julius Cæsar filled up the vacancies in the senate, and advanced several commoners to the rank of patricians. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 41. It should seem, from what Tacitus says, that he was willing to give colour to his proceedings, and therefore acted under a law called, after Cassius, the consul for part of the year, the *Cassian law*. In like manner, Augustus adopted the same measure, and carried it into execution, under the authority of a law enacted in the consulship of Lucius Sænius, who was appointed to the office towards the end of the year, and therefore does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*.

6 The number of Roman citizens mentioned in this place would be thought altogether incredible, if the estimate were to be understood to relate to the inhabitants of the capital: but the question was not, what number dwelt within the walls of the city; it extended to the whole body of the Roman people, wherever stationed.

He was soon reduced to the necessity of hearing and punishing the enormity of her guilt; but the act by which he vindicated his own honour, gave him an opportunity to sully it by an incestuous marriage.

XXVI. Messalina had hitherto found so ready a compliance with her vicious passions, that the cheap delight was grown insipid. To give a zest to pleasure, she had recourse to modes of gratification untried before. Silius, at the same time, intoxicated with success, or, perhaps, thinking that the magnitude of his danger was to be encountered with equal courage, made a proposal altogether new and daring. "They were not," he said, "in a situation to wait, with patience, for the death of the prince. Prudence and cautious measures were for the innocent only. In cases of flagrant guilt, a bold effort of courage was the only remedy. If they undertook with spirit, their accomplices, apprised of their situation, would be ready to hazard all that was dear to them. As to himself, he was divorced from his wife; he was a single man; he had no children; he was willing to marry Messalina, and adopt Britannicus for his son. After the nuptial ceremony, the power which Messalina then enjoyed would still continue in her hands, unimpaired, and undiminished. To insure their mutual safety, nothing remained but to circumvent a superannuated emperor, when unprovoked, stupid; but when roused from his lethargy, sudden, furious, and vindictive." The proposition was not relished by Messalina. Motives of conjugal affection had no influence on her conduct; but she beheld her lover with a jealous eye. Raised to imperial dignity, he might despise an adulteress, and their guilty joys. Their mutual pleasures, endeared at present by the magnitude of the crime and the danger, might, in the day of security, appear in their native colours, and pall the sated appetite. The marriage, notwithstanding, had charms that pleased her fancy. It was a further step in guilt and infamy; and infamy, when beyond all measure great, is the last incentive of an abandoned mind. She closed with the offer made by Silius, but deferred the carrying of it into execution, till the emperor went to Ostia to assist at a sacrifice. During his absence, the nuptial ceremony was performed with pomp, and all the accustomed rites.

XXVII. The fact which I have stated, it must be acknowledged, carries with it an air of fable. That such a degree of self-delusion, in a populous city where every thing is known and discussed in public, should infatuate the mind of any person whatever, will hardly gain credit with posterity. Much less will it be believed, that a consul elect, and the wife of an emperor, on a day appointed, in the presence of witnesses duly summoned, should dare to meet the public eye, and sign a contract with express provisions for the issue of an unlawful marriage. It will be a circumstance still more incredible, that the empress should hear the marriage ceremony pronounced by the augur, and, in her turn, repeat the words; that she should join in a sacrifice to the gods; take her place at the nuptial banquet; exchange caresses and mutual endearments with the bridegroom, and retire with him to the consummation of connubial joys. The whole must appear romantic; but to amuse with fiction is not the design of this work. The facts here related are well attested by writers of that period, and by grave and elderly men, who lived at the time, and were informed of every circumstance.

XXVIII. The prince's family was thrown into consternation. The favourites who stood high in power were alarmed for themselves. Full of apprehensions, and dreading a sudden change, they disclosed their minds, not in secret murmurs, but openly, and in terms of indignation. "While a stage player[1] enjoyed the embraces of Messalina, the emperor's bed was dishonoured, but the state was not in danger. At present, what had they not to fear from a young man of the first nobility, endowed with talents and with vigour of mind, in his person graceful, and, at that very time, designed for the consulship? Silius was preparing to open a new scene. The solemn farce of a marriage has been performed, and the catastrophe, with which they intend to conclude the piece, may be easily foreseen." Their fears were still increased, when they considered the stupidity of Claudius, and the ascendant which the empress had obtained over him, to such a degree, that the best blood in Rome had been spilt to gratify her insatiate vengeance. On the other hand, the imbecility of Claudius gave them hopes of success. If they could once impress that torpid mind with an idea of Messalina's wickedness, she might be condemned unheard, and, by the sudden violence of the emperor, hurried away to execution. The only danger was, that she might gain an audience. Her defence might satisfy the emperor; and, even if she confessed her guilt, he might remain deaf to the truth, insensible of disgrace, weak, stupid, and uxorious.

XXIX. Callistus,[2] who, as already mentioned,

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1 This was *Mnester*, the comedian, famous for his adulterous commerce with Messalina.

2 As the whole history of Caligula is lost, the part which Callistus acted in the catastrophe of that emperor is not to be found in Tacitus. Cassius Chærea was the chief conspirator. He drew into his plot a number of leading men, and among them Callistus, a freedman enriched by the favours of Caligula. To apologize, in some degree, for his perfidy and ingratitude, the enfranchised slave gave out, that he had orders from Caligula to administer poison to Claudius. By that story, whether true or false, he varnished over his treachery to his benefactor, and secured his interest with the next emperor.

was a principal actor in the catastrophe of Caligula, held a meeting with Narcissus, the chief adviser of the murder of Appius, and with Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius. Their first idea was, to address themselves at once to Messalina, and, without alluding to her other enormous practices, endeavour to break the connection between her and Silius. This plan was soon deserted. The danger of provoking the haughty spirit of Messalina operated on the fears of Pallas. Callistus knew his own interest too well: a politician formed by the maxims of the preceding reign, he was not then to learn that power at court is preserved by tame compliance, not by honest counsels. Narcissus was left to act from his own judgment. To ruin Messalina was his fixed resolution; but the blow, he knew, must be struck before she could see the hand that aimed it. He laid his train with the deepest secrecy. Claudius continued loitering away the time at Ostia. Callistus employed the interval to the best advantage. He engaged in his plot two famous courtesans, at that time high in favour with the emperor. He allured them by presents and liberal promises. He convinced them both, that by the ruin of Messalina they might rise to power and influence. He represented their interest in the strongest colours, and, by those incentives, induced them to prefer an accusation against the empress.

XXX. The plot being settled, one of the concubines (by name Calpurnia) obtained a private interview with Claudius. Throwing herself at the emperor's feet, she told him that Messalina had dishonoured him by a marriage with Silius. Cleopatra, the other actress in the scene, was near at hand to confirm the story. Being asked by the accuser whether she did not know the truth of the charge, her testimony confirmed the whole. Narcissus was immediately summoned to the emperor's presence. He began with an humble apology for the remissness of his conduct. "He had been silent as to Vectius and Plautius, whose criminal intrigues were too well known. Even in that very moment it was not his intention to urge the crime of adultery: nor would he desire restitution of the palace, the household train, and the splendours of the imperial house. Let Silius enjoy them all; but let him restore the emperor's wife, and give up his marriage-contract to be declared null and void. You are divorced, Cæsar, at this moment divorced, and are you ignorant of it? The people saw the marriage-ceremony, the senate beheld it, and the soldiers knew it. Act with vigour; take a decisive step, or the adulterer is master of Rome."

XXXI. Claudius called a council of his friends. Turranius, the superintendent of the public stores, and Lucius Geta, the commander of the prætorian bands, acknowledged the whole of her flagitious conduct. The rest of the courtiers crowded round the prince, with importunity urging him to go forth to the camp, and secure the prætorian guards. His own personal safety was the first consideration. Vindictive measures might follow in good time. The alarm was too much for the faculties of so weak a man as Claudius. He stood in stupid amazement. He asked several times, Am I emperor? Is Silius still a private man?

Messalina, in the meantime, passed the hours in gay festivity, all on the wing of pleasure and enjoyment. It was then the latter end of autumn: in honour of the season, an interlude, representing the vintage, was exhibited by her order at the palace. The wine-presses were set to work; the juice pressed from the grape flowed in copious streams, and round the vats a band of women, dressed after the Bacchanalian fashion, with the skins of tigers, danced in frolic measures, with the wild transport usual at the rites of Bacchus. In the midst of the revellers Messalina displayed the graces of her person, her hair flowing with artful negligence, and a thyrsus waving in her hand. Silius fluttered at her side; his temples crowned with wreaths of ivy, his legs adorned with buskins, and his head, with languishing airs, moving in unison with the music, while a chorus circled round the happy pair, with dance, and song, and lascivious gesture, animating the scene. There is a current tradition, that Vectius Valens in a fit of ecstasy climbed up among the branches of a tree, and being asked what he saw, made answer, "I see *a dreadful storm* gathering at Ostia." Whether the sky was then overcast, or the expression fell by chance, it proved in the end a true prediction.

XXXII. Meanwhile, it became publicly known at Rome, not by vague report, but by sure intelligence brought by special messengers, that Claudius, fully apprised of all that passed, was on his way, determined to do justice on the guilty. Messalina withdrew to the gardens of Lucullus. Silius, endeavouring under an air of gaiety to hide his fears, went towards the forum, as if he had business to transact. The rest of the party fled with precipitation. The centurions pursued them. Several were seized in the streets, or in their lurking-places, and loaded with fetters. In this reverse of fortune, Messalina had no time for deliberation. She resolved to meet the emperor on his way, and, in a personal interview, to try that power over his affections which had so often served her on former occasions. In order to excite compassion, she ordered her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to fly to the embraces of their father. She prevailed on Vibidia, the eldest of the vestal virgins, to address the emperor as the sovereign pontiff, and wring from him, by the force of prayers, a pardon for his wife. She herself traversed the city on foot, with only three attendants. Such, in the moment of adversity,

was the solitude in which she was left. She mounted into a tumbrel, usually employed to carry off the refuse of the city-gardens, and in that vehicle proceeded on her way to Ostia. From the spectators not a groan was heard; no sign of pity was seen. The enormity of her guilt suppressed every kind of emotion of the heart.

XXXIII. Claudius, in the meantime, was thrown into violent agitations. Doubt and fear distracted him. He had no reliance on Geta, who commanded the prætorian guards; a man at all times fluctuating between good and evil, and ready for any mischief. Narcissus, seconded by his friends and associates, spoke his mind in terms plain and direct. He told the emperor that all was lost, if the command of the camp were not, for that day, vested in one of his freedmen. He offered himself for that important office; and lest Claudius on the road to Rome should be induced, by the influence of Lucius Vitellius and Publius Largus Cæcina, to alter his resolution, he desired to be conveyed in the same carriage with the prince. He mounted the vehicle, and took his place without further ceremony.

XXXIV. Claudius, as he proceeded towards the city, felt himself distracted by contending passions. He inveighed against his wife; he softened into tenderness, and felt for his children. During all that agitation of mind, Vitellius, we are told, contented himself with saying, "The vile iniquity! The infamous crime!" Narcissus pressed him to be more explicit; but his answers were in the oracular style, dark, ambiguous, and liable to be interpreted various ways. Cæcina followed his example. It was not long before Messalina appeared in sight. Her supplications were loud and vehement. "Hear your unhappy wife," she said, "hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus." To prevent any impression of tenderness, the accuser raised his voice: he talked of Silius, and the wickedness of the marriage; he produced a memorial, containing a full account of the whole proceeding, and, to draw the emperor's eyes from Messalina, gave him the papers to read. As they entered Rome, Octavia and Britannicus presented themselves before the prince; but, by order of Narcissus, they were both removed. Vibidia claimed to be heard; in a pathetic tone she remonstrated, that to condemn his wife unheard, would be unjust, and shocking to humanity. She received for answer, that Messalina would have her opportunity to make her defence; in the mean time, it became a vestal virgin to retire to the functions of her sacred office.

XXXV. The silence of Claudius, during the whole of this scene, was beheld with astonishment. Vitellius looked aghast, affecting to understand nothing. All directions were given by the freedman. He ordered the adulterer's house to be thrown open, and proceeded thither with the emperor. He showed him in the vestibule the statue of Silius the father, which the senate had ordered to be destroyed; he pointed to the splendid ornaments, formerly the property of the Neros and the Drusi, now in the possession of the adulterer; the reward of his profligacy. Claudius was fired with indignation. Before he had time to cool, and while, with violent menaces, he was denouncing vengeance, Narcissus took advantage of the moment, and conducted him to the camp. The soldiers were assembled in a body to receive him. Claudius, by the advice of his ministers, delivered a short harangue. On the subject of his disgrace it was impossible to expatiate; shame suppressed his voice. The camp resounded with rage and clamour. The soldiers called aloud for the names of the guilty, threatening immediate vengeance. Silius was brought before the tribunal. He attempted no defence; he asked for no delay; instant death was all he desired. Several Roman knights followed his example, with equal firmness wishing to end their misery. In the number were Titius Proculus, whom Silius had appointed to guard Messalina; Vectius Valens, who confessed his guilt, and offered to give evidence against others; Pompeius Urbicus, and Saufellus Trogus: by the emperor's order they were hurried to instant execution. The same fate attended Decius Calpurnianus, præfect of the night-watch; Sulpicius Rufus, director of the public games; and Juncus Virgilianus, a member of the senate.

XXXVI. Mnester was the only person, in whose favour Claudius was held in suspense. This man, in agony, tore his garments, and "Behold," he said, "behold a body seamed with stripes. Remember your own words, Cæsar, the words, in which you gave me strict directions to obey the will and pleasure of Messalina. The rest acted for their reward; they had bright objects in view. If I have erred, I erred through necessity, not by inclination. Had Silius seized the reins of government, I should have been the first victim to his fury." Claudius hesitated: touched with compassion, he was on the point of granting the wretch his pardon: but after executing so many persons of illustrious rank, his freedmen told him, that the life of a minstrel was of no value: whether the man offended from inclination, or compulsion, was not worth a moment's pause: his case deserved no favour. The defence made by Traulus Montanus, a Roman knight, availed him nothing. In the prime of youth, of ingenuous manners, and an elegant figure, he had the misfortune to be distinguished by Messalina. She invited him to her bed, and, after one night, dismissed him from her service. Such was the caprice that ruled all her passions: she loved with fury, and was soon disgusted. A pardon was granted to Suillius Cæsoninus and Plautius

Lateranus: the last, in consideration of the great merit of his uncle,[1] was saved from execution. Cæsoninus was protected by his vices. In that lewd society, with whom he had been lately connected, he had been obliged to suffer unnatural indignities; and that disgrace was deemed sufficient punishment.

XXXVII. Messalina remained, during this whole time, in the gardens of Lucullus. She still entertained hopes of prolonging her days. She began to write to the emperor in a style of supplication; her passions shifted, and she spoke the language of reproach: even in ruin, her pride was not abated. If Narcissus had not hastened the execution, there is no doubt but the blow, aimed at her, would have recoiled upon himself. Claudius, as soon as he returned to his palace, placed himself at his convivial table. Being refreshed, and in a short time warm with wine, he gave orders that a messenger should be sent to tell the unhappy woman (those were his words), that on the next day she should be admitted to make her defence. Narcissus took the alarm: he saw the resentments of his master ebbing fast away, and his former fondness flowing in upon him. Delay was big with danger. The night, then coming on apace, might produce a change of sentiment; and his very bed-chamber, the scene of all his happiness, might melt him into tenderness and conjugal affection. Filled with these apprehensions, the freedman rushed out of the banqueting-room, and, in the emperor's name, gave orders to the centurions, and the tribune on duty, to do immediate execution on Messalina. Evodus, one of the freedmen, was sent to superintend the execution. This man made the best of his way to the gardens. He found the empress stretched on the ground, and Lepida, her mother, sitting by her. While Messalina flourished in prosperity, the mother kept no terms with her daughter. In her present distress, she felt the regret and anguish of a parent. "Death," she told the unhappy criminal, "was her only refuge. To linger for the stroke of the executioner were unworthy and ignoble. Life with her was over: she was in the last act, and nothing remained but to close the scene with dignity and a becoming spirit." But in a mind, like that of Messalina, depraved by vicious passions, every virtue was extinguished. She sunk under her afflictions, overwhelmed with grief, dissolved in tears, and uttering vain complaints, when the garden-gate was thrown open. The tribune presented himself in sullen silence. Evodus, the freedman, discharged a torrent of opprobrious language, with all the malice of a servile spirit.

XXXVIII. Messalina was now, for the first time, sensible of her condition. She saw that all was lost; she received a poniard; she aimed it with a feeble effort at her throat; she pointed it to her breast, irresolute, and clinging still to life. The tribune despatched her at one blow. Her body was left to be disposed of by her mother. The emperor, in the meantime, had not risen from table. He was told that Messalina was no more; but whether she died by her own hand, or that of the executioner, was not mentioned, nor did it occur to him to ask the question. He called for wine, and pampered himself, as usual, with the luxuries of the table. On the following days he appeared unmoved, unaltered, without a symptom of anger, joy, or grief, or any one sensation of the human heart. Even amidst the exultations of Messalina's enemies, and the cries of her children lamenting their unhappy mother, he remained sunk in stupid apathy. In order to blot her altogether from his memory, the senate decreed, that her name should be effaced in all places, whether public or private, and that her images should be every where taken down. The ensigns of the quæstorian dignity were voted to Narcissus; a slender recompense, when it is considered, that, though second in rank to Pallas and Callistus, he was the chief adviser in the whole proceeding against Messalina. The punishment inflicted, by his means, was undoubtedly just; but it proved the source of numberless crimes, and a long train of public calamity.[2]

1 Lateranus was nephew to Aulus Plautius, the famous general who commanded in Britain, A. U. C. 796, and subdued the southern part of the island. See the Life of Agricola, s. 14; and s. 17, note.

2 Claudius contracted an incestuous marriage with the daughter of his brother Germanicus: Agrippina destroyed the emperor's son Britannicus, and afterwards despatched Claudius himself, to open the road to empire for her son Nero, who, it is well known, was guilty of parricide: and Narcissus, the favourite freedman, ended his days in a dungeon. Annals, book xiii. s. 1.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

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These transactions passed in six years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
802	49	Pomponius Longinus Gallus, Quintus Veranius.
803	50	Caius Antistius Vetus, M. Suillius Nervillianus.
804	51	Claudius, 5th time, S. Cornelius Orphitus.
805	52	P. Cornelius Sylla Faustus, L. Salvius Otho Titianus.
806	53	Decimus Junius Silanus, Q. Haterius Antoninus.
807	54	Marcus Asinius Marcellus, Manius Acilius Aviola.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XII.

I. The death of Messalina threw the imperial family into a state of distraction. The freedmen were divided into contending factions. The emperor disliked a life of celibacy, and the uxorious disposition of his nature made him liable to be governed by the partner of his bed. Which of the favourites should make the fortune of a future empress, was the point in dispute. Nor was female ambition less excited. Several candidates aspired to the vacant throne, all depending on pretensions, that gave to each a decided title; such as nobility of birth, superior beauty, immoderate riches, and, in short, every claim to that great elevation. The contest, however, lay between Lollia Paulina, the daughter of Marcus Lollius the consul, and Agrippina, the immediate issue of Germanicus. Pallas espoused the interest of Agrippina, and Lollia was supported by Callistus. There was still a third rival, namely, Ælia Petina, descended from the family of the Tuberos. Narcissus declared in her favour. By the jarring counsels of the three favourites, Claudius was distracted in his choice; by turns inclined to each, persuaded always by the last, yet determined by none. At length, to weigh their different propositions, and the reasonings in support of them, he called his confidential ministers to an audience.

II. Narcissus urged in favour of Ælia Petina,[1] that she was formerly the wife of Claudius, and by him was the mother of Antonia. By joining her again in the bands of wedlock, no alteration would be made in the imperial family. A person, with whom the prince had already experienced the tenderest union, would be re-instated; and, since Octavia and Britannicus were so nearly allied to her daughter, she would embrace them both with sincere affection, free from the little jealousies of a stepmother. Callistus, on the contrary, was of opinion, that a woman, disgraced by a long divorce, and suddenly restored to favour, would bring with her the pride and arrogance of an actual conquest; but to Lollia no objection could be made: she had never been a mother, and, by consequence, her affections, not already engaged, would be reserved for the issue of the prince. Her whole stock of tenderness would be engrossed by Octavia and Britannicus. Pallas contended for Agrippina: by a match with her, the grandson of Germanicus would be transplanted into the imperial family, and that union would be an accession of strength to the Claudian line. Agrippina was still in the prime of life, of a constitution that promised a numerous issue; and to suffer a woman of her rank and dignity to carry the splendour of the Cæsarean line into another family, would be a measure highly impolitic.

III. This reasoning weighed with Claudius, and the beauty of Agrippina added force to the argument. She had, besides, the art of displaying her charms to the best advantage. The ties of consanguinity gave her free access to her uncle. She made use of her opportunities, and, in a short time, secured her conquest. Without waiting for the marriage-rites, she was able to anticipate the splendour and authority of imperial grandeur. Sure of her triumph over her rival, she enlarged her views, and by a projected match between Domitius[2] her son by Cneius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the emperor's daughter, began to plan the elevation of her family. The scene before her flattered her ambition, but without a stroke of iniquity could not be realized. The fact was, Octavia, with the consent

1 Suetonius gives an account of the wives of Claudius in regular succession. His first wife was Plautia Urgulanilla. Being in a short time divorced from her, he married Ælia Petina, descended from a father of consular rank: by her he had a daughter named Antonia; for whom see the Genealogical Table, No. 105. For Ælia Petina, see No. 104. Claudius was divorced from his second wife. He then married Messalina, and by her had a daughter, Octavia, and a son named Britannicus. Lollia Paulina, who aspired on the present occasion to the imperial bed, had been married to Caligula, and was soon divorced. See, for her, the Genealogical Table, No. 99. Agrippina, the successful candidate, was the daughter of Germanicus, the brother of Claudius. For her, see the Genealogical Table, No. 93; and for the whole transaction as here related by Tacitus, see Suet. in Claud. s. 26.

2 Domitius, the son of Agrippina, was afterwards Nero the emperor. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

of Claudius, was contracted to Lucius Silanus, a youth of noble descent, by triumphal honours rendered still more illustrious, and by a spectacle of gladiators, given in his name, endeared to the people. But to a woman of high ambition and a politic character it was not difficult to mould to her purposes a man like Claudius, void of sentiment, without a passion, and without a motive, except what was infused by the suggestion of others.

IV. Vitellius saw the tide running with a rapid current in favour of Agrippina. He resolved to ingratiate himself without delay. His office of censor gave him the power of executing the vilest purposes, and, at the same time, served as a veil to hide his iniquity. He made advances to Agrippina, and entered into all her measures. His first step was to frame an accusation against Silanus, whose sister, Junia Calvina, in her person elegant, but of a loose and lascivious character, had been, not long before, the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. He accused them both of an incestuous commerce. The charge, in truth, was without foundation; but the folly of a brother and sister, who were so unguarded as to give to natural affection an air of criminality, afforded colour for the imputation. Claudius listened to the story. Inclined to protect his daughter, he was easily incensed against an intended husband, who had shown himself capable of so foul a crime. Silanus was, at that time, prætor for the year. He little suspected the treacherous arts, by which his character and his fortune were undermined. By an unexpected edict, issued by Vitellius, he was expelled the senate, though that assembly had been lately reviewed and registered by the censor. Claudius declared the marriage-contract void; he renounced all ties of affinity with Silanus, and obliged him to abdicate the prætorship, though but a single day remained to complete the year. For that short interval, Eprius Marcellus was appointed to fill the vacant office.

V. In the consulship of Caius Pomponius Longinus and Quintus Veranius, [A. U. C. 802. A. D. 49.] the fond endearments, that passed between the emperor and his niece, left no room to doubt but their criminal loves, most probably indulged already, would soon be followed by the nuptial ceremony. But the marriage of an uncle with his brother's daughter, was, at that time, without a precedent. If they avowed an incestuous marriage, the popular hatred might be inflamed against them, and some public calamity might befall the city of Rome. Claudius was held in suspense. Vitellius undertook to remove every scruple. He desired to know whether the emperor would make the sense of the people, and the authority of the senate, the rule of his conduct. Claudius replied, that he was one of the people, an individual too weak to resist the public voice. Vitellius desired that he would remain in his palace, and went directly to the senate. He began with assuring the fathers that he came on business of the first importance, and, having obtained leave to speak out of his turn, he proceeded as follows: "The office of supreme magistrate is at best a state of painful solicitude. The cares of a prince, who superintends the government of the world, requires domestic comfort to sweeten anxiety, and leave him at leisure to think for the good of the whole. And where can he find a comfort so fit, so honourable, so consistent with his dignity, as in the arms of a wife, his partner in prosperity, and in affliction the balm of all his cares? With a faithful associate, he may unload his inmost thoughts; to her he may commit the management of his children; and, in that tender union, unseduced by pleasure, undebauched by riot and luxury, he may continue to show that reverence for the laws, which distinguished the character of Claudius from his earliest youth."

VI. After this artful introduction, finding that he was heard by the fathers with manifest symptoms of a complying spirit, he resumed his discourse. "Since it seems to be the prevailing opinion, that, to alleviate the cares of the emperor, an imperial consort is absolutely necessary, nothing remains but to recommend the choice of a person, distinguished by her illustrious birth, a fruitful womb, and the purity of her morals. This point may be soon decided. Agrippina must, of course, present herself to every mind. Descended from a noble stock, she is the mother of children, and possesses, besides, all the virtues and all the graces of her sex. Nor is this all: by the special care of the gods, a prince, who has known no lawless pleasures, who has sought the modest enjoyments of connubial love, has now an opportunity of taking a widow to his arms, without injury to any private citizen, and without violating the rights of the marriage-bed. By former emperors wives have been taken from the embraces of their husbands: we have heard it from our fathers; we have been eye-witnesses of the fact. But these acts of violence are now at an end. A precedent may be established to regulate the conduct of all future emperors. But it may be said, a marriage between the uncle and his niece is unknown to Roman manners. To this the answer is obvious: it is the practice of foreign nations, and no law forbids it. By the rule of ancient times, cousin-germans were restrained from marrying; but the change of manners has introduced a different custom. Such marriages are now grown familiar. Public convenience is the parent of all civil institutions: the marriage, which to-day seems an innovation, in future times will be the general practice."

VII. This speech was received with the general assent. Many of the fathers rushed out of the house, declaring aloud, that if the emperor hesitated, they knew how to enforce compliance. The populace at the door echoed back the voice

of the senate, and, with violent uproar, called it the wish of the people. Claudius delayed no longer: he showed himself in the forum, amidst shouts and acclamations. He proceeded to the senate, and there desired that a decree might pass, declaring marriages between the uncle and his niece legal for the future. The law was enacted, but little relished. Titus Alledius Severus, a Roman knight, was the only person willing to embrace such an alliance. He married his niece, but, as was generally believed, with a design to pay his court to Agrippina. From this time a new scene of affairs was opened. The government of a woman prevailed; but it was no longer a woman of loose and dissolute manners like Messalina, who meant to mock the people with a reign of lewdness and debauchery. Agrippina established a despotic system, and maintained it with the vigour of a manly spirit: in her public conduct rigorous, and often arrogant, she suffered no irregularity in her domestic management. Vice, when subservient to her schemes of ambition, might be the means, but never was her ruling passion. Her avarice knew no bounds: but the support of government was her pretext.

VIII. On the day of the nuptial ceremony Silanus put an end to his life. Till that time he had nourished delusive hopes; or, it might be his intention to mark the day by a deed of horror. His sister Calvina was banished out of Italy. Claudius, to atone for her offence, revived the ancient law of Tullus, the Roman king, and ordered a sacrifice and expiations by the pontiffs to be made in the grove of Diana. This provoked the public ridicule. It was observed that the time for inflicting penalties, and performing solemn rites, was chosen with notable judgment, when adultery was by law established. Agrippina was not willing to be distinguished by evil deeds alone: in order to grace her character, she interceded for Annæus Seneca, who had been driven into banishment; and not only restored him to his country, but obtained for him the prætorian rank. The learning and brilliant genius of that philosopher, she had no doubt, would render the measure acceptable to the people; and, from the education of her son Domitius under such a master, she promised herself great advantages. She had still a deeper scheme in view; by the wisdom and advice of Seneca, she hoped to make the road to empire smooth and level for her son. Motives of gratitude would have their influence on the mind of that eminent man, and fix him in her interest, a faithful counsellor, and her friend by sentiment; while a sense of former injuries would make him the secret enemy of Claudius.

IX. Having conceived this plan of ambition, she thought her measures could not be too soon concerted. She contrived, by large and generous promises, to gain over to her purposes Memmius Pollio, at that time consul elect. He moved in the senate an address to the emperor, requesting his consent to a contract of marriage between Domitius and Octavia. The match was suited to the age of the parties. Agrippina intended it as a prelude to greater scenes, not yet disclosed. The speech of Pollio to the fathers was little more than a repetition of what had been urged by Vitellius. The motion succeeded. Octavia was promised to Domitius, and, by this additional tie, the young prince was raised to higher splendour. He was now considered as the son-in-law of the emperor. Supported by the intrigues of his mother, and not less by the enemies of Messalina, who dreaded the vengeance of her son, he began to vie with Britannicus, and even to dispute with him the point of precedence.

X. The deputies from Parthia, sent, as has been related, to demand Meherdates for their king, were admitted to an audience before the senate. They opened their commission in the following manner: "The alliance between Rome and Parthia, and the subsisting treaties, are fully known to us; nor is it a spirit of disaffection to the family of the Arsacides that brings us to this assembly. We seek the son of Vonones, the grandson of Phraates. In the present crisis, he is our only refuge, our shield and best protection from the tyranny of Gotarzes, who is justly execrated by the whole Parthian nation. His reign is marked with blood. His brothers were the first victims to his fury. His kindred have been since cut off. No place is safe from devastation: neither age nor sex is spared; parents and their children perish in one general massacre, and infants yet unborn are butchered in the mother's womb. Such are the exploits of Gotarzes; in peace a tyrant, and in war disastrous to his country. Cruelty, he hopes, will seem in the eyes of men a warlike spirit. The treaties subsisting between Rome and Parthia are of ancient date: they have been the basis of a lasting friendship; and to prove that friendship sincere, the fathers have now a fair opportunity. It is theirs to vindicate the rights of a nation, which, though not inferior in point of strength and numbers, yields to Rome from motives of respect. For this reason the sons of Parthian kings have been delivered up as hostages. The principle of that acquiescence is, that if domestic tyranny should prove a galling yoke, the people may have recourse to the emperor and the senate. They now claim, at your hands, a king trained up in Roman manners, and, by consequence, likely to bring with him to his native country the best notions of civil government."

XI. Claudius answered the ambassadors in a style of magnificence. He set forth the grandeur of the Roman name, and the deference due from the Parthian nation. He placed himself on a level with Augustus, who, in like manner, had received the applications of a whole people;

but he made no mention of Tiberius,[1] though that emperor had dealt out sceptres, and placed foreign kings on the throne of Parthia. After this brilliant harangue, he turned to Meherdates, then present in the senate, and in a serious strain admonished him to remember that he was going forth, not the lord of slaves, but the governor of men; not the tyrant, but the chief magistrate of his fellow-citizens. He advised him to practise the virtues of justice and moderation; virtues, he said, unknown to savage life, but for that reason more likely to charm by their novelty. From the prince he turned to the Parthian ambassadors, and, in handsome terms, commended to their care the pupil of Rome; a young prince of ingenuous manners, and no stranger to the liberal arts. He added, that the Parthians would do well to temporise with the genius of their kings, and to overlook the failings of human nature. Frequent revolutions could give no solid advantage. Rome was at the highest point of grandeur. Enough of glory had been gained by the progress of her arms; she therefore put a period to her victories, and the tranquillity of foreign nations was now the object of her care. Meherdates was committed to the Parthian deputies; and Caius Cassius, the governor of Syria, had it in command to conduct him to the banks of the Euphrates.

XII. Cassius, at that period, was the most eminent man of the age for his profound knowledge of the laws. In times of peace, the military science falls into neglect. Between the warlike genius and the inactive sluggard no distinction remains. And yet the ardent mind of Cassius could not languish in a state of stupid indolence. Though there was no war upon his hands to rouse the spirit of the legions, he resolved, by every method in his power, to maintain the rigour of ancient discipline. He kept the soldiers in constant exercise; he established new regulations, and practised every duty with as much zeal as if the enemy were actually in arms against him. This severity, he thought, became a man who had before his eyes the bright example of his ancestors, and, above all, the fame of the celebrated Cassius, which was diffused through all the eastern nations. Having pitched his camp near Zeugma, a city where the passage over the Euphrates is most practicable, he waited for the convention of the Parthian chiefs who had made their application to Rome. As soon as they arrived, and with them Abgarus, king of the Arabs,[2] he delivered Meherdates into their hands, having previously reminded the prince, that among Barbarians the first impulse of their zeal is violent, but apt to relax, and end in treachery. His interest, therefore, called for vigorous measures. By the artifice of Abgarus that advice was rendered abortive. The prince, as yet without experience, suspecting no deceit, and weak enough to think that royalty consists in luxury and riot, was seduced to the city of Edessa, and there detained several days, the dupe of the wily Arabian. Carrhenes, in the meantime, pressed Meherdates to advance with expedition. By his messengers he promised certain success, if no time was lost in frivolous delay. All was ineffectual. Though Mesopotamia was at hand, they never entered that country, but taking a wider circuit, marched toward Armenia, where the rigour of the winter was already begun.

XIII. After a toilsome march over craggy mountains covered with a waste of snow, they descended at last into the open country. Carrhenes joined them at the head of his forces. Thus reinforced, the army passed over the Tigris, and penetrated into the country of the Adiabenians.[3] Izates, king of that people, in outward show favoured Meherdates, but in his heart inclined to Gotarzes. In the course of their march, they made themselves masters of the city of Ninos,[4] formerly the seat of the Assyrian monarchy. They also took the castle of Arbela, memorable in story for the last battle between Darius and Alexander, by which the fate of the Persian monarchy was decided. Gotarzes, in the meantime, took post on the heights of mount Sambulos.[5] He there offered up a sacrifice to the deities of the place, and chiefly to Hercules, the leading god. At stated periods, according to an ancient legend, Hercules inspired the dreams of the priests, and, in a vision, gave his orders, "That a set of horses, ready for the chase, should be stationed near the temple. The hunters, accordingly, are drawn out, well equipped with quivers and a store of arrows." Thus caparisoned, they stretch at full speed through the woods, and, at the close of day, return to the temple without an arrow left, weary, and panting for breath. The god appears again, in a midnight vision, to tell the priests the tracts of the forest where he pursued his game. After this information, diligent search is made, and a large quantity of game, killed in the chase, is found in the woods.

XIV. Gotarzes had not as yet assembled all his forces, and the issue of a battle was what he wished to avoid. The river Corma served to cover him from the assaults of the enemy. He there stood at bay, devising various delays, encamping, and shifting his ground; and though provoked by various insults, and even by mes-

1 Tiberius had given two kings to the Parthians, viz. Phraates and Tiridates. Annals, book vi. s. 31 and 32.

2 For the Arabs, see the Geographical Table.

3 A people who inhabited a part of Mesopotamia. See the Geographical Table.

4 Ninos, formerly the celebrated city of *Ninave*, the capital of Assyria. See the Geographical Table.

5 This mountain, and the river *Corma*, are mentioned by Tacitus only.

sengers challenged to the conflict, he contrived, notwithstanding, to protract the war, while his agents were busy in the adverse camp, by gifts and promises, seducing the friends of Meherdates. Izates, king of the Adiabenians, was the first to withdraw with all his forces. Abgarus, the Arabian, followed his example, both displaying the fickle disposition and the venality of Barbarians. To sue for kings at the hands of Rome was their frequent custom; but experience shows that they petitioned only to betray. Weakened by desertion, and suspecting further treachery, Meherdates resolved to try the issue of a battle. Nor was Gotarzes disposed to decline the conflict. A fierce engagement followed, with great slaughter on both sides. The victory was long held in suspense, till Carrhenes, having broke the enemy's lines, pursued his advantage with too much ardour. He was attacked in the rear by a body of reserve, and hemmed in on every side. Meherdates saw nothing but impending ruin. In his distress he trusted to the advice of Parrhaces, one of his father's freedmen. By that traitor he was thrown into fetters, and delivered up to the conqueror. Gotarzes behaved with the pride and insolence of victory. He reviled his captive as a stranger to the blood of the Arsacides, a man of foreign extraction, and a slave to Rome. He ordered his ears to be cut off, and left him, in that condition, a wretched proof of Parthian clemency, and a living disgrace to the Romans. Gotarzes was soon after carried off by a fit of illness. Vonones, at that time governor of Media, mounted the vacant throne. Of this prince, either in his distresses or his prosperity, nothing remains worthy of a place in history. After a short and inglorious reign, he left the Parthian diadem to his son Vologeses.

XV. During these transactions, a new alarm was raised by Mithridates,[6] king of Bosphorus, who had been lately driven out of his dominions. He continued, ever since his expulsion, wandering from place to place, forlorn and helpless. He learned, at length, that Didius, the Roman general, retired with the flower of his army, leaving the kingdom of Thrace in the hands of Cotys, a prince without experience, scarcely settled on the throne, and depending on the slender support of a few cohorts, under the command of Julius Aquila, a Roman knight. The news inspired Mithridates with sudden courage. He roused the neighbouring nations, drew together a body of deserters, and, putting himself at the head of his tumultuary levies, fell with impetuous fury on the king of the Dandaridæ,[7] and made himself master of his dominions. The invasion of Bosphorus was expected to be his next attempt. Cotys and Aquila did not think themselves in force to resist the attack; and Zorsines, king of the Siracians,[8] commencing hostilities in that critical juncture, added greatly to their fears. In this distress, they looked round to the neighbouring states for assistance, and by their ambassadors invited Eunones, king of the Aorsians, to join the Roman arms. In a war between a powerful nation and a ruined dismantled king, it was not difficult to form a new confederacy. The plan of their operations was soon settled. Eunones was to ravage the open country with his cavalry. The Romans undertook to lay siege to the towns and places of strength.

XVI. The combined forces took the field. On their march the Aorsians[9] led the van, and also brought up the rear. The centre consisted of the cohorts and the succours collected in Bosphorus, armed after the Roman manner. The enemy not daring to look them in the face, they marched, without opposition, to the town of Soza,[10] in the country of the Dandaridæ. Finding the place abandoned by Mithridates, they took possession, and to guard against the treachery of the inhabitants, left it strongly garrisoned. They penetrated next into the country of the Siracians, and, having crossed the river Panda,[11] invested the city of Uspes, situated on an eminence, and defended by walls and a fosse. The walls, indeed, not being constructed with stone, but with earth thrown up and bound with hurdles, could not long resist the operations of a siege. Towers of considerable height were advanced against the works, and from that elevation darts and flaming brands were thrown into the town with such incessant fury, that, if the approach of night had not prevented a general assault, the siege had been begun and ended in a single day.

XVII. The besieged, next morning, sent a deputation with offers of an immediate surrender, and no less than ten thousand slaves, on condition that the free-born should remain unhurt. The terms were rejected. After a capitulation, to put the inhabitants to the sword would be an act of inhumanity, and a violation of all the laws of war. On the other hand, to bridle such a number, an adequate force could not be spared from a scanty army. The besiegers,

6 Mithridates mentioned in this place was descended from the great Mithridates, who waged the long war with the Romans, called the Mithridatic War. Claudius, in a distribution of kingdoms among the princes bordering on the Euxine, made the descendant of Mithridates king of Bosphorus.

7 The Dandaridæ inhabited a tract of country on the Euxine shore. See the Geographical Table.

8 A people near the Palus Mæotis. See the Geographical Table.

9 The Aorsians were mentioned in the former section. See the Geographical Table.

10 For Soza see the Geographical Table.

11 Panda, a river not well known at present.

therefore, returned for answer, that every thing must be left to the decision of the sword. The soldiers scaled the walls, and the signal was given for a general slaughter. The city was levelled to the ground. The adjacent nations saw that neither arms, nor lines of circumvallation, nor places almost inaccessible, defended by nature and by rapid rivers, could withstand the vigour of the Roman arms. In this general consternation, Zorsines, the Siracian king, began to waver. He now considered whether it was best to adhere to Mithridates, or to provide in time for the security of his own dominions. Self-interest prevailed. He gave hostages, and humbled himself before the image of Claudius. Nothing could be more honourable to the Roman army. Victorious without the loss of blood, they traversed a vast tract of country, and were within three days of the Tanais.[1] Their return was not so prosperous. They went back by sea, and some of the ships were thrown by adverse winds on the coast of Taurus.[2] The Barbarians poured down to the shore, and with savage fury murdered a considerable number, with the præfect of a cohort, and most of the centurions.

XVIII. Meanwhile Mithridates, undone and hopeless, began to consider where he might implore compassion. His brother Cotys had at first betrayed him, and then became an open enemy: on him no reliance could be had. If he surrendered to the Romans, there was not in the territory of Bosphorus any one officer of weight and authority to ensure the performance of his promises. In this distress, the unhappy monarch turned his thoughts to Eunones. That prince had no motive for personal animosity, and his late alliance with Rome gave him no small degree of influence. Mithridates resolved to apply at that court. With a dejected mien, and a garb that spoke his wretchedness, he entered the palace, and falling prostrate at the feet of the king, "Behold," he said, "behold the man, who for years has grappled with the whole power of Rome. Mithridates humbles himself before you; the persecuted Mithridates, whom the Romans have pursued by sea and land. My fate is in your hands; use your discretion: treat, as you shall think best, a prince descended from the great Achæmenes.[3] The honour of that high lineage is all my enemies have left me."

XIX. The appearance of a man so distinguished, the turns of fortune that attended him, and, even in ruin, the affliction that softened, but could not subdue his spirit, touched Eunones with generous sympathy. He raised the royal suppliant from the ground. He praised the magnanimity with which he threw himself into the power of the Aorsian nation, and, with pleasure, undertook to be mediator between Rome and the unfortunate monarch. He despatched messengers to Claudius with letters to the following effect: "In all treaties between the Roman people and foreign nations, similitude of fortune was the basis of their alliance. The present union between Claudius and the Aorsians was founded on a participation of victory; and victory is then most honourable when mercy spares the vanquished. Of this truth Zorsines is a recent instance. He still retains his former possessions. But equal terms could not be expected in the case of Mithridates. His offence was of a more grievous nature. To restore him to his throne and kingdom is not the object of this application. Spare his life, and let him not walk in fetters, a public spectacle to grace the victor's triumph."

XX. Claudius was, at all times, disposed to act with moderation towards the nobility of foreign nations. In the present conjuncture, he doubted which were most expedient, to receive the royal prisoner under a promise of pardon, or to take him by force of arms. Resentment and the love of revenge were strong incentives; but still there were reasons of policy in the opposite scale. "A war must be commenced in a distant region, where the roads were difficult, and the sea had neither harbours nor stations for shipping; where the struggle would be with fierce and warlike kings, and a people by their wandering life inured to fatigue; where the soil was unproductive, and an army, of course, would be distressed for provisions. Campaigns drawn out into length would dispirit the soldiers; sudden operations might be attended with hazard; from victory no glory could redound to the Roman name, and to be defeated were indelible disgrace." For these reasons, it was judged advisable to accept the proffered terms. Mithridates, in that case, would remain a wandering exile, poor, distressed, and wretched. To protract his days were to protract his misery. Claudius returned an answer to Eunones: "Mithridates," he observed, "had merited the utmost rigour, and the vengeance of Rome was able to reach him. But to subdue the proud, and spare the suppliant, had ever been a Roman virtue. It was by curbing the pride of kings, and by conquering an entire people, that Rome acquired renown in arms. Then, and then only, she had reason to triumph."

XXI. In consequence of these despatches, Mithridates was delivered up to Julius Cilo, at that time imperial procurator of Pontus. He brought with him to Rome a mind unbroken by his misfortunes. In his language to Claudius he towered above his helpless condition. One

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 Taurus, a chain of mountains in Asia. See the Geographical Table.

3 Achæmenes was grandfather to Cambyses, and after him the Persian kings were called ACHÆMENIDÆ.

sentence that fell from him was celebrated at the time. "In me you see a man, not taken prisoner, but willing to surrender: I came of my own accord; if you doubt the fact, set me at liberty, and retake me if you are able." He was conducted under a guard to the rostrum, and there presented as a spectacle to the people. He stood unmoved, with his natural ferocity pictured in his countenance. Cilo and Aquila were rewarded for their services; the former with consular ornaments, and the latter with the ensigns of prætorian dignity.

XXII. During the same consulship, the hatred of Agrippina, deep and implacable, broke out with gathered rage against Lollia, who had been guilty of the crime of contending for the imperial bed. An accusation was soon contrived, and a prosecutor suborned. The substance of the charge was, "That in the late contest for the emperor's choice, Lollia held consultations with Chaldæan seers; that she employed magicians, and sent to consult the Clarian Apollo." She was condemned unheard. Claudius addressed the senate on the occasion. He mentioned the nobility of her birth; by the maternal line she was niece to Lucius Volusius, grand-niece to Cotta Messalinus, and formerly the wife of Memmius Regulus. He said nothing of her marriage with Caligula.[5] Having made that flourishing preface, he changed his tone, imputing to her dark designs against the state. To defeat her pernicious views, nothing remained but to confiscate her estates, and banish her out of Italy. The senate complied. Out of her immoderate wealth she was allowed to retain no more than five millions of sesterces. Calpurnia, another woman of high rank, was obnoxious to the resentments of Agrippina. It happened that Claudius, in accidental discourse, without a wish to enjoy her person, praised the elegance of her figure. This gave jealousy to the empress. She considered, however, that the mere crime of beauty did not deserve to be punished with death. She sent a tribune to Lollia, with orders to make her put an end to her days. Cadius Rufus, at the same time, was found guilty of extortion at the suit of the Bithynians.

XXIII. As a mark of favour to the province of Narbon Gaul, and to reward the veneration in which the authority of the senate had ever been held by the people of that country, it was settled by a decree, that such of the natives as were Roman senators should be at liberty, without a special license from the emperor, to visit their estates in their native province, with as full and ample privileges as had been granted to the Sicilian senators. Sohemus and Agrippa, kings of Ituræa[6] and Judæa, being both dead, their respective territories were annexed to the province of Syria. An order was also made, that the auguries, relating to the public safety, which had lain dormant for five and twenty years, should be revived, and never again be suffered to fall into disuse. The limits[7] of the city

5 Suetonius has given some particulars of the marriage of Caligula with Lollia Paulina. She was in a distant province with her husband Memmius Regulus, in whose consulship Sejanus met his fate. See Annals, v. in the Supplement, s. 32. Regulus, in the time of Caligula, had the command of the army in Syria. Lollia Paulina, his wife, accompanied him to his government. Caligula called her back to Rome, and married her; but was soon divorced. Suet. in Calig. s. 25. Pliny the elder describes, with indignation, the immense and almost incredible wealth, which she displayed in her dress, and the laboured ornaments of her person at the banquet after the marriage ceremony. He says, he saw her sinking under the load of diamonds that encumbered her robe, and sparkled in her hair, her ears, on her neck, her arms and fingers. This profusion of riches was not the gift of a prodigal emperor; but the spoil of plundered provinces, acquired by her grandfather Marcus Lollius, while he commanded the Roman legions in the east. The emperor of Rome exhibited the plunder he had gained by proscriptions and the murder of Roman citizens; and a woman displayed more magnificence than ever entered into the imagination of the Curii and Fabricii. Pliny, lib. ix. 35.

6 Agrippa was the descendant of Herod the Great, who was made king of Judæa by a decree of the senate A. U. C. 714, and died in the year 750, about four years before the Christian era. Agrippa, his grandson, was thrown into prison by Tiberius, and restored to his kingdom by Caligula. He died A. U. C. 797. Sohemus, mentioned in the text, was descended from Sohemus king of Ituræa, who was murdered by Herod, A. U. C. 726. See Josephus; and for Ituræa, see the Geographical Table.

7 The precinct of the city of Rome was called the Pomærium, as the antiquarians say, from *ponere mœnia*. The Romans had not the *new lights* that teach the legislators of France to make *Atheism* the foundation of their wild democracy. After a beginning so truly impious and detestable, no wonder that we see no rule of justice, no moral rectitude, no order in their legislative assembly, and no power in their executive council to enforce obedience to the laws. They have established civil and religious anarchy: rapine, murder, and every crime that shocks humanity, have been the consequence. The Romans had the good sense to set out with other principles. Even in that dark age they had an idea of a superintending Providence, and referred every thing to the immortal gods. The very walls of Rome were consecrated to tutelar deities, and accordingly considered as sacred. The vacant space on both sides of the wall was holy ground; *quod neque habitari, neque arari fas erat.* As the city increased, the same religious ceremony was observed. *In urbis incremento semper, quantum mœnia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.* Livy, lib. i. s. 44. To enlarge the precinct of Rome was called *Jus proferendi pomærii;* but that right was of such consequence, that it was allowed to none but those who extended the boundaries of the empire. After the inclosure of the seven hills by the kings of Rome, *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces,* Sylla, the dictator, was the first who had the honour of widening the Pomærium, A. U. C. 674. Seneca de Brevit. Vitæ, cap. xiv. Julius Cæsar, after all his victories, claimed the same right, A. U. C. 710; and Augustus followed his example, A. U. C. 746. Dio, lib. xliii. The

were enlarged by Claudius. The right of directing that business was, by ancient usage, vested in all such as extended the boundaries of the empire. The right, however, had not been exercised by any of the Roman commanders (Sylla and Augustus excepted), though remote and powerful nations had been subdued by their victorious arms.

XXIV. What was done in early times by the ambition or the public virtue of the Roman kings, cannot now be seen through the mist that hangs over distant ages. It may, however, be matter of some curiosity to mark out the foundation of the city, and the boundaries assigned by Romulus. The first outline began at the ox-market, where still is to be seen the brazen statue of a bull, that animal being commonly employed at the plough. From that place a furrow was carried on of sufficient dimensions to include the great altar of Hercules. By boundary-stones, fixed at proper distances, the circuit was continued along the foot of mount Palatine to the altar of CONSUS, extending thence to the old CURIÆ, next to the chapel of the LARES, and finally to the great Roman forum. The capitol, it is generally thought, was added not by Romulus, but by Titus Tatius. From that period the city grew with the growth of the empire. With regard to the enlargement made by Claudius, the curious may be easily satisfied, as the public records contain an exact description.

XXV. In the consulship of Caius Antistius and Marcus Suillius, [A. U. C. 803. A. D. 50.] the adoption of Domitius was hurried on by the credit and influence of Pallas. Connected with Agrippina, whom he had raised to imperial splendour, by ties of mutual interest, and still more so by the indulgence of criminal passions, this favourite advised his master to provide for the public safety, and, in aid to the tender years of Britannicus, to raise collateral branches in the Cæsarean line. For this measure Augustus had left a precedent. That emperor adopted the issue of his wife, though he had, in that very juncture, grandchildren to represent him. Tiberius copied the example, and to his own immediate offspring united Germanicus. It would therefore become the wisdom of Claudius to embrace as his own, a young man who would in time be able to relieve the sovereign, and lighten the cares of government. Convinced by this reasoning, Claudius gave the precedence to Domitius, though but two years older than his own son. On this subject he made a speech to the senate, content to be the organ of what his freedman had suggested. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that this was the first adoption into the Claudian family; an old patrician line, which, from the days of Attus Clausus,[1] had continued, without any mixture of foreign blood, in one regular course of descent.

XXVI. The senate passed a vote of thanks to the emperor; but in a style of exquisite flattery their court was chiefly paid to Domitius. A law was also enacted, by virtue of which the young prince, under the name of Nero, was naturalized into the Claudian family. Agrippina was dignified with the title of AUGUSTA. During these transactions, there was not a man so void of sentiment, as not to behold the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. His very slaves were taken from him. His step-mother interposed with officious civility. The young prince laughed at her kindness, aware of the underplot, which she was carrying on against him. Want of discernment was not among his faults. It has been said that he was by nature penetrating: that, perhaps, was his true character; or, it may be, that men were willing to give him credit for talents, without waiting to make the experiment.

XXVII. Agrippina had now the ambition to display her weight and influence to the eyes of foreign nations. To this end she caused a body of veterans to be sent to the capital city of the Ubians, the place of her nativity, to be established there as a colony, called after her own name.[2] When that people first passed over the Rhine, it happened that Agrippa, her grandfather, was the Roman general, who received them as the allies of Rome. In the present juncture, when the new colony was to be settled, a sudden alarm broke out in the Upper Germany, occasioned by an irruption of the Cattians,[3] who issued forth from their hive in quest of plunder. To check their progress, Lucius Pomponius despatched a body of auxiliary troops, composed of the Vangiones[4] and Neme-

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number of inhabitants, when Rome was in its flourishing state, Lipsius computes at four millions. Brotier has offered a more probable conjecture. He compares Paris and London with Rome; and his numbers, on a fair calculation, are:

Paris	640,000
London	768,000
Rome	1,188,000

Brotier proceeds in his estimate to the Chinese empire, where he reckons two hundred millions of inhabitants, whereas the number in Europe is computed at 130 millions. See Brotier's Tacitus, vol. ii. page 379, 4to edit.

1 Attus Clausus, called afterwards Appius Claudius, has been mentioned, book xi. s. 24, as the founder of the Claudian family. We are told the same by Virgil:

Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum
Agmen agens CLAUSUS, magnique ipse agminis instar;
Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
Per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
ÆNEID. vii. ver. 706.

2 For an account of the Ubians, originally a people of Germany, afterwards changed into a Roman colony, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 28, note.

3 See the Geographical Table.

4 See the Geographical Table.

teans, with a squadron of light horse, to make a forced march, and, if they could not attack the front line of the Barbarians, to fall upon the rear. The ardour of the soldiers was not inferior to the skill of the general. They formed two divisions: one marched to the left, and came up with the freebooters, who had been committing depredations, and lay sunk in sleep and wine. The victory was cheap, but enhanced by the joy with which the conquering soldiers released, at the end of forty years, some of the prisoners who were taken in the massacre of Varus and his legions.

XXVIII. The second division, which had marched to the right, and by a shorter road, met with greater success. The Barbarians ventured to give battle, and were defeated with prodigious slaughter. Elate with success, and loaded with spoils, the conquerors marched back to mount Taunus,[5] where Pomponius, at the head of his legions, lay in wait, expecting that the Cattians, prompted by a spirit of revenge, would return to the charge. But the Barbarians, dreading the Romans on one side, and on the other their constant enemies, the Cheruscans, sent a deputation to Rome, with hostages to secure a pacification. Triumphal honours were decreed to Pomponius; but military fame is the least part of the estimation in which he is held by posterity. He excelled in elegant composition, and the character of the general is now eclipsed by the genius of the poet.

XXIX. Vannius,[6] who had been formerly raised by Drusus to reign over the Suevians, was, about this time, driven from his kingdom. His reign, at first, was mild and popular; but the habit of commanding had corrupted his nature. Pride and arrogance had taken root in his heart. Domestic factions conspired against him, and the neighbouring nations declared open hostility. Vibillius, king of the Hermundurians, conducted the enterprise. He was joined by Vangio and Sido, the nephews of Vannius by a sister. In this quarrel Claudius was determined not to interfere. Though often pressed to take a decided part, he observed a strict neutrality, content with promising the Suevian king a safe retreat from the rage of his enemies. In his despatches to Publius Atellius Hister, who had the command in Pannonia, his orders were, that the legion and the troops of the province should be held in readiness on the banks of the Danube, to succour the vanquished, and repel the incursions of the Barbarians, if they attempted to invade the frontier. A powerful confederacy was then actually formed by the nations of Germany. The Ligians,[7] and other states, were up in arms, attracted by the fame of an opulent kingdom, which Vannius, during a space of thirty years, had made still richer by plunder and depredations. To make head against the forces combined against him was not in the power of the Suevian king. The natural strength of his kingdom consisted of infantry only: the Iazigians,[8] a people of Sarmatia, supplied him with a body of horse. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, Vannius felt his inferiority. He resolved to keep within the strong-holds and fastnesses of the country, and draw the war into a lingering length.

XXX. The Iazigians were not of a temper to endure the slow operations of a siege. They spread themselves, in their desultory manner, round the country, and by their rashness brought on a general engagement. The Ligians and Hermundurians fell in with their roving parties. Vannius was obliged to sally out to the assistance of his friends. He gave battle, and was totally overthrown. But the praise of valour could not be withheld from him. Covered with honourable wounds, he escaped to his fleet, which lay in the Danube. His partisans followed him, and, with a proper allotment of lands, were settled in Pannonia. The dominions of the deposed king were divided between his two nephews Vangio and Sido, both from that time, distinguished by their fidelity to Rome. In the beginning of their reign, they flourished in the affections of the people; honoured by all, while they struggled for power; when they obtained it, despised and hated. Their own misconduct was, perhaps, the cause; perhaps, the fickle temper of the people; or, it may be, that in the nature and genius of servitude, there is a tendency to innovation, always discontented, sullen, and unquiet.

XXXI. Publius Ostorius was appointed governor of Britain, in the character of proprætor. On his arrival he found the province in commotion. A new commander, with an army wholly unknown to him, the Barbarians imagined would not venture to open a winter campaign. Fierce with this idea, they made an irruption into the territory of the states in alliance with Rome, and carried devastation through the country. Ostorius, knowing how much depends on the first operations of war, put himself at the head of the light cohorts, and, by rapid marches, advanced against the enemy. The Britons were taken by surprise. All who resisted were put to the sword. The fugitives were pursued with prodigious slaughter. The rout was so com-

5 See the Geographical Table.

6 Maroboduus being expelled from his dominions, and, under an appearance of protection, detained as a state prisoner at Ravenna, Vannius was made king by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, A. U. C. 772. Annals, book ii. s. 62.

7 Ligians, a people of Germany. See the Geographical Table.

8 Iazyges, a people of Sarmatia. See the Geographical Table.

plete, that there was no reason to apprehend a junction of their forces; but peace on those terms, the general knew, would be no better than disguised hostility. The legions would still be subject to perpetual alarms from a fierce and insidious enemy. He therefore resolved to disarm all who were suspected, and, by extending a chain of forts between the Nen and the Severn,[1] to confine the malcontents between those two rivers. To counteract this design, the Icenians[2] took up arms, a brave and warlike people, who, at their own request, had lived in friendship with the Romans, and were, by consequence, unimpaired by the calamities of war. They formed a league with the adjacent states, and chose their ground for a decisive action. The place was inclosed with a rampart thrown up with sod, leaving an entrance in one part only, and that so difficult of access that the Roman cavalry would not be able to force their way. Ostorius resolved to storm the place. Though unsupported by the legions, he relied on the valour of the allied forces, and, having formed his disposition for the attack, ordered his cavalry to dismount and act with the foot soldiers. The signal being given, the assault began, and the rampart was carried by assault. The Britons, inclosed by their own fortifications, and pressed on every side, were thrown into the utmost confusion. Yet even in that distress, conscious of the guilt of rebellion, and seeing no way to escape, they fought to the last, and gave signal proofs of heroic bravery. In this engagement Marcus Ostorius, the general's son, saved the life of a Roman, and obtained the civic crown.

XXXII. The defeat of the Icenians drew after it important consequences. The neighbouring nations, no longer balancing between peace and war, laid down their arms. Ostorius led his army against the Cangians,[3] and laid waste their country. The soldiers carried off a considerable booty, the enemy never daring to make head against them. Wherever they attempted to annoy the army by sudden skirmishes, they paid for their rashness. The sea, that lies between Britain and Ireland, was within a short march, when Ostorius received intelligence of an insurrection among the Brigantes.[4] The news obliged him to return with expedition. Till every thing was secured in his rear, it was his maxim not to push on his conquests. The Brigantes were soon reduced to subjection. Such as resisted were cut to pieces, and a free pardon was granted to the rest. The Silures[5] were not so easily quelled: neither lenity nor rigorous measures could induce them to submit. To bridle the insolence of that warlike race, Ostorius judged it expedient to form a camp for the legions in the heart of their country. For this purpose, a colony, supported by a strong body of veterans, was stationed at Camelodunum,[6] on the lands conquered from the enemy. From this measure a twofold effect was expected: the garrison would be able to overawe the insurgents, and give to the allied states a specimen of law and civil policy.

XXXIII. These arrangements settled, Ostorius marched against the Silures. To their natural ferocity that people added the courage which they now derived from the presence of Caractacus.[7] Renowned for his valour, and for various turns of good and evil fortune, that heroic chief had spread his fame through the island. His knowledge of the country, and his skill in all the wiles and stratagems of savage warfare, gave him many advantages; but he could not hope with inferior numbers to make a stand against a well-disciplined army. He therefore marched into the territory of the Ordovicians.[8] Having there drawn to his standard all who considered peace with Rome as another name for slavery, he determined to try the issue of a battle. For this purpose he chose a spot[9] where the approach and the retreat were difficult

1 As Tacitus's account of the first six years of Claudius is lost, the invasion of Britain, under the command of Aulus Plautius, has not occurred either in this book, or that which precedes it. It is, therefore, proper to mention in this place, that, from the descent made by Julius Cæsar, A. U C. 699, and after him, Aulus Plautius was the first Roman general that landed in Britain, A. U. C. 796. Vespasian, afterwards emperor, served in that expedition. The southern parts of the island were reduced to subjection. Claudius visited his new conquest, and at his return, having enlarged the Roman empire, entered Rome in triumph. We now find that Ostorius Scapula succeeded to Aulus Plautius. The sequel will show the spirit of liberty that inspired the Britons, and the consummate ability with which the Roman general triumphed over a fierce and warlike people. For the several officers who commanded in Britain, from this time to the arrival of Agricola, A. U. C. 831, see the Life of Agricola, s. 17, note. For the river ANTONA, now the *Avon;* SABRINA, now the *Severn;* and AUFONA, now the *Nen;* see the Geographical Table. Camden is of opinion that ANTONA, the *Avon*, has found its way into the text by mistake, and that the true reading should be AUFONA, the *Nen*. See Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, 431. Camden's opinion has been followed in the translation.

2 The *Iceni* inhabited *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingdonshire*. See Life of Agricola, s. 11, note.

3 The *Cangi* inhabited *Cheshire*, and part of *Lancashire*, opposite to Ireland.

4 *Brigantes*, the people inhabiting *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*.

5 *Silures;* the people who occupied *Herefordshire*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Monmouth*, and *Glamorgan*, and in general *South Wales*.

6 Camelodunum, now *Colchester*.

7 Caractacus, according to Camden, reigned in the county of *Cardigan*.

8 *Ordovices*, the people of *North Wales*.

9 This spot, Camden says, was in *Shropshire*, where the COLUNUS, now the *Clune*, runs into the TEMDUS, now *Temd*, not far from a hill called *Caer-Caradoc*.

to the enemy, and to himself every way advantageous. He took post in a situation defended by steep and craggy hills. In some places where the mountains opened, and the acclivity afforded an easy ascent, he fortified the spot with massy stones, heaped together in the form of a rampart. A river, with fords and shallows of uncertain depth, washed the extremity of the plain. On the outside of his fortifications, a vast body of troops showed themselves in force, and in order of battle.

XXXIV. The chieftains of the various nations were busy in every quarter. They rushed along the ranks; they exhorted their men; they roused the timid; they confirmed the brave; and, by hopes, by promises, by every generous motive, inflamed the ardour of their troops. Caractacus was seen in every part of the field; he darted along the lines; he exclaimed aloud, "This day, my fellow-warriors, this very day, decides the fate of Britain. The era of liberty, or eternal bondage, begins from this hour. Remember your brave and warlike ancestors, who met Julius Cæsar in open combat, and chased him from the coast of Britain. They were the men who freed their country from a foreign yoke; who delivered the land from taxations, imposed at the will of a master; who banished from your sight the fasces and the Roman axes; and, above all, who rescued your wives and daughters from violation." The soldiers received this speech with shouts of applause. With a spirit of enthusiastic valour, each individual bound himself by the form of oath peculiar to his nation, to brave every danger, and prefer death to slavery.

XXXV. The intrepid countenance of the Britons, and the spirit that animated their whole army, struck Ostorius with astonishment. He saw a river[10] to be passed; a palisade to be forced; a steep hill to be surmounted; and the several posts defended by a prodigious multitude. The soldiers, notwithstanding, burned with impatience for the onset. All things give way to valour, was the general cry. The tribunes and other officers seconded the ardour of the men. Ostorius reconnoitred the ground, and having marked where the defiles were impenetrable, or easy of approach, gave the signal for the attack. The river was passed with little difficulty. The Romans advanced to the parapet. The struggle there was obstinate, and, as long as it was fought with missive weapons, the Britons had the advantage. Ostorius ordered his men to advance under a military shell, and level the pile of stones, that served as a fence to the enemy. A close engagement followed. The Britons abandoned their ranks, and fled with precipitation to the ridge of the hills. The Romans pursued with eagerness. Not only the light troops, but even the legionary soldiers, forced their way to the summit of the hills, under a heavy shower of darts. The Britons having neither breastplates nor helmets, were not able to maintain the conflict. The legions, sword in hand, or with their javelins, bore down all before them. The auxiliaries, with their spears and sabres, made prodigious havoc. The victory was decisive. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners. His brother surrendered at discretion.

XXXVI. Caractacus fled for protection to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes. But adversity has no friends. By that princess he was loaded with irons, and delivered up to the conqueror. He had waged war with the Romans during the last nine years.[11] His fame

10 This river, according to Camden, was the *Tend*.

11 Aulus Plautius, as mentioned s. 31, note, invaded Britain A. U. C. 796; from that time Caractacus proved an active and warlike chieftain in every campaign against the Romans. Tacitus is never better pleased, than when he has an opportunity of doing justice to the chiefs of foreign nations, who distinguished themselves by their virtue, their courage, and their love of liberty. See his character of Arminius, Annals, ii. s. 88. Caractacus, in like manner, is represented in the brightest colours; great in the field of battle, and not less so before the emperor Claudius, in the presence of the Roman people. Mr. Mason has formed a noble dramatic poem on the subject. He has made a fine use of Tacitus in many passages, but in none more than in the following lines, which the reader will see are a beautiful insertion from the real speech of Caractacus to the emperor Claudius:

——— Soldier, I had arms;
Had neighing steeds to whirl my iron car:
Had wealth, dominion. Dost thou wonder, Roman,
I fought to save them? What if Cæsar aims
To lord it universal o'er the world?
Shall the world tamely crouch at Cæsar's footstool?

AULUS DIDIUS.

Read in thy fate our answer. Yet if sooner,
Thy pride had yielded—

CARACTACUS.

Thank the gods, I did not.
Had it been so, the glory of thy master,
Like my misfortunes, had been short and trivial,
Oblivion's ready prey. Now, after struggling
Nine years, and that right bravely, 'gainst a tyrant,
I am his slave to treat as seems him good.
If cruelly, 'twill be an easy task
To bow a wretch, alas! how bow'd already!
Down to the dust: If well, his clemency,
When trick'd and varnish'd by your glossing penman,
Will shine in honour's annals.

If Mr. Mason has departed from the strict line of historical truth, he has done it with the privilege of a poet, and his poem is enriched by the fiction. The isle of Mona was not attacked till A. U. C. 814, when Suetonius Paulinus invested the place, ten years after Caractacus was led a prisoner to Rome; nor was that island finally reduced till the year 831. See the Life of Agricola, s. 18. Virgil, it is well known, adorned his poem by bringing together Dido and Æneas. The same disregard of chronology may be allowed to the author of Caractacus, since, by making his hero take sanctuary among the DRUIDS in Mona, he has produced the episodical incidents of a beautiful piece. But why the honour of taking Caractacus prisoner, and sending him to Rome,

was not confined to his native island; it passed into the provinces, and spread all over Italy. Curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain, who, for such a length of time, made head against a great and powerful empire. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was in high celebrity. The emperor, willing to magnify the glory of the conquest, bestowed the highest praise on the valour of the vanquished king. He assembled the people to behold a spectacle worthy of their view. In the field before the camp the prætorian bands were drawn up under arms. The followers of the British chief walked in procession. The military accoutrements, the harness and rich collars, which he had gained in various battles, were displayed with pomp. The wife of Caractacus, his daughter, and his brother, followed next: he himself closed the melancholy train. The rest of the prisoners, struck with terror, descended to mean and abject supplications. Caractacus alone was superior to misfortune. With a countenance still unaltered, not a symptom of fear appearing, no sorrow, no condescension, he behaved with dignity even in ruin. Being placed before the tribunal, he delivered himself in the following manner:

XXXVII. "If to the nobility of my birth, and the splendour of exalted station, I had united the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, but a royal visitor, and a friend. The alliance of a prince, descended from an illustrious line of ancestors; a prince, whose sway extended over many nations, would not have been unworthy of your choice. A reverse of fortune is now the lot of Caractacus. The event to you is glorious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, men, and horses; I had wealth in abundance: can you wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? The ambition of Rome aspires to universal dominion: and must mankind, by consequence, stretch their necks to the yoke? I stood at bay for years: had I acted otherwise, where, on your part, had been the glory of conquest, and where, on mine, the honour of a brave resistance? I am now in your power: if you are bent on vengeance, execute your purpose; the bloody scene will soon be over, and the name of Caractacus will sink into oblivion. Preserve my life, and I shall be, to late posterity, a monument of Roman clemency." Claudius granted him a free pardon, and the same to his wife, his daughter, and his brother. Released from their fetters, they advanced to another tribunal near at hand, where Agrippina showed herself in state. They returned thanks to her, and paid their veneration in the same style as they had before addressed to the emperor. The sight was altogether new. A woman, stationed amidst the ensigns and the armies of Rome, presented a spectacle unknown to the old republic: but in an empire acquired by the valour of her ancestors, Agrippina claimed an equal share.

XXXVIII. At the next meeting of the senate, the victory over Caractacus was mentioned with the highest applause, as an event no way inferior to what had been seen in ancient times, when Publius Scipio brought Syphax in chains to Rome; when Lucius Paulus led Perses in captivity; and when other commanders exhibited to the Roman people kings and princes at their chariot-wheels. Triumphal ornaments were decreed to Ostorius. That officer had hitherto seen his operations crowned with success. He began soon after to experience the vicissitudes of fortune. Perhaps the war, by the overthrow of Caractacus, was thought to be at an end, and, in that persuasion, military discipline was relaxed; perhaps the enemy, enraged by the loss of that gallant chief, fought with inflamed resentment. A camp had been formed in the country of the Silures, and a chain of forts was to be erected. The Britons in a body surrounded the officer who commanded the legionary cohorts, and, if succours had not arrived in time from the neighbouring garrisons, the whole corps had been cut to pieces. The præfect of the camp, with eight centurions and the bravest of the soldiers, were killed on the spot. A foraging party, and the detachment sent to support them, were soon after attacked, and put to the rout.

XXXIX. Ostorius, on the first alarm, ordered the light-armed cohorts to advance against the enemy. That reinforcement was insufficient, till the legionary soldiers marched to their support. The battle was renewed, at first on equal terms, but, in the end, to the disadvantage of the Britons. But their loss was inconsiderable. The approach of night prevented a pursuit. From that time the Britons kept up a constant alarm. Frequent battles, or rather skirmishes, were fought with their detached parties, roving in quest of plunder. They met in sudden encounters, as chance directed, or valour prompted; in the fens, in the woods, in the narrow defiles; the men, on some occasions, led on by their chiefs, and frequently without their knowledge, as resentment, or the love of booty, happened to incite their fury. Of all the Britons, the Silures were the most determined. They fought with obstinacy, with inveterate hatred. It seems the Roman general had declared, that the very name of the Silures must be extirpated, like that of the Sigambrians, formerly driven out of Germany, and transplanted into Gaul. That expression reached the Silures, and roused their fiercest passions. Two auxiliary cohorts, whom

should be transferred from Ostorius to Aulus Didius, no good reason appears. Didius did not command in Britain till that event was past. On the death of Ostorius, he was appointed governor; a tame inactive officer, who did not, as we are told by Tacitus, distinguish himself by one warlike exploit.

the avarice of their officers sent in quest of plunder, were intercepted by that ferocious people, and all made prisoners. A fair distribution of the spoils and the captives drew the neighbouring states into the confederacy. Ostorius, at this time, was worn out with anxiety. He sunk under the fatigue, and expired, to the great joy of the Britons, who saw a great and able commander, not, indeed, slain in battle, but overcome by the war.

XL. The death of Ostorius being known at Rome, the emperor, aware that a province of so much importance ought not to remain without a governor, sent Aulus Didius to take upon him the command. That officer set out with all possible expedition; but on his arrival found the island in a state of distraction. The legion under Manlius Valens had risked a battle, and suffered a defeat. In order to impress with terror the new commander, the Britons took care to swell the fame of their victory. Didius, on his part, was willing to magnify the loss. The merit of the general, he knew, would rise in proportion to the danger surmounted; and, if he failed, the difficulty would be an apology for his conduct. In the defeat of Valens, it was the nation of the Silures that struck the blow. Emboldened by success, they continued their predatory war, till the arrival of Didius checked their operations. In this juncture Venusius was the British chieftain; a man, as already mentioned, born in the city of the Jugantes, and, since the loss of Caractacus, the first in fame for valour and military experience. He had married Cartismandua, the queen of the Brigantes; and while they lived on good terms, his fidelity to Rome remained inviolate. Being afterwards driven from her throne and bed, he pursued his revenge by open hostilities, and even dared to wage war against the Romans.

The quarrel was at first a civil war amongst themselves. Cartismandua contrived to seize, by stratagem, the brother of Venusius, with the rest of his kindred. The Britons by that event were fired with indignation. They scorned to submit to a female government,[1] and, with the flower of their youth, attacked Cartismandua in the heart of her territories. The insurrection was foreseen, and a detachment from the cohorts was sent in time to counteract the motions of the enemy. An engagement followed, at first with doubtful success; but, after a struggle, victory inclined to the side of the Romans. In another part of the country, the legion under the command of Cesius Nasica fought with equal success. Didius did not expose his person in any of these engagements. Impaired by years, and loaded with accumulated honours, he was content to act by his inferior officers; and while the enemy was kept in check, the honour of doing it was not his passion. These transactions, which happened in the course of different years, under the conduct of Ostorius and Didius, are here related in one connected series, to avoid breaking the thread of the narration. I now return to the order of time.

XLI. In the fifth consulship of Claudius, and the first of his colleague, Servius Cornelius Orphitus, [A. U. C. 804. A. D. 51.] the manly gown was assigned to Nero, before his time, that, though still under age, he might appear qualified to take upon him a share in public business. The senate, in a fit of adulation, resolved that the young prince should be declared capable of the consulship at the age of twenty, and be considered in the meantime, as consul elect, with proconsular authority out of the city, and the additional title of prince of the Roman youth. Claudius not only assented to those flattering decrees, but, in the name of Nero, gave a largess to the people, and a donative to the army. To conciliate the affections of the people, the Circensian games were likewise exhibited. During that spectacle, Britannicus and Nero passed in review; the former clad in the prætexta, or the dress of his boyish days; the latter, with the triumphal ornaments of a Roman general. So glaring a difference struck the spectators, as a certain prelude of their future fortunes. Among the centurions and tribunes there were men of principle, who beheld the case of Britannicus with an eye of compassion. All such were removed from court; some under pretence of advancing them to higher offices, and the rest for plausible reasons. The policy was extended even to the freedmen. In that class, whoever was found to be above corruption, was dismissed from his place.

The two young princes met by accident. Nero saluted Britannicus by name, and in return was familiarly called Domitius. This incident gave umbrage to Agrippina. She flew to the emperor with her complaint: "Contempt," she said, "was thrown on the adoption of Nero; what the senate decreed, and the voice of the people ratified, was repealed with contumacy in the very palace. If the men, who taught those dangerous lessons, were not repressed, the mischief would increase, and, perhaps, prove fatal to the commonwealth." Claudius was easily alarmed. He considered what was no more than bare surmise, as a crime then actually committed, and, accordingly, either sent into banishment, or put to death, the best and ablest of his son's tutors. New men were appointed to superintend the

1 It is not to be inferred from this passage, that it was a general principle with the Britons not to acquiesce under a female reign. Boadicea, as will be seen hereafter, was queen of the Iceni; and she, at the head of her army just going to give, battle tells the soldiers, "It is not the first time that the Britons took the field under the conduct of a woman." Book xiv. s. 35. The fact was, that the people saw a warlike chief oppressed by his wife, and therefore resolved to submit no longer to the tyranny of a woman.

prince's education, and the choice was left to the stepmother.

XLII. Agrippina had still greater objects in view, but Lucius Geta and Rufus Crispinus were first to be removed from the command of the prætorian bands. They were both under obligations to Messalina, and by sentiment attached to her children. Men of their disposition might obstruct her measures. She represented to the emperor, that, under two rival commanders, the soldiers would be divided into factions; but if that important office centred in one person, all would act with a principle of union, and strict attention to military discipline. Claudius concurred in the same opinion. The command was given to Afranius Burrhus; an officer of great experience and a warlike character, but disposed to remember the friend that raised him to that elevation. Having succeeded in these arrangements, Agrippina thought it time to act without reserve; she claimed a right to be conveyed in her carriage to the capitol; a right, by ancient usage, allowed only to the sacerdotal order, the vestal virgins, and the statues of the gods. Being now communicated to Agrippina, it could not fail to raise the veneration of the people for a princess, in whom they saw the daughter,[1] sister, wife, and mother, of an emperor; a combination of illustrious titles, never, before that time, united in one person.

In this juncture, Vitellius, the active leader of Agrippina's faction, after having stood high in the esteem of Claudius, was at last, in an advanced age, involved in a prosecution, set on foot against him by Junius Lupus, a member of the senate. Such is the instability of human grandeur! The charge imported violated majesty, and a design to seize the reins of government. Claudius was willing to listen to the story; but, by the interposition of Agrippina, who scorned to descend to prayers and supplications, the blow was recoiled upon the prosecutor. He was interdicted from fire and water. To stretch resentment further was not the wish of Vitellius.

XLIII. In the course of this year, the people were kept in a constant alarm by a succession of portents and prodigies. Birds of evil omen infested the capitol; earthquakes were felt; houses were laid in ruin, and while the multitude in a general panic pressed forward to make their escape, the feeble and infirm were trampled under foot. A dearth of corn brought on a famine: this too was deemed a prodigy. The people were not content to murmur their discontents; they crowded to the tribunal, and gathering round the emperor, then sitting in judgment, they forced him from his seat, and pushed him to the extremity of the forum. The guards came to his assistance, and Claudius made his way through the crowd. Fifteen days' subsistence was the most that Rome had then in store. The winter, providentially, was mild and favourable to navigation: distress and misery must, otherwise, have been the consequence. In former times the case was very different. Italy was the granary that supplied the foreign market. Even at this hour, the prolific vigour of the soil is not worn out; but to depend on Egypt and Africa is the prevailing system. The lives of the people are, by choice, committed to the caprice of winds and waves.

XLIV. In the same year the flame of war broke out between the Armenians and Iberians. The Romans and the Parthians were, by consequence, involved in the quarrel. The sceptre of Parthia was at that time swayed by Vologeses, with the consent of his brothers, though his mother, by birth a Greek, was no higher than a concubine. Pharasmanes reigned in Iberia, confirmed on his throne by long possession. His brother, Mithridates, received the regal diadem of Armenia from the power of Rome. The former had a son named Rhadamistus, of a tall and graceful stature, remarkable for bodily vigour, and an understanding perfectly trained in the political school of his father. His talents were high in the esteem of all the neighbouring states. He saw, with impatience, the old age of his father protracted to a length of years. To disguise his ambition was no part of his character. He expressed his discontent in a manner that alarmed Pharasmanes. That monarch saw the aspiring genius of his son; and, being in the decline of life, he dreaded the enterprising spirit of a young man, who had conciliated to himself the affections of the people. To change the tide of his passions, and find employment for him elsewhere, he held forth the kingdom of Armenia as a dazzling and inviting object: he himself, he said, expelled the Parthians, and placed Mithridates on the throne. Pharasmanes added, that it would not be advisable to proceed with open force. Covert stratagem might deceive Mithridates, and insure success.

Rhadamistus made the best of his way to his uncle's court, as to a place of shelter from the displeasure of his father, and the tyranny of a stepmother. He met with a gracious reception. Mithridates treated him as his own son, with all the tenderness of a father. The young prince, in the meantime, drew to his interest the nobility of the country; and, while his uncle loaded him with favours, he was busy in forming a conspiracy against the crown and life of his benefactor.

XLV. Having concerted his measures, he returned, under colour of a family reconciliation,

1 Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, sister of Caligula, the wife of Claudius, and the mother of Nero. Racine, who has many fine in ertions from Tacitus in his tragedy of Britannicus, has imitated this cer, age
himself, fille, femme, sœur, et mere, de vos maîtres.

to his father's court. He there explained the progress of his treachery, the snares that were prepared, and the necessity of giving the finishing blow by force of arms. To find ostensible reasons for open hostility, was not difficult to a politic genius like that of Pharasmanes. He alleged, that in the war between himself and the king of the Albanians, his application to the Romans, for a reinforcement, was defeated by the practices of Mithridates; and an injury of so heinous a nature could not be expiated by any thing less than the ruin of the man who did the mischief. To this end, he gave the command of his forces to his son, who entered Armenia at the head of a numerous army. An invasion so unexpected filled Mithridates with consternation. He fled the field, and leaving the enemy in possession of his camp, threw himself into the fort of Gorneas;[2] a place strong by nature, and defended by a Roman garrison, under the command of Cælius Pollio, the præfect, and Casperius, a centurion. The machinations of a siege, and the use of warlike engines, are things unknown to savage nations: the Romans have reduced that branch of the military art to a regular system. Rhadamistus attempted to carry the works by assault, but without effect, and with considerable loss. He formed a blockade, and, in the meantime, made his approaches to the avarice of the governor. By bribes and presents he bargained with that officer to betray his trust. The centurion protested against so foul a treachery, declaring, in a tone of firmness, that he would neither agree to give up a confederate prince, nor to barter away the kingdom of Armenia, which had been assigned to Mithridates by the Roman people.

Pollio, the commander-in-chief, affected to dread the superior force of the enemy; and Rhadamistus, pleading the orders of his father, still urged on the siege. In this distress, Casperius, the centurion, stipulated a cessation of arms, and left the garrison, in order to have an interview with Pharasmanes, and deter him from prosecuting the war. If his endeavours failed, he resolved to proceed with expedition to Ummidius Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, in order to make that governor acquainted with the state of affairs, and the iniquity of the whole proceeding.

XLVI. The centurion had no sooner left the place, than Pollio felt himself at liberty to act without control. He advised Mithridates to compromise the quarrel, and end the war by a regular treaty. He urged the ties of natural affection between brothers, and the rights of seniority, which preponderated in favour of Pharasmanes. He added, that "Mithridates was, in fact, the son-in-law of his brother, and, at the same time, uncle and father-in-law to Rhadamistus. The Iberians were superior in number, and yet willing to accede to terms of pacification. The perfidy of the Armenians was become proverbial. Pent up in a fortress, ill supplied with provisions, he could not hope to hold out much longer. In that distress, what room was left for deliberation? Peace, on reasonable terms, was preferable to a destructive war."

Such were the arguments urged by Cælius Pollio; but Mithridates suspected the counsels of a man, who had seduced one of the royal concubines, and shown himself a venal tool, ready at the beck of the highest bidder, to commit any crime however atrocious. Meanwhile, Casperius reached the court of Pharasmanes. He expostulated with that monarch, and pressed him to raise the siege. The politic king amused the centurion with plausible answers. He talked in equivocal terms, and drew the business into a negotiation, while his secret despatches urged Rhadamistus, by any means, and without delay, to make himself master of the place. Pollio raised the price of his treachery, and Rhadamistus complied with his terms. In consequence of their bargain, the governor, by corrupt practices, contrived to make the soldiers demand a capitulation, and, if not granted, to threaten one and all to abandon the place. Mithridates, in that extremity, fixed the time and place for a congress, and went out of the garrison.

XLVII. Rhadamistus advanced to meet him. He rushed to the king's embrace; he offered every mark of duty and respect to his uncle and his father-in-law; and, by a solemn oath, assured him that he would not at any time employ either sword or poison against his life. He decoyed Mithridates into a neighbouring wood, where he said a sacrifice was prepared, to ratify the treaty in the presence of the gods. Among the eastern kings, whenever they enter into mutual engagements, a peculiar custom prevails: the contracting parties take each other by the right hand, and with a ligature bind their thumbs together, till the blood is forced to the extremities, and with a slight puncture finds a vent. As it gushes forth, the kings apply their mouths to

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2 Gorneas, a castle in Armenia, according to D'Anville, now called *Khorien*. For Artaxata and Tigranocerta, see the Geographical Table. The story of Rhadamistus and Zenobia, which is here related by Tacitus, furnished Crebillon, the celebrated French poet, a subject for one of his best tragedies. Pharasmanes and his son Rhadamistus are represented, with historical truth, in all the colours of their guilt; the former, as accessary to the death of his brother Mithridates; and the latter, as the murderer of his uncle. Rhadamistus, in the end, dies by the hand of his father. Annals, xiii. s. 37. The English tragedy of Zenobia deviates so far from Tacitus, as to represent Rhadamistus in an amiable light. The fable, or plot, is almost entirely new; and the catastrophe aims at the passions of terror and pity, instead of exciting horror: an emotion of the mind, to which the strong but sombre genius of Crebillon seems to have had a peculiar bias.

the orifice, and suck each other's blood. The treaty, in this manner, receives the highest sanction, signed, as it were, with the blood of the parties. On the present occasion, the person, whose office it was to tie the knot, pretending to have made a false step, fell at the feet of Mithridates, and laying hold of his knees, brought him to the ground. A crowd rushed in and bound the prostrate king with fetters. A chain was fastened to his foot, and in that condition (esteemed by those nations the highest disgrace) he was dragged along with brutal violence. The populace, resenting the grievances which they had suffered under an oppressive and despotic reign, insulted him with vulgar scurrility, and even blows. Thinking men beheld the sad reverse with compassion. The wife of the unhappy monarch followed with her children, and filled the place with shrieks and lamentations. They were all secured in covered carriages, apart from each other, till the pleasure of Pharasmanes should be known. Lust of power was the passion of that prince. For a brother and a daughter not one tender sentiment remained. He ordered them to be put to death: but, though inured to crimes, not in his sight. Rhadamistus observed his oath with a pious fraud, that added to his guilt. He had bound himself not to use either sword or poison; but he smothered his uncle under a load of clothes, and by that evasion satisfied the religion of a murderer. The children of the unhappy monarch bewailed the loss of their father; and, for that crime, were massacred.

XLVIII. This act of treachery, and the murders that followed it, were soon made known to Quadratus. He called a council of war, and, after stating that the enemies of the deceased king were in possession of his dominions, the point which he submitted to consideration was, Whether, in that conjuncture, vindictive measures were advisable. Few at the meeting retained a sense of public honour. Maxims of policy and self-interest weighed with the majority. "The guilt," they said, "of foreign nations gave a solid advantage to the empire, and for that reason ought to be a source of joy. To foment divisions among the enemies of Rome was the truest wisdom; and, with that view, the crown of Armenia had been often, with a show of generosity, dealt out by the emperor as the special gift of the Roman people. Let Rhadamistus hold his ill-gotten power; he will hold it with infamy, and the execration of mankind: while he owes his elevation to his crimes, he will effectually serve the interests of Rome." This reasoning prevailed. The council, however, wished to save appearances. That they might not be thought to countenance a foul transaction, which might afterwards provoke the emperor to issue contrary orders, it was agreed to send despatches to Pharasmanes, requiring him forthwith to evacuate Armenia, and recall his son.

XLIX. In that juncture Julius Pelignus, with the title of procurator, commanded in Cappadocia; a man, whom all orders of the people beheld with contempt and derision. The deformity of his person excited ridicule, and the qualities of his mind corresponded with his outward figure. He had lived, notwithstanding, in the closest intimacy with Claudius, at the time when that prince, as yet a private man, passed the hours of a stupid and listless life in the company of buffoons. Pelignus, in a fit of vain-glory, undertook to recover Armenia. Having drawn together the auxiliaries of the province, he marched at the head of his forces, and, in his route, plundered the allies, as if the war was with them, instead of the Iberians. Harassed by the sudden incursions of the Barbarians, and deserted by his followers, he was left without resource. In that distress, he fled to Rhadamistus. Bribery soon purchased a man of his description. He advised the prince to assume the regal diadem, and assisted, under arms, at the coronation, at once the author of the measure, and the soldier to support it. A proceeding so vile and infamous could not be long unknown to the eastern nations. The character of the Roman generals might, by consequence, sink into contempt; and therefore, to wipe off the disgrace, Helvidius Priscus was sent at the head of a legion, with orders to act as exigencies might require. That officer pressed forward with expedition. He passed mount Taurus, and, in the course of his march, restored the public tranquillity, not so much by the terror of his arms as by the wisdom and moderation of his counsels. There was reason, however, to fear that his approach would give jealousy to the Parthians. To avoid a rupture with that people, Helvidius was ordered to return with his army into Syria.

L. Vologeses thought it a fair opportunity to recover the kingdom of Armenia. His ancestors had swayed the sceptre of that country, and now a foreign invader, by guilt and treachery, usurped the crown. The Parthian king saw his own brother Tiridates deprived of power. His pride could not brook that any part of his family should be left in that humble condition. Determined to dethrone the usurper, and invest his brother Tiridates with the regal diadem, he put himself at the head of a powerful army. The Iberians, without hazarding a battle, fled before the Parthian monarch. Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two principal cities of Armenia, opened their gates to the invader. The inclemency of the winter season, and the want of due attention to provide for the subsistence of an army, brought on a famine, and, by consequence, an epidemic disease. Vologeses was obliged to abandon his enterprise. Armenia was once more left defenceless.

Rhadamistus seized his opportunity, and returned to his dominions, elate with pride, and fired with resentment against a people who had already betrayed him, and with their national inconstancy were ready on the first occasion to repeat their treachery. He mounted the throne; but the people, though inured to servitude, grew impatient of the yoke. They resolved to depose the usurper, and in a body rushed forward, sword in hand, to invest the palace.

LI. Rhadamistus was obliged to consult his safety by flight. He escaped with his wife, and both owed their lives to the speed of their horses. The queen was far advanced in her pregnancy. Her dread of the enemy, conspiring with conjugal affection, served to animate her in the first hurry of their flight. She bore the fatigue with wonderful resolution. Her condition, however, was too feeble for the violence of so rapid a motion. Seized with pains in her womb, and unable to hold out longer, she entreated her husband to end her misery, and, by an honourable death, prevent the insults of impending bondage. Rhadamistus was distracted by the violence of contending passions; he clasped her in his arms; he supported her drooping spirits, and, by every tender persuasion, exhorted her to persevere. Her virtue charmed him, and the idea of leaving her to the embraces of another, pierced him to the quick. In a fit of despair and love, he drew his scimetar, and with a hand already imbrued in blood, wounded the idol of his heart. In that condition he dragged her to the margin of the Araxes, and dashed her into the river, that her body might be carried away by the current, and never fall into the hands of his enemies. Having thus disposed of his wife, he fled towards Iberia, and pursued his way to his father's court.

Meanwhile Zenobia (so the princess was named), floating gently down the stream, was seen by the shepherds on the smooth surface of the water, struggling in distress, and still with manifest signs of life. The elegance and dignity of her form announced a person of illustrious rank. They bound up her wounds, and gave her the physic of the field. Having soon after learned her name, and the story of her sufferings, they conveyed her to the city of Artaxata. From that place she was conducted, at the public expense, to the court of Tiridates, where she was graciously received, and treated with all the marks of royalty.

LII. During the consulship of Faustus Sylla and Salvius Otho, [A. U. C. 805. A. D. 52.] an accusation was set on foot against Furius Scribonianus. He was charged with having consulted the Chaldæans about the length of the emperor's reign, and condemned to banishment. Junia his mother, who had been formerly driven into exile, was accused of harbouring resentment, and still feeling with indignation the severity of her fate. Her husband Camillus, the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia, and obtained his pardon. From that circumstance, and, in the present case, from a second instance of clemency to a disaffected family, Claudius took occasion to boast of his moderation. The unhappy exile did not long survive his sentence; but whether he died by poison, or a natural death, cannot now be known. Reports were various at the time. The astrologers and mathematicians were banished out of Italy, by a decree of the senate, full of rigour, but ending in nothing. In a speech to the fathers, Claudius bestowed great commendation on such of the members of that assembly as abdicated their rank on account of their narrow circumstances. Some were unwilling to withdraw their names, but they were all degraded as obstinate men, who to their poverty added pride and insolence.

LIII. During these transactions, a motion was made in the senate for a law to inflict certain penalties on such women as should disparage themselves by intermarrying with slaves. The senate decreed, that all who descended to so mean an act, without the consent of the master of the slave, should be considered as persons who had forfeited their rank, and passed into a state of slavery; if the master consented, his approbation should operate as a manumission only. The honour of this regulation the emperor ascribed to Pallas, and thereupon Barea Soranus, consul elect, moved, that the author of so wise a measure should be rewarded with prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen million of sesterces. By way of amendment to the motion, Cornelius Scipio proposed that public thanks should be given to a man, who derived his origin from the ancient kings of Arcadia, and, notwithstanding the dignity of his rank, condescended to be classed among the ministers of the emperor. Claudius informed the senate, that Pallas was content with honours, and felt no ambition to emerge from his state of poverty. A decree was engraved on brass,[1] exhibiting to the public eye

1 Suetonius says that the law, of which Pallas was the first mover, was afterwards enforced by Vespasian, who caused a decree to pass, enacting that the woman, who married the slave of another person, should be deemed a slave. Suet. in Vesp. s. 11. Pliny the consul says, that he himself saw, on the Tiburtine road, near the first mile-stone, a monument erected to the memory of Pallas, with an inscription, importing, that the senate voted to Pallas the prætorian ornaments, and a sum of fifteen million of sesterces, as a reward for his fidelity, and regard for his patrons. See Book vii. epist. 29. In a subsequent letter, Pliny mentions the same fact again. He states the words of the inscription: *Huic senatus, ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos, ornamenta prætoria decrevit, et sestertium centies quinquagies; cujus honore contentus fuit.* Pliny adds, that he had the curiosity to inspect the decree, and he found the inscription modest, in comparison with the lavish praise bestowed upon an insolent upstart by the senate. Pallas refused the mo-

a panegyric on the moderation of a manumitted slave, who had amassed no less than three hundred million of sesterces, and with that sum in his pocket, could give so striking an example of ancient parsimony.

LIV. Pallas had a brother known by the name of Felix, who had been for some time governor of Judæa. This man did not think it necessary to prescribe any restraint to his own desires. He considered his connection with the emperor's favourite as a license for the worst of crimes. The Jews, it is true, with a spirit little short of open rebellion, had refused, in the reign of Caligula, to place the statue of that emperor in the temple. Intelligence of his death arrived soon after; but even that event was not sufficient to allay the ferment. Future princes might have the same ambition, and the dread of a similar order kept the province in agitation. Felix inflamed the discontents of the people by improper remedies; and Ventidius Cumanus, to whom a part of the province was committed, was ready to co-operate in any wicked project. The Galilæans were under the control of Cumanus; Felix governed the Samaritans. Those two nations, always fierce and turbulent, were at variance with each other, and now when they despised their governors, their animosity broke out with redoubled fury.

They waged a predatory war; laid waste each other's lands, rushed from their ambuscade to sudden encounters, and, at times, tried their strength in regular engagements. The plunder of the war was given up to their rapacious governors, who, therefore, connived at the mischief. The disorders of the province grew to an alarming height, insomuch, that the two governors were forced, at last, to have recourse to arms in order to quell the tumult. The Jews resisted, and numbers of the Roman soldiers were massacred in the fray. Quadratus, who commanded in Syria, saw the danger of an impending war, and, to restore the public tranquillity, advanced at the head of his forces. The insurgents, who rose in arms against the Roman soldiers, were punished with death. That measure was soon decided; but the conduct of Felix and Cumanus held the general in suspense. Claudius, duly apprised of the rebellion, and the causes from which it sprung, sent a commission directing an inquiry with power to try and pronounce judgment on the two provincial ministers. To make an end of all difficulties, Quadratus placed Felix on the tribunal among the judges, and, by that measure, sheltered him from his enemies. Cumanus was found guilty of the crimes committed by both, and in this manner the peace of the province was restored.

LV. Cilicia was soon after thrown into convulsions. The peasants of that country, known by the name of the Clitæans,[1] a wild and savage race, inured to plunder and sudden commotions, assembled under Trosobor, a warlike chief, and pitched their camp on the summit of a mountain, steep, craggy, and almost inaccessible. From their fastnesses they came rushing down on the plain, and stretching along the coast attacked the neighbouring cities. They plundered the people, robbed the merchants, and utterly ruinned navigation and commerce. They laid siege to the city of Anemurium, and dispersed a body of horse, sent from Syria, under Curtius Severus, to the relief of the place. With that detachment the freebooters dared to hazard battle. The ground being rugged, disadvantageous to cavalry, and convenient only to foot soldiers, the Romans were totally routed. At length Antiochus, the reigning king of the country, appeased the insurrection. By popular arts he gained the good will of the multitude, and proceeded by stratagem against their leader. The confederates being ruined by disunion among themselves, Trosobor, with his principal adherents, was put to death. By conciliating measures the rest were brought to a sense of their duty.

LVI. It was about this time, that between the lake of Fucinus, and the river Liris,[2] a passage was cut through a mountain. That a work of such magnificence[3] should be seen to advantage, Claudius exhibited on the lake a naval engagement, in imitation of Augustus, who formed an artificial basin on the banks of the Tiber, and gave a spectacle of the same kind, but with lighter vessels, and an inferior number of mariners. Ships of three and even four ranks of oars were equipped by Claudius, with no less than nineteen thousand armed men on board. To prevent a deviation from the fight, the lake was fenced round with rafts of timber,[4] leaving the intermediate space wide enough to give free play to the oars; ample room for the pilots to display their skill, and, in the attack, to exhibit

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ney; and to complete the farce, the senate voted that the emperor should request a manumitted slave to yield to the entreaty of the fathers. Pallas still persisted to reject the money, professing to have a soul above the love of wealth. It was decreed, that the honours of that arrogant wretch, as well those which he refused, as those which he accepted, should be inscribed on brass, as a public and lasting monument. See the account at large, Pliny, lib. viii. epist. 6.

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 For the lake *Fucinus*, and the river *Liris*, see the Geographical Table.

3 Suetonius says, Claudius attempted the Fucine lake, as much with a view to the glory of the performance, as an expectation of advantage. He finished a canal three miles in length, partly by cutting through, and partly by levelling, a mountain; a work of prodigious difficulty, thirty thousand men having been employed in constant labour for eleven years together. Suet. in Claud. s. 20.

4 Brotier says, the circumference of the lake was six and twenty miles.

the various operations of a sea-fight. The prætorian guards stood on the rafts of timber, ranged in their several companies. In their front redoubts were raised, with proper engines for throwing up massy stones and all kinds of missive weapons. The rest of the lake was assigned to the ships. The mariners and combatants filled the decks. An incredible multitude of spectators from the neighbouring towns, and even from Rome, attracted by the spectacle, or with a view to pay their court to the emperor, crowded round the borders of the lake. The banks, the rising ground, the ridge of the adjacent hills, presented to the eye a magnificent scene, in the form of an amphitheatre. Claudius and Agrippina presided at the show; the prince in a superb coat of mail, and the empress in a splendid mantle, which was a complete tissue of entire gold.5 The fleet was manned with malefactors; but the battle, nevertheless, was fought with heroic bravery. After many wounds, and a great effusion of blood, to favour a set of men who had performed feats of valour, the survivors were excused from fighting to destruction.

LVII. The whole of this magnificent spectacle being concluded, the channel through which the waters flowed was laid open, and then it appeared with what little skill the work was executed. The bed was not sunk deep enough to gain a level either with the middle or the extremities of the lake. It was found necessary to clear away the ground, and give the current a freer course. The work was finished with expedition, and, to attract a multitude of spectators, bridges were thrown over the lake, so constructed as to admit of a foot engagement. On this prodigious platform a show of gladiators was exhibited. Near the mouth of the lake a sumptuous banquet was prepared; but the spot was ill-chosen. The weight of a vast body of water rushing down with irresistible force, carried away the contiguous parts of the works, and shook the whole fabric. Confusion and uproar filled the place. The roar of the torrent, and the noise of materials tumbling in, spread a general alarm. Claudius stood in astonishment. Agrippina seized the moment to accuse Narcissus, who had the direction of the whole. She imputed the mischief to his avarice. The favourite made reprisals on the character of Agrippina, condemning, without reserve, the impotence of a female spirit, her overbearing pride, and boundless ambition.

LVIII. Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius succeeded to the consulship, [A. U. C. 806. A. D. 53.] In the course of the year Nero, who had attained the age of sixteen, was joined in marriage to Octavia, the emperor's daughter. To grace his character with the fame of liberal science and the powers of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the inhabitants of Illium. The young orator began with a deduction of the Roman people from a Trojan origin. Æneas, the founder of the Julian family, and other passages drawn from antiquity, but in their nature fabulous, served to embellish his discourse. He succeeded for his clients, and obtained an entire exemption from imposts of every kind. He was advocate also for the colony of the Bolognians, who had lately suffered by fire. By the rhetoric of their pleader, they obtained a grant of one hundred thousand sesterces. The Rhodians, in like manner, were obliged to his talents. That people, after many vicissitudes, sometimes in full possession of their privileges, and occasionally deprived of all, as they happened to be friendly or adverse to the Roman arms, had their rights confirmed in the amplest manner. The city of Apamea, which had been damaged by an earthquake, owed to the eloquence of their advocate a suspension of all dues for the term of five years.

LIX. In a short time after, the conduct of Claudius, under the management of the wife, presented a contrast of cruelty to all these acts of benevolence. Agrippina panted for the gardens of Statilius Taurus. He had been proconsul of Africa, and possessed a brilliant fortune. Tarquitius Priscus had served under him as his lieutenant. At the instignation of Agrippina, this man preferred a charge against his superior officer, founded on some articles of extortion, but resting chiefly on the practice of magic arts. Taurus was fired with indignation at the perfidy of his colleague. Seeing himself devoted to destruction, he resolved not to wait the final sentence, and with his own hand delivered himself from the malice of his enemies. The prosecutor was expelled the senate. The members of that assembly, detesting the treachery of this vile informer, carried their point, in spite of the arts and secret influence of Agrippina.

LX. In the course of this year, the emperor gave to his favourite political maxim the force of a law. He had been often heard to say, "that the judicial resolutions of the imperial procurators ought to be, in their several provinces, of as high authority as if they had been pronounced by himself." To show that this was not spoken in vain, the doctrine was confirmed by a decree that carried the principle to a greater extent than ever. By a regulation made by Augustus, the Roman knights, who ruled the provinces of Egypt, were empowered, in all cases, to hear and determine with as full authority as the magistrates of Rome. The rule was afterwards

5 Pliny the elder says, he himself saw Agrippina, the wife of Claudius, at the naval spectacle, adorned with a magnificent robe wrought in pure gold, without any intermixture of other materials. *Nos vidimus Agrippinam Claudii principis, edente eo navalis prælii spectaculum, assidentem ei, indutam paludamento, auro textili, sine alia materia.* Pliny, lib. xxxiii. s. 19.

extended to other provinces, and, even at Rome, the jurisdiction of the knights embraced a variety of questions, which till then were cognizable by the prætor only. Claudius enlarged the powers of his favourites, and finally vested in that body the judicial authority, which had been for ages the cause of civil commotions; for which the people had shed their blood; and which in those memorable struggles, was given by the Sempronian law[1] to the equestrian order, till, in some time afterwards, the Servilian law restored it to the senate. In the wars between Marius and Sylla this was the cause of that fierce contention; but, in those turbulent times, the different orders of the state were engaged in factions against each other. The party that prevailed, called itself the Public, and made laws in the name of the commonwealth. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, supported by Augustus, were the first who decided the rights of war and peace. To mention, after them, the names of Matius, Vedius, and others of the equestrian order, seems now entirely needless; since we find the enfranchised slaves of Claudius, men no higher than mere domestic servants, raised to a level with the prince, and armed with the authority of the laws.

LXI. A grant to the people of Coos,[2] of a general immunity from taxes, was the next measure proposed by the emperor. He introduced the question with a splendid account of their ancient origin. "The Argives, or, at least, Cœus, the father of Latona, first settled on the island. Æsculapius arrived soon after, and carried with him the invention of medicine. That useful science continued in his family through a long line of descendants." He mentioned by name the several persons in regular succession, and the period of time in which they flourished. He added, that Xenophon, his own physician, was descended from that illustrious family. The exemption, therefore, now requested by a man of such distinguished eminence, ought to be granted, in favour of an island so famous in story, to the end that the inhabitants, free from every burden, might dedicate themselves altogether to the worship of their god. A more substantial plea of merit might have been urged in their favour. They could boast, with truth, of singular services done to the Romans, and could set forth the victories obtained by their assistance; but Claudius, with his usual facility, chose to gratify the wishes of an individual, and, in his opinion, the favour which he conferred ought not to be varnished with considerations of a public nature.

LXII. The deputies from Byzantium[3] were admitted to an audience before the senate. They prayed to be relieved from the heavy rates and duties under which they laboured. They relied on the merit of having been, for a length of time, the faithful allies of Rome. They traced the history of their services from the war in Macedonia, when the king of that country, on account of his degenerate character, was called Pseudophilippus, or Philip the False.[4] They alleged, moreover, the succours which they sent against Antiochus;[5] against Perses, and Aristonicus; the assistance, which they gave to Antony[6] in the piratic war, and, afterwards, to Sylla, to Lucullus, and Pompey. Nor did they omit their zeal for the Cæsars at the time when they entered Byzantium, and found not only a free passage for their fleets and armies, but likewise a safe conveyance for their provisions and military stores.

LXIII. Byzantium, it is well known, stands at the extremity of Europe, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia. The city was built by the Greeks, who were led to the spot by the Pythian Apollo. They consulted that oracle about the proper place for a new city, and received for answer, that they should choose a foundation directly opposite to the territory of the blind. The advice, though dark and mysterious, pointed at the people of Chalcedon,[7] the first adventurers in that part of the world, who

1 Caius Sempronius Gracchus was the author of a law in favour of the Roman knights, A. U. C. 632. He added three hundred of the equestrian order to the same number of senators, and vested in that body all judicial authority. The *Servilian* law, introduced by Quintus Servilius Cæpio, in his consulship A. U. C. 648, repealed the *Sempronian* institution, and restored the jurisdiction of the senate.

2 See the Geographical Table.

3 Now *Constantinople*. See the Geographical Table.

4 An obscure man of the name of Andriscus pretended to be the son of Perseus. He was found to be an impostor, and therefore called Pseudophilippus. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Metellus. A. U. C. 606.

5 Antiochus III. king of Syria, waged war against the Romans, and was conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, A. U. C. 564. Perseus, king of Macedonia, was subdued by Paulus Æmilius, A. U. C. 586. Aristonicus invaded Asia, and was overthrown by Perpenna. A. U. C. 623.

6 The people of Cilicia fitted out a number of armed ships, and overran the Mediterranean. This was called the Piratic War. Marcus Antonius, son of the famous orator of that name, and father of Antony the triumvir, was sent, with extraordinary powers given to him in his commission, to clear the seas of those roving freebooters, A. U. C. 684. The war however was not brought to a conclusion. In the year 687, the same commission was given to Pompey, notwithstanding the strong opposition of Quintus Catulus, who thought that Pompey was growing too great for his country, and therefore entered his public protest against trusting the commonwealth to the hands of one man. See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 31; and see Cicero, Pro Lege Manilia.

7 Montesquieu makes an ingenious use of this passage: Having bestowed his encomium on the British constitution, he observes that Harrington, in his *Oceana*, has strained his idea of liberty to so high a pitch, that it may amuse in theory, but never can exist in practice. He built Chalcedon, when he had Byzantium before his eyes. Spirit of Laws, vol. i. page 324.

had their opportunity to seize the best situation, and, through want of discernment, chose the worst. Byzantium enjoys many advantages: the soil is fertile, and the sea abounds with fish, occasioned by the prodigious shoals, that pour down from the Pontic sea, and, to avoid the rocks which lurk beneath the waves on the Chalcedonian coast, make directly to the opposite shore, and fall into the bay of Byzantium. The fishery was at first a great branch of commerce. In process of time, the trade was cramped by excessive impositions; and to be relieved, either by a total extinction, or, at least, a reduction of the duties, was now the prayer of their petition. Claudius was inclined to favour their cause: in the late wars in Thrace and Bosphorus, they had suffered heavy losses; and it was therefore proper to grant them a compensation. They were accordingly freed from all duties for the term of five years.

LXIV. In the consulship of Marcus Asinius and Manius Acilius [A. U. C. 807. A. D. 54.] a succession of prodigies kept the minds of men in constant dread of some violent convulsion in the state. The tents and ensigns of the soldiers were set on fire by a flash of lightning; a swarm of bees settled on the capitol; women were delivered of monstrous births; and a pig, as soon as farrowed, had the talons of a hawk. It happened, at this time, that every order of the magistracy was short of its proper number, the public having lost by death, within a few months, a quæstor, an ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul. This was reckoned among the prodigies. Amidst the consternation that covered the whole city, no person whatever was so seriously alarmed as Agrippina. Claudius, it seems, had said in conversation, that, by some fatality, it had been his constant lot to bear, for a time, the irregularities of his wives, and in the end to punish them. The expression fell from him in his liquor. Agrippina knew the force of it, and resolved to take her measures beforehand. But Domitia Lepida, whom she hated for female reasons, was to be the first devoted victim. She was the daughter of the younger Antonia, great-niece to Augustus, and sister to Cneius Domitius,[8] the first husband of the empress. Proud of these advantages, Lepida considered herself no way inferior to the imperial consort. Their age, their beauty, and their riches, were nearly on a level; both of dissolute manners, proud, fierce, lascivious, and in their vices, no less than their views of ambition, determined rivals. Which of them should have entire dominion over the mind of Nero, the aunt or the mother, was the point in dispute between them. Lepida made her approaches to the young prince by affability and softness of manners. Her liberality and endearing tenderness gained the affections of the prince. Agrippina behaved with the authority of a mother, eager to grasp the imperial dignity for her son, and when she gained it, unwilling to own him for her sovereign.

LXV. A charge was framed against Lepida, importing, "That by magic arts she aspired to the emperor's bed, and, by neglecting to bridle the insolence of her numerous slaves in Calabria, she showed herself an enemy to the peace of Italy." She was condemned to die. Narcissus endeavoured to avert the sentence; but his efforts were ineffectual. That minister had for some time beheld Agrippina with deep mistrust. He saw through her designs, and, to his select friends, did not scruple to declare, "That whatever became of the succession, whether it devolved on Nero or Britannicus, the dilemma would either way be fatal to himself. He was bound, however, to the emperor by ties of gratitude, and in his service was ready to lay down his life. It was by his counsels that Silius and Messalina were both undone. Should Nero seize the sovereignty, the crimes of his mother might bring forward the same catastrophe; and if Britannicus succeeded to the empire, with that prince he had no claim of merit. At present, a stepmother plans the ruin of the imperial house. To look on in silence, and yield to her towering ambition, were a more flagitious crime, than to have connived at the vices of the emperor's former wife. But the vices of the former wife are now renewed by Agrippina. Her adulterous commerce with Pallas is too well known; and it is equally known that her modesty, her fame, her honour, and even her person, all are subservient to her ambition." Such was the language of Narcissus. In the warmth of his emotions he embraced Britannicus; he hoped to see him grow up to man's estate; he fixed his eyes on the prince; he lifted up his hands to the gods, devoutly praying that he might live to crush the enemies of his father, even though all, who took an active part against his mother, should be doomed to perish with them.

LXVI. In the midst of these distractions, Claudius was attacked by a fit of illness. For the recovery of his health he set out for Sinuessa,[9]

8 Domitia Lepida is said in the original to have been the daughter of the younger Antonia. But this, according to Suetonius, is a mistake. Antony the triumvir had two daughters, each called Antonia, by Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The eldest, Suetonius says, was married to Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, and by him was the mother of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, the first husband of Agrippina, and by her the father of Nero. See the Genealogical Table, No. 32, 33 and 34. Antonia the younger was married to Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and by him was the mother of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius. See her character, Annals, iv. in the Supplement, s. 27; and see the Genealogical Table, No. 42.

9 For Sinuessa, see the Geographical Table. The waters of this place are recommended for their salubrity by Pliny the elder, lib. xxxi. s. 2.

to try the effect of a milder air, and the salubrious waters of the place. Agrippina thought she had now an opportunity to execute the black design which she had long since harboured in her breast. Instruments of guilt were ready at her beck, but the choice of the poison was still to be considered: if quick and sudden in its operation, the treachery would be manifest; a slow corrosive would bring on a lingering death. In that case, the danger was, that the conspiracy might, in the interval, be detected, or, in the weakness and decay of nature, the affections of a father might return, and plead in favour of Britannicus. She resolved to try a compound of new and exquisite ingredients, such as would make directly to the brain, yet not bring on an immediate dissolution. A person of well-known skill in the trade of poisoning was chosen for the business. This was the famous Locusta; a woman lately condemned as a dealer in clandestine practices, but reserved among the instruments of state to serve the purposes of dark ambition. By this tool of iniquity the mixture was prepared. The hand to administer it was that of Halotus, the eunuch, whose business it was to serve the emperor's table, and taste the viands for his master.

LXVII. The particulars of this black conspiracy transpired in some time after, and found their way into the memoirs of the age. We are told by the writers of that day that a palatable dish of mushrooms was the vehicle of the poison. The effect was not soon perceived. Through excess of wine or the stupidity of his nature, perhaps the strength of his constitution, Claudius remained insensible. An effort of nature followed, and gave him some relief. Agrippina trembled for herself. To dare boldly was now her best expedient. Regardless of her fame, and all that report could spread abroad, she had recourse to Xenophon, the physician, whom she had seduced to her interest. Under pretence of assisting Claudius to unload his stomach, this man, it is said, made use of a feather tinged with the most subtle poison, and with that instrument searched the emperor's throat. With the true spirit of an assassin he knew, that, in atrocious deeds, a feeble attempt serves only to confound the guilty, while the deed, executed with courage, consummates all, and is sure to earn the wages of iniquity.

LXVIII. Meanwhile, the senate was convened, and, though the emperor had breathed his last, the consuls and the pontiffs joined in vows and supplications for his recovery. Medical preparations were still applied to a lifeless body, and the farce of attending the sick was continued, till proper measures were taken for the succession of Nero. Agrippina, with a dejected mien, affected to sink under the weight of affliction. She looked round for consolation, and seeing Britannicus, she folded him in her arms, and called him, with expressions of tenderness, the image of his father. She detained him with fond caresses, and never suffered him to leave the apartment. With the same deceitful arts she contrived to decoy his two sisters, Antonia and Octavia. The avenues of the palace were closely guarded, and, at intervals, favourable accounts of the emperor were issued, the better to keep every thing in suspense, and amuse the hopes and fears of the soldiers, till the arrival of the propitious moment, promised by the Chaldæan astrologers.

LXIX. At length, on the third day before the ides of October,[1] about noon, the palace-gates were thrown open. A prætorian cohort, as usual, was drawn up under arms. Nero, attended by Burrhus, made his appearance, and, on a signal given by the commanding officer, the soldiers received him with shouts and acclamations. He was immediately put into a litter. Some of the soldiers, we are told, even in that scene of joy and uproar, looked around for Britannicus, and asked in vain for that unfortunate prince. None of his party appearing, they yielded to the impulse of the moment. Nero was conveyed to the camp. He addressed the soldiers in a speech suited to the occasion, and promised a donative, equal to the liberality of his deceased father. He was proclaimed Emperor of Rome. The voice of the army was confirmed by the senate. The provinces acquiesced without reluctance. Divine honours were decreed to the memory of Claudius, and funeral ceremonies, not inferior to the magnificence that attended the remains of Augustus. In this article, Agrippina was willing to vie with the pomp displayed by her great-grandmother Livia. The will of the deceased emperor was not read in public. The preference given to the son of his wife, in prejudice to the rights of his own immediate issue, might raise a spirit of discontent, and alienate the affections of the people.

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1 The thirteenth of October.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIII.

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These transactions passed in four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
808	55	The emperor Nero, L. Antistius Vetus.
809	56	Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius Scipio.
810	57	Nero, 2d time, L. Calpurnius Piso.
811	58	Nero, 3d time, Valerius Messala.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIII.

I. The new reign opened with the murder of Junius Silanus,[1] proconsul of Asia. The deed was perpetrated, by the contrivance of Agrippina, without the knowledge of Nero. In the character and conduct of Silanus there was nothing that could provoke his fate. Under the preceding emperors he had led a life so inactive, that he fell into contempt, and was called by Caligula, "The Golden Calf." But Agrippina had cut off his brother Lucius Silanus, and lived in fear of the vengeance due to her crime. Her son Nero, not yet arrived at years of discretion, was raised by her treacherous arts to the sovereign power, and, in opposition to that measure, the public voice was loud in favour of Silanus, a man every way qualified, of an understanding matured by years, an unblemished character, by his birth illustrious, and (what was then of great importance) descended from the house of Cæsar. Silanus, in fact, was the great-grandson of Augustus. These circumstances conspired to work his ruin. The actors in this dark transaction were Publius Celer, a Roman knight, and Helius, an enfranchised slave; both employed in Asia to collect the revenues of the prince. At a public feast these two conspirators administered a dose of poison to the proconsul with so little precaution, that secresy did not seem to be worth their care. The murder of Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, was despatched with as little ceremony. The quarrel between him and Agrippina[2] has been already stated. He was thrown into prison, and there confined in close and rigorous custody, till, driven to the extremity of want, he put an end to his misery with his own hand. Nero wished to prolong his days. The secret vices of the prince, though they had not then broke out into action, inclined him, by a wonderful bias of nature, to favour a man in whose avarice and prodigality he saw the counterpart of himself.

II. A number of other victims were marked for destruction; and Rome would have been a theatre of blood, had not Afranius Burrhus and Annæus Seneca prevented the impending danger. The education of the emperor had been committed to those two ministers: both high in power, and yet (uncommon as it is) free from jealousy; possessing different talents, united by sentiment, and each, in his peculiar province, of great consideration. Burrhus gave the prince instructions in the military science, and the austerity of his manners added weight to his precepts. Seneca taught the principles of eloquence, and charmed by the suavity of his manners. The two preceptors exerted their joint endeavours to fix in the prince's mind the principles of virtue, or, if that could not be, to restrain his youthful passions, and, by moderate indulgence, infuse into his mind a taste for elegant, if not innocent pleasures.

Agrippina threw difficulties in their way. Fierce with all the passions that attend inordinate ambition, she was supported, in her worst designs, by Pallas, that pernicious favourite, who incited Claudius to an incestuous marriage, and advised the adoption of Nero; two fatal measures, by which that emperor was precipitated to his ruin. But it was not in the temper or genius of Nero to bend to the politics of a freedman; on the other hand, the arrogance of Pallas, who aspired above himself, gave disgust to the prince. Public honours, in the mean time, were bestowed with a lavish hand on the emperor's mother. To a tribune, who, according to the military practice, asked for the word, Nero gave "The best of mothers." Two lictors, by a decree of the senate, were ordered to attend her person. She was, at the same time, declared the priestess of Claudius. The funeral of that prince was performed with all the pomp of censorial obsequies. He was afterwards added to the number of the gods.

III. Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He represented, in the brightest colours, the illustrious birth of the deceased emperor, the number of his consulships, and the triumphal honours of his ancestors. On those topics he dwelt with propriety, and commanded attention. The taste of Claudius for the liberal arts, and the

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1 This was Marcus Junius Silanus, the son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, the granddaughter of Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 55, 56, and 57.

2 See Annals, xii. s. 57 and 65.

undisturbed tranquillity that prevailed throughout his reign, afforded ample room for panegyric, and the orator was heard with pleasure. But when the judgment and political wisdom of Claudius were mentioned with praise and decorations of language, the ridicule was too strong, and none could refrain from laughter. And yet the speech was written by Seneca, in a style of elegance peculiar to that amiable writer, who possessed a vein of wit and fancy, that charmed the taste of the age in which he lived. It was observed, on this occasion, by men advanced in life, who love, at leisure, to compare the past with the present times, that of all the emperors, Nero was the first, who was content to be the organ of another's eloquence. In Cæsar the dictator the most eminent orators found an illustrious rival. Augustus had a flow of language, easy, clear, and copious, well suited to the dignity of a prince. Precision was the talent of Tiberius; and if his meaning was sometimes obscure, it was when he chose to be dark and impenetrable. The confused and turbulent genius of Caligula did not transfuse itself into his discourse. Even in Claudius, when he came with a speech prepared and studied, there was no want of elegance. Nero, in the prime of life, took a different turn, and, with lively parts, applied himself to other objects. Engraving,[1] painting, music, and horsemanship, were his favourite pursuits. At intervals he was fond of poetry, and his verses showed that he had, at least, a tincture of letters.

IV. Having played the part of a public mourner, Nero made his appearance in the senate. He began with a florid compliment to the authority of the fathers, and the concurrent suffrages of the army, which raised him to the imperial dignity. He added, "that he had many bright examples to excite emulation, and in his councils superior wisdom to direct his conduct. His youth had not been engaged in civil commotions, and to the rage of contending factions he was, by consequence, an utter stranger. He brought with him no private animosity, no sense of injuries, no motives to inspire revenge. He explained the system of government, which he intended to pursue; the abuses which occasioned discontent and murmurings in the former reign, were to be reformed altogether; and, in particular the decisions of causes, he was determined, should no longer depend on the authority of the prince. The practice of hearing in a chamber of the palace,[2] the accuser and the accused, and thereby subjecting the lives and fortunes of men to the influence of a few favourites, was to be abolished. In his palace nothing shall be venal; nothing carried by intrigue, by bribery, or secret influence. The revenues of the prince, and the public treasure, should be distinct and separate rights. The senate might retain the full exercise of the powers vested in that assembly by the spirit of the constitution. Italy and the provinces might, in all cases, address themselves to the tribunal of the consuls, and, through that channel, find their way to the senate. The executive power over the army was his peculiar province, and he claimed no more."[3]

V. The promise was fair, and for some time regularly observed. The fathers, of their own authority, made several regulations, and among other things ordained, that no advocate should hire out his talents in any cause whatever. The law requiring[4] a spectacle of gladiators from such as were chosen to the office of quæstor, was entirely abrogated. To these resolutions, tending, in effect, to repeal the acts of Claudius, Agrippina made a strong opposition. In order to carry her point, she caused the senate to be convened in the palace, where, at a convenient station at the door behind the arras, she might conceal her person, and overhear the debate. The fathers acted with a spirit of independence, and a decree was passed accordingly. On a subsequent occasion the ambassadors of Armenia were admitted to an audience before the prince. Agrippina advanced to the tribunal to take her seat, and preside with joint authority. All who beheld the scene were struck with terror and amazement, when Seneca, in the general confusion, had the presence of mind to bid the emperor step forward to meet his mother. Under an appearance of filial piety, the honour of the state was saved.

VI. Towards the end of the year, a report prevailed that the Parthians had once more invaded Armenia, and that Rhadamistus, tired of a kingdom so often taken and retaken, declined to end the dispute by force of arms. At Rome, where public affairs were discussed with freedom, the popular opinion was, "that Nero, young in life, just out of his seventeenth year, would not be equal to a conjuncture so arduous and important. What dependence could be had on the flexibility of a boy, still under the government of his mother? He had tutors, indeed; but would they undertake the command of armies, the conduct of sieges, and all the various operations of

1 Nero's passion for the elegant arts, had he known how to restrain it within due bounds, might have been not unworthy of a prince; but we shall see him in the sequel as ridiculous for his taste, as he was detestable for his vices.

2 See the trial of Valerius Asiaticus in the apartment of Claudius, Annals. xi. s. 2.

3 This speech gave universal satisfaction. It was, probably, written by Seneca. While it promised a reign of moderation, it served to give the young prince a lesson on the true and popular arts of government. Dio tells us, that the senate ordered it to be engraved on a pillar of solid silver, and to be publicly read every year at the time when the consuls entered on their magistracy. Dio, lib. lxi.

4 This corrupt practice, which was nothing less than open bribery, was established by law in the reign of Claudius. Annals, xi. s. 22.

war?" It was argued on the other hand, "that the situation of affairs was better than it could have been under a prince like Claudius, worn out with age, and sunk in sloth, the willing dupe of his favourite freedmen. Burrhus and Seneca were men of experience: and, with such advisers, why conclude that Nero, bordering on the season of manly vigour, was unequal to the task? Pompey, at the age of eighteen, and Octavianus Cæsar, having barely passed his nineteenth year, were both at the head of armies in times big with danger, amidst the distractions of a civil war. It is by the wisdom of their councils, and not by personal valour, that princes are crowned with glory. Whether the cabinet of Nero was filled with evil counsellors, or with men of genius and integrity, would soon be evident. If the emperor, without regarding party connections and court intrigue, chose a general, not on account of his wealth and interest, but for his military character, the question would be then fairly decided."

VII. While these different opinions kept the public mind in agitation, Nero ordered levies to be made in the eastern nations, and the legions, thus recruited, to take post on the confines of Armenia. He desired, at the same time, that Agrippa[5] and Antiochus, two oriental kings, should hold their forces in readiness to enter the territory of the Parthians. For the convenience of his armies, bridges were thrown over the Euphrates. The lesser Armenia[6] was committed to Aristobulus, and the country called Sophene[7] to Sohemus: both princes were allowed to assume the ensigns of royalty. In this crisis a fortunate circumstance gave a sudden turn in favour of Rome. Vardanes, the son of Vologeses, became a competitor for the crown in opposition to his father. The Parthians were, by consequence, obliged to recall their armies, and under colour of deferring, not of abandoning the war, Armenia was evacuated.

VIII. The fathers extolled these transactions with their usual strain of flattery. They voted that prayers and public thanksgivings should be offered to the gods, and that during the solemnity Nero, adorned with a triumphal robe, should enter the city with all the splendour of an ovation. It was further resolved, that in the temple of Mars the Avenger a statue should be erected to the prince, in form and dimension equal to that of the god. Amidst this servile adulation, the appointment of Domitius Corbulo to the command of the army in Armenia, gave universal satisfaction. The road to preferment, men began to hope, would, from that time, be open to talents and superior merit. By this arrangement which was settled in the east, part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were stationed in Syria, under the command of Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of that province. An equal number of legionary soldiers and allies, besides the cohorts and light troops that wintered in Cappadocia, were assigned to Corbulo. The kings in alliance with Rome had directions to co-operate with those generals, as the events of war should happen to require. Corbulo was high in favour with the princes of the east. Aware that fame, in the beginning of all military operations, makes a deep impression, that general advanced by rapid journeys, and at Ægeas[8] a city of Cilicia, met Quadratus, who chose an interview at that place, rather than wait till Corbulo showed himself at the head of his army in the province of Syria, where he had reason to fear that the eyes of the people would be fixed on his rival in command. The fact was, Corbulo possessed many advantages: in his person manly, of a remarkable stature, and in his discourse magnificent, he united with experience and consummate wisdom those exterior accomplishments, which, though in themselves of no real value, give an air of elegance even to trifles.

IX. The two commanders sent a joint message to Vologeses, warning him to prefer the sweets of peace to the calamities of war, and, by sending hostages, to mark his respect for the Roman name. The Parthian monarch, intending to wait for a more favourable opportunity, or, perhaps, wishing to remove from his court his most dangerous enemies, gave up as hostages the most distinguished of the line of the Arsacides. Histerius, a centurion, sent by Quadratus with orders to travel with expedition, received the hostages under his care; but Corbulo, apprised of this artful project, despatched Arrius Varus, the commander of a cohort, to claim the care and custody of the Parthian nobles. The centurion resisted. A warm dispute ensued between the two officers, till, at length, that they might not exhibit a ridiculous scene to foreign nations, the matter was referred to the decision of the hostages themselves, and the ambassadors who accompanied them. The Parthians, struck with the recent fame of the commander-in-chief, and, as often happens even among enemies, conceiving the highest respect for his person, gave the preference to Corbulo. Hence a new source of discord between the two generals. Quadratus complained, that the honour which he had acquired was unfairly wrested from him. Corbulo maintained his right, insisting that the idea of delivering up hostages had never occured to Vologeses, till such time as his hopes were humbled by the name of the superior officer who

5 Agrippa was king of Judea; Antiochus, of Commagene. See the Geographical Table.

6 The Lesser Armenia was on this side of the Euphrates See the Geographical Table. Aristobulus was the son of Herod, who formerly reigned in *Chalcis*.

7 For the country called Sophene, see the Geographical Table.

8 See the Geographical Table.

had the conduct of the war. To appease their jealousy, Nero issued an order, that on account of the prosperous events achieved by the conduct of both generals, the imperial fasces under each of them should be decorated with wreaths of laurel. These transactions happened in different years; but, for the sake of perspicuity, they are here related in one connected series.

X. In the course of the same year, Nero desired that by a decree of the senate a statue might be erected to his father Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, and that Asconius Labeo, his former tutor, might be honoured with the consular ornaments. The senate proposed, that statues of solid gold or silver should be erected in honour of the prince; but Nero had the modesty to reject the offer. A law was also in agitation, by which the year was to begin from December, the month in which Nero was born. This too was overruled. The emperor resolved to continue the old style, dating the year from the calends of January; a day rendered sacred by the established religion of the Romans. An attempt was made to arraign Carinas Celer, a member of the senate, and Julius Densus, of the equestrian order. The first was accused by his slave; the crime objected to the latter was his attachment for Britannicus. Both prosecutions were suppressed by order of the emperor.

XI. Nero and Lucius Antistius were the next consuls. [A. U. C. 808. A. D. 55.] During the solemnity of swearing the magistrates, according to custom, on the acts of the emperor, Antistius had it in command not to include in his oath the acts of the reigning prince; an instance of modesty and self-denial, which the fathers thought could not be too highly commended. They were lavish of praise, in hopes that the sense of honest fame, even in matters of little moment, implanted early in the mind of a young man, might shoot up to a principle of honour, and the love of solid glory. In a short time after, Nero distinguished himself by an act of clemency in the case of Plautius Lateranus,[1] who, for his criminal intrigues with Messalina, had been expelled the senate. The emperor restored him to his rank. He even bound himself to observe throughout his reign the virtues of humanity. This promise he renewed in several speeches prepared for him by the pen of Seneca, and probably written to display the moral lessons which the philosopher taught, or to show the brilliant talents of that lively writer.

XII. The authority of Agrippina was now on the decline. An enfranchised female slave of the name of Acte[2] had gained an entire ascendant over the affections of the prince. To conduct this intrigue, Nero chose Otho[3] and Claudius Senecio for his confidential friends; the former descended from a family of consular rank; the latter, the son of a freedman belonging to the late emperor. They were both elegant in their persons. Their taste for debauchery and clandestine vices introduced them to the notice of the prince. Their first approaches to his friendship were unperceived by Agrippina: she endeavoured afterwards to remove them from his presence, but her efforts were without effect. The emperor's friends, though famed for wisdom and the severity of their manners, made no opposition to his new intrigue. A courtesan, who gratified the ardour of a young man's passion, without injury to any person whatever, was thought an object of no importance. Nero, it is true, was married to Octavia; but neither the nobility of her birth, nor her unspotted virtue, could secure his affections. By some fatality, or, perhaps, by the secret charm of forbidden pleasures, his heart was alienated from his wife. The connection with his favourite concubine served to restrain the prince from other pursuits; and there was reason to fear, that, detached from her, he might riot in scenes of higher life, and destroy the peace and honour of the noblest families.

XIII. Agrippina was fired with indignation. She complained aloud that an enfranchised slave was put in competition with the emperor's mother, and a wretch of mean extraction was to be treated as her daughter-in-law. She stormed with all the rage of female pride, never reflecting that the prince might see his error, or that satiety or cold indifference might, in time, succeed to the vehemence of youthful passion. The haughty spirit of the mother served only to inflame the ardour of her son. He gave a loose to love, and threw off all regard for his mother, determined, for the future, to yield to no authority but that of Seneca. Among the friends of that minister was a man of the name of Annæus Serenus,[4] who pretended to admire the person of Acte, and, to throw the veil over the growing passion of Nero, conveyed to her, in his own name, the presents sent by the secret gallantry of the prince. Agrippina thought it time to abate from her ferocity. She had recourse to art, and hoped by gentle methods to regain her influence. Her own apartment was now at her son's service. Love, at his time of life, was natural, and his superior rank demanded some indulgence. Under the care and management of his mother he might enjoy his secret pleasures. She apologised for the warmth with which she broke out at first, and even made an offer of all her treasure, little inferior to imperial riches. Her conduct was

1 For Plautius Lateranus, see Annals, xi. s. 36.

2 Acte was a purchased slave from Asia. Suetonius says that Nero, being at one time determined to marry her, suborned several men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. Suet. in Neron. s. 28.

3 Otho, afterwards emperor.

4 Annæus Serenus was high in the esteem and friendship of Seneca, as appears, epist. lxiii.

always in extremes; violent in the beginning, and in the end too complying.

A transition so sudden did not escape the observation of Nero. His confidential friends were alarmed. Dreading nothing so much as the return of Agrippina's influence, they cautioned the prince not to be the dupe of a woman, who, in reality, abated nothing from the pride and arrogance of her character, though now she played an humble, but insidious part. It happened at this time that Nero examined a rich wardrobe, appropriated to the use of the mothers and wives of the emperors. He selected a splendid dress and a considerable quantity of jewels. These he ordered to be presented to Agrippina. The things were gay and magnificent, the kind of ornaments that please the taste and vanity of women, and, being unasked and unexpected, they were sent with a better grace. Agrippina construed this civility into an affront. The design, she said, was not to adorn her person, but to deprive her of the rest of those valuable effects. Her son affected to divide with his mother what he owed entirely to her protection. Her words were reported to the emperor with additional malice.

XIV. In order, by a sudden blow, to humble Agrippina and her party, Nero dismissed Pallas[5] from all his employments. By the favour of Claudius this man had been raised to a degree of power that made him assume the air and importance of first minister, and sovereign arbiter of the empire. As he withdrew from court with his train of followers, Nero pleasantly said, "Pallas is going to abdicate." Before he retired, it is certain that he had bargained for himself. It was agreed that no inquiry should be had into his conduct, and that all accounts between him and the public should be considered as closed and balanced. The indignation of Agrippina was not to be restrained: in a tone of menace she endeavoured to intimidate her enemies; even in the emperor's hearing, she exclaimed aloud, "Britannicus is grown up, the genuine issue of Claudius, and every way worthy of the succession to his father. The sovereignty has been wrested from him by an intruder, who owes his title to adoption only, and now presumes to trample on the rights of a mother, who gave him all. But every thing shall be brought to light; the misfortunes which she herself had caused in the imperial family, her incestuous marriage with her uncle, and the poison that put an end to his life; all shall be disclosed, all laid open to the world. By the favour of the gods Britannicus is still alive; that resource still remains. With that young prince she would join the army: in the camp should be heard the daughter of Germanicus; Burrhus, and Seneca, the famous exile, might present themselves before the prætorian soldiers; the first with his maimed hand, and the second, armed with his tropes and flowers of rhetoric; both worthy ministers, fit, in their own opinion, to govern the Roman world." In this strain she raved with vehemence, brandishing her hands, and pouring out a torrent of invective. She appealed to the deified Claudius; she invoked the manes of the murdered Silani, and of others who perished by her guilt, though now, in return for all, she met with nothing but treachery and ingratitude.

XV. These violent declarations made a deep impression on the mind of Nero. The birth-day of Britannicus, when that prince was to enter on his fifteenth year, was near at hand. This gave rise to a number of reflections. The turbulent spirit of Agrippina, and the character of the prince, filled him with apprehensions. On a late occasion Britannicus had given a specimen of early acuteness, slight indeed in itself, but such as disposed the people in his favour. It happened, during the Saturnalian festival,[6] that, among the diversions usual among young people, the play, "WHO SHALL BE KING?"[7] became part

5 Pallas was the person who prevailed on Claudius to contract an incestuous marriage with his niece Agrippina. From that time his influence was beyond all bounds. Suetonius says he was the prince's treasurer: *Pallantem a rationibus.* The decree of the senate in honour of this insolent freedman has been mentioned, Annals, xii. s. 53, and note. Suetonius says, that Pallas and Narcissus plundered the public with such violent rapacity, that Claudius at length complained of the impoverished state of his exchequer, when it was archly said, his *coffers would be full enough, if his two freedmen would take him into partnership.* Suet. in Claud. s. 28. The dismission of such a man from court, and all his employments, was a fatal blow to Agrippina. The speech in which she gives vent to her indignation is finely imitated by Racine, in his tragedy of Britannicus:

Pallas n'emporte pas tout l'appui d'Agrippine,
Le ciel m'en laisse assez pour venger ma ruine.
Le fils de Claudius commence a ressentir
Des crimes, dont je n'ai que le seul repentir.
J'irai, n'en doutez point, le montrer a l'armee;
Plaindre aux yeux des soldats son enfance opprimee;
Leur faire, a mon exemple, expier leur erreur,
On verra, d'un cote, le fils d'un empereur
Redemandant la foi juree a sa famille;
Et de Germanicus on attendra la fille:
De l'autre, l'on verra le fils d'Ænobarbus,
Appuye de Seneque, et du tribun Burrhus;
Qui tous deux, l'exil rappelles par moi-meme,
Partagent a mes yeux l'autorite supreme.
De nos crimes communs je veux qu'on soit instruit;
On saura les chemins par ou je l'ai conduit.
J'avouerai les rumeurs les plus injurieuses:
Je confesserai tout, exils, assassinats
Poison meme . . . . . .

6 The Saturnalia began on the seventeenth of December, and lasted fifteen days. Horace says to his slave, who wants to exercise the *equality* allowed during the festival,

——————Age, libertate Decembri,
Quando ita majores voluerunt, utere; narra.

7 In this play of *Who shall be king?* the boys threw dice to decide their chance. Horace alludes to this custom, when he says,

of the amusement at court. The lot fell to Nero: he imposed his commands on the company, in no instance aiming at ridicule or inconvenience, till it came to Britannicus. He ordered the young prince to stand in the middle of the room, and sing a song to the company. By this device he hoped that a stripling, not yet accustomed even to sober conversation, much less to revelry and the joys of wine, would be exposed to derision. Britannicus performed his part without embarrassment. His song[1] alluded to his own case, expressing the situation of a prince excluded from the throne of his ancestors. The whole company felt a touch of compassion, and, in the moment of gaiety, when wine and the midnight hour had thrown off all dissimulation, they expressed their feelings without disguise. Nero found that his pleasantry recoiled upon himself. Hatred, from that moment, took possession of his heart. The furious and implacable spirit of Agrippina kept him in a constant alarm. No crime could be alleged against Britannicus, and, by consequence, there was no colour to justify a public execution.

Nero resolved to act by covert stratagem. A preparation of poison was ordered, and Julius Pollio, a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, was called in as an accomplice. This man had in his custody the famous Locusta, a woman guilty of various crimes, and then under sentence for the practice of administering poison. She was made an instrument in the conspiracy. For some time before, care had been taken to admit none to the presence of Britannicus, but such as had long since renounced every principle of honour and of virtue. The first potion was given to Britannicus by his tutors; but being weak, or injudiciously qualified, it passed without effect. The slow progress of guilt did not suit the genius of Nero. He threatened the tribune, and was on the point of ordering the sorceress to be put to death. He railed at both as two cowards in vice, who wished to save appearances, and concert a defence for themselves, while they left a dreadful interval, big with fear and danger. To appease his wrath, they promised to prepare a dose as sure and deadly as the assassin's knife. In a room adjoining to the apartment of the emperor they mixed a draught, compounded of ingredients, whose sure and rapid quality they had already experienced.

XVI. According to the custom at that time established at court, the children of the imperial family dined, in a sitting posture, with nobility of their own age, in sight of their relations, at a table set apart, and served with due frugality. Whenever Britannicus was, in this manner, seated at his meal, it was a settled rule that an attendant should taste his food and liquor. To preserve this custom, and prevent detection by the death of both, an innocent beverage, without any infusion that could hurt, was tried by the proper officer, and presented to the prince. He found it too hot, and returned it. Cold water, in which the poison had been mixed, was immediately poured into the cup. Britannicus drank freely; the effect was violent, and, in an instant, it seized the powers of life: his limbs were palsied, his breath was suppressed, and his utterance failed. The company were thrown into consternation. Some rushed out of the room, while others, who had more discernment, staid, but in astonishment, with their eyes fixed on Nero, who lay stretched at ease on his couch, with an air of innocence, and without emotion. He contented himself with calmly saying, "This is one of the epileptic fits to which Britannicus has been subject from his infancy. The disorder will go off, and he will soon recover his senses." Agrippina was struck with horror. She endeavoured to suppress her feelings; but the inward emotions were too strong; they spoke in every feature, plainly showing that she was as innocent as Octavia, the sister of Britannicus. By this horrible act, the emperor's mother saw all her hopes at once cut off, and from so daring a step, she could even then foresee that her son would wade in blood, and add to his crimes the horror of parricide. Octavia, though still of tender years, had seen enough of courts to teach her the policy of smothering her grief, her tenderness, and every sentiment of the heart. In this manner the scene of distraction ended, and the pleasures of the table were renewed.

XVII. One and the same night saw the murder of Britannicus and his funeral. Both were preconcerted. Without expense, or any kind of pomp, the prince's remains were interred in the Field of Mars, under a shower of rain, which fell with such violence, that it passed with the multitude as the sure forerunner of divine vengeance on the authors of so foul a deed; a deed, notwithstanding all its horrors, which many were inclined to think of with less severity, when they considered that, from the earliest times, a spirit of jealousy always subsisted between brothers, and that the nature of sovereign power is such as not to endure a rival. From the writers of that period there is reason to conclude, that Nero, on various occasions, had taken advantage of the tender years of Britannicus, and offered vile indignities to his person. If the anecdote be founded in truth, the death, which delivered a descendant of the Claudian line from foul disgrace, cannot be deemed pre-

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Non regna vini sortiere talis.
Lib. i. ode 4.

And again,

Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex, an puerorum
Nænia, quæ regnum recte facientibus offert.
Lib. i. epist. 1.

1 The commentators cite some verses of Ennius, which they suppose were sung by Britannicus on this occasion. But what they say is mere conjecture.

mature or cruel. The prince, it is true, died in the hour of hospitality, without warning, without time allowed to his sister to take the last farewell; and his mortal enemy saw him in the pangs of death. After all his sufferings, the poisoned cup was mercy. The hurry with which the funeral was performed, was justified by Nero in a proclamation, stating the practice of the ancient Romans, who ordained with wisdom, "That the bodies of such as died in the prime of life should, as soon as possible, be removed from the public eye without waiting for funeral orations, and the slow parade of pomp and ceremony. For himself, deprived as he was of the assistance of a brother, he depended altogether on the affections of the people, in full persuasion, that the senate, and all orders of men, would exert their best endeavours to support a prince, who now remained the only branch of a family born to rule the empire of the world." After this public declaration, his next care was, by large donations, to secure in his interest all his most powerful friends.

XVIII. The conduct of such as were most distinguished by the munificence of the emperor, did not pass uncensured. They were men who professed integrity, and yet did not blush to take palaces,[3] country-seats, and entensive lands, all equally willing to have share of the plunder. By their apologists it was argued, that they could not avoid submitting to the will of a prince, who knew the horror of his crimes, and hoped by his liberality to soften the public resentment. Agrippina continued implacable. Indignation like hers was not to be appeased by presents. She cherished Octavia with the tenderest regard; she had frequent meetings with the leaders of her party; and, with more than her natural avarice, she collected money in all quarters; she courted the tribunes and centurions; and to the thin nobility, which then remained, she paid every mark of respect, dwelling with pleasure on their names, applauding their virtues, with a view to strengthen her interest, by a coalition of the first men in Rome. Nero was apprised of all that passed. By his orders the sentinels who guarded her gates (as had been done in the time of Claudius, and since his decease) were all withdrawn. The German soldiers, who had been added by way of doing honour to the emperor's mother, were likewise dismissed from her service. Nor did the matter rest here. To retrench the number of her adherents and visitors, Nero resolved to hold a separate court. He assigned to his mother the mansion formerly occupied by Antonia. He visited her in her new situation, but his visits were a state farce: he went with a train of attendants, and, after a short salute, took his leave with cold civility.

XIX. In the mass of human affairs there is nothing so vain and transitory as the fancied pre-eminence which depends on popular opinion, without a solid foundation to support it. Of this truth Agrippina is a melancholy proof. Her house was deserted; no friend to comfort her; no courtier to flutter at her levee; and none to visit her, except a few women who frequented her house, perhaps with a good intention, or, more probably, with the little motives of female triumph. In the number was Junia Silana, formerly divorced, as has been mentioned, from Caius Silius, at the instigation of Messalina. Since that time, she became the intimate friend of Agrippina; by her birth illustrious, distinguished by her beauty, and not less so by her lascivious conduct. Her friendship for Agrippina, soured afterwards by contentions between themselves, turned to bitter hatred. A treaty of marriage between Silana and Sextius Africanus, a citizen of illustrious rank, was rendered abortive by the ill offices of Agrippina. She told the lover, that his mistress, though no longer in the prime of life, was of a dissolute character, and still abandoned to her vicious pleasures. In this act of hostility love had no kind of share. Agrippina had not so much as a wish for the person of Africanus; but Silana enjoyed large possessions, and being a widow without children, her whole fortune might devolve to the husband.

Silana, from that moment, was stung with resentment. The season for revenge she thought was now arrived, and, for that purpose, she employed Iturius and Calvisius, two of her creatures, to frame an accusation against Agrippina, not on the ground of the old and threadbare story about her grief for Britannicus, and her zeal for Octavia; but with a deeper intent, that revenge might have its full blow. The head of the accusation was, that Agrippina had conspired with Rubellius Plautus, a descendant of Augustus, by the maternal line in the same degree as Nero, to bring about a revolution, and, in that event, to marry the usurper, and once more invade the commonwealth. With this charge, drawn up in form, Iturius and Calvisius sought Atimetus, one of the freedmen of Domitia, the emperor's aunt. A fitter person could not be chosen; he knew the enmity that subsisted between his mistress and Agrippina, and, for that reason, listened eagerly to the information. Having heard the particulars, he employed Paris the comedian (who had likewise received his freedom from Domitia,) and, by him, conveyed the whisper to the emperor, with circumstances of aggravation.

XX. The night was far advanced, and Nero passed the time in riot and gay carousal, when Paris entered the apartment. In the prince's

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3 They took the palaces, villas, and estates of Britannicus.

parties he had always been a pimp of pleasure; but now, a messenger of ill news, he appeared with an air of dejection. He laid open the particulars of the charge. Nero heard him with dismay and terror. In the first agitations of his mind, he resolved to despatch his mother, and Plautus, her accomplice. Burrhus was no longer to command the prætorian bands: he was the creature of Agrippina, raised at first by her influence, and in his heart a secret friend to her and her interest. If we may credit Fabius Rusticus, a commission was actually made out, and sent to Cæcina Tuscus; but recalled, at the request of Seneca, who interposed to save his friend from disgrace. According to Cluvius and Pliny, the honour of Burrhus was never called in question. To say the truth, the authority of Fabius Rusticus is not free from suspicion. He flourished under the protection of Seneca, and the gratitude of the writer embraces every opportunity to adorn the character of his patron.

The historical evidence is fairly before the reader, agreeably to the design of this work, which professes to depend, at all times, on the testimony of authors, when they agree among themselves; and, when they differ, to state the points in dispute, with the reasons on each side. Nero was distracted with doubt and fear. In the tumult of his thoughts, he determined to despatch his mother without delay. Nor was his fury to be restrained till Burrhus pledged himself, if the charge was verified, to see execution done upon her; but to be heard in answer to the accusation, he said, was the right of the meanest person, much more so of a mother. In the present case, no charge was made in form; no prosecutor appeared; the whole was nothing but the whisper of a busy talebearer, who brought intelligence from the house of an enemy; but the time chosen for the discovery makes the whole improbable. Paris the informer came in the dead of night; and after many hours spent in carousing, what can be expected, but confusion, ignorance, and fatal temerity?

XXI. Nero was pacified by this reasoning. At the dawn of day, proper persons were sent to Agrippina, to inform her of the allegations against her, and to hear her defence. The commission was executed by Burrhus in the presence of Seneca, and a number of freedmen, who were sent to watch the whole proceeding. Burrhus stated the charge; he named the informers, and, in a tone of severity, enforced every circumstance. Agrippina heard him undismayed, and with the pride and spirit of her character, replied as follows: "That Silana, who has never known the labours of child-bed, should be a stranger to the affections of a mother, cannot be matter of surprise. A woman of profligate manners may change her adulterers, but a mother cannot renounce her children. If Iturius and Calvisius, two bankrupts in fame as well as fortune, have sold themselves to an old woman, is it of course that I must be guilty of a crime which they have fabricated? And must my son, at the instigation of two such miscreants, commit a parricide? Let Domitia show her kindness to my son; let her vie with tenderness like mine, and I will forgive her malice; I will even thank her for it. But she is in league with Atimetus, who is known to be her paramour: Paris, the stage-player, lends his aid: the talents that figured in the theatre, he hopes, will be able to plan a real tragedy.

"At the time when my cares were busy to make Nero the adopted son of Claudius; to invest him with proconsular dignity, and declare him consul elect: when I was labouring to open to my son the road to empire, where was Domitia then? Her ponds and lakes at Baiæ engrossed all her attention. Stand forth the man, who can prove that I tampered with the city-guards; that I seduced the provinces from their allegiance, or endeavoured to corrupt the slaves and freedmen of the emperor. Had Britannicus obtained the imperial dignity, could I have hoped to live in safety? And if Rubellius Plautus, or any other person, had seized the reins of government, can it be supposed that my enemies would not have seized their opportunity to exhibit their charge, not for intemperate words, thrown out in the warmth of passion, the effusion of a mother's jealousy, but for real crimes, and those of so deep a dye, that no man can forgive them, except a son, for whom they were committed?" Such was the language of Agrippina. The warmth and energy with which she delivered herself, made an impression on all who heard her. They endeavoured to soften affliction, and mitigate the violence of her feelings. She demanded an interview with her son, and the meeting was granted. In his presence she scorned to enter into a vindication of herself. To answer the charge might betray too much diffidence; nor did she dwell on the services which she had rendered to her son; that were to tax him with ingratitude. Her object was to punish her accusers, and reward her friends. She succeeded in both.

XXII. The superintendence of corn and grain was granted to Fænius Rufus. The public spectacles, then intended by the emperor, were committed to the care of Arruntius Stella. The province of Egypt was assigned to Caius Balbillus,[1] and that of Syria to Publius Anteius. But the last was the bubble of promises, and never suffered to proceed to his government. Silana was sent into exile. Calvisius and Itu-

1 Seneca calls Balbillus the best of men, and a scholar of uncommon erudition. *Virorum optimus, in omni literarum genere rarissimus:* See Quæst. Nat. cap. iv. s. 2.

rius[2] shared the same fate. Atimetus was punished with death. Paris, the comedian, was of too much consequence: he had the art of ministering to the pleasures of the prince; his vices saved him. Rubellius Plautus was, for the present, passed by in silence.

XXIII. Soon after this transaction, Pallas and Burrhus were charged with a conspiracy to raise Cornelius Sylla to the imperial seat, in consideration of his illustrious birth, and the affinity which he bore to Claudius, being, by his marriage with Antonia, the son-in-law of that emperor. In this business, a man of the name of Pætus was the prosecutor; a busy pragmatical fellow, notorious for harassing his fellow-citizens with confiscations to the treasury, and on the present occasion a manifest impostor. To find Pallas innocent would not have been unpleasant to the fathers, if the arrogance of the man had not given disgust to all. In the course of the trial, some of his freedmen being mentioned as accomplices in the plot, he thought proper to answer, "That among his domestics he never condescended to speak: he signified his pleasure by a nod, or a motion of his hand. If the business required special directions, he committed his mind to paper, unwilling to mix in discourse with people so much beneath his notice." Burrhus, though involved in the prosecution, took his seat on the bench with the judges, and pronounced his opinion. Pætus was condemned to banishment, and all his papers, which he preserved as documents to be used in the revival of treasury suits, were committed to the flames.

XXIV. Towards the close of the year, the custom of having a cohort on duty, at the exhibition of the public spectacles, was entirely laid aside. By this measure the people were amused with a show of liberty; and the soldiers, being thus removed from the licentiousness of the theatre, were no longer in danger of tainting the discipline of the army with the vices of the city. From this experiment it was to be further seen, whether the populace, freed from the control of the military, would be observant of decency and good order. The temples of Jupiter and Minerva being struck with lightning, the emperor, by the advice of the soothsayers, ordered a solemn lustration to purify the city.

XXV. The consulship of Quintus Volusius and Publius Scipio [A. U. C. 809. A. D. 56.] was remarkable for the tranquillity that prevailed in all parts of the empire, and the corruption of manners that disgraced the city of Rome. Of all the worst enormities Nero was the author. In the garb of a slave, he roved through the streets, visited the brothels, and rambled through all by-places, attended by a band of rioters, who seized the wares and merchandise exposed to sale, and offered violence to all that fell in their way. In these frolics, Nero was so little suspected to be a party, that he was roughly handled in several frays. He received wounds on some occasions, and his face was disfigured with a scar. It was not long, however, before it transpired that the emperor was become a night brawler. The mischief from that moment grew more alarming. Men of rank were insulted, and women of the first condition suffered gross indignities. The example of the prince brought midnight riots into fashion. Private persons took their opportunity, with a band of loose companions, to annoy the public streets. Every quarter was filled with tumult and disorder, insomuch that Rome, at night, resembled a city taken by storm. In one of these wild adventures, Julius Montanus, of senatorian rank, but not yet advanced to the magistracy, happened to encounter the emperor and his party. Being attacked with force, he made a resolute defence; and finding, afterwards, that Nero was the person whom he discomfited in the fray, he endeavoured to soften resentment by apologies for his behaviour; but the excuse was considered as a reflection on the prince, and Montanus was compelled to die.

Nero persisted in this course of debauchery, and, for the safety of his person, took with him a party of soldiers, and a gang of gladiators. These men, in slight and accidental skirmishes, kept aloof from the fray; but if warm and active spirits made a stout resistance, they became parties in the quarrel, and cut their way sword in hand. The theatre, at the same time, was a scene of uproar and violent contention. The partisans of the players waged a kind of civil war. Nero encouraged them, not only with impunity, but with ample rewards. He was often a secret spectator of the tumult; and, at length, did not blush to appear in the face of the public. These disturbances were so frequent, that, from a people divided into factions, there was reason to apprehend some dreadful convulsion: the only remedy left, was to banish the players out of Italy, and once more make the soldiers mount guard at the theatre.

XXVI. About this time, the enfranchised slaves, by the insolence of their behaviour to the patrons who had given them their freedom, provoked a debate in the senate. It was proposed to pass a law, empowering the patron to reclaim his right over such as made an improper use of their liberty. The fathers were willing to

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2 The Romans had three ways of exterminating a man from his country; namely, *Exilium*, *Relegatio*, and *Deportatio*. The person condemned to exile lost the rights of a citizen, and forfeited all kinds of property. Sentence of relegation removed the person to a certain distance from Rome; but, if no fine was imposed, it took away no other right. *Deportation* was invented by Augustus. It was the severest kind of banishment. The person condemned was hurried away in chains, stripped of all property, and confined to some island or inhospitable place.

adopt the measure, but the consuls did not choose to put the question before due notice was given to the emperor. They reported the case, and the substance of the debate, requesting to know whether the prince would, of his own authority, enact a law that had but few to oppose it. In support of the motion, it had been argued, that the freedmen were leagued in a faction against their patrons, and had the insolence to think them answerable for their conduct in the senate. They went so far as to threaten violence to their persons; they raised their hands against their benefactors, and, with audacious contumacy, presumed to hinder them from seeking redress in due course of law. The patron, it is true, has peculiar privileges: but in what do they consist? In the empty power of banishing the freedman, who proves unworthy of the favour bestowed upon him, to the distance of twenty miles from Rome; that is, to send him, by way of punishment, to the delightful plains of Campania. In every other point of view, the freedman is on a level with the highest citizen. He enjoys equal privileges. It were, therefore, a prudent measure to arm the patron with coercive authority, effectual for the purpose, and of force not to be eluded. The manumitted slave should "be taught to prolong the enjoyment of his liberty by the same behaviour that obtained it at first. Nor could this be deemed an oppressive law; since, as often as the freedmen showed no sense of duty or subordination, to reduce them to their primitive servitude would be the soundest policy. When gratitude has no effect, coercion is the proper remedy."

XXVII. In answer to this reasoning, it was contended by the opposite party, "that, in all cases of partial mischief, punishment should fall on the guilty only. For the delinquency of a few, the rights of all ought not to be taken away. The freedmen were a large and numerous body. From them the number of the tribes was completed, the magistrates were supplied with inferior officers, the sacerdotal orders with assistants, and the prætorian cohorts with recruits. Many of the Roman knights, and even the senators had no other origin. Deduct the men whose fathers were enfranchised, and the number of freeborn citizens will dwindle into nothing. When the ranks of society were established at Rome, it was the wisdom of the old republic to make liberty the common right of all, not the prerogative of a few. The power of conferring freedom was also regulated, and two different modes[1] were established, to the end that the patron, if he saw reason for it, might either revoke his grant, or confirm it by additional bounty. The man enfranchised without proper ceremonies before the prætor, was liable to be claimed again by his master. But it is the business of the patron to consider well the character of his slave; till he knows the merit of the man, let him withhold his generosity; but when freedom is fairly bestowed, there ought to be no resumption of the grant." To this last opinion Nero acceded. He signified his pleasure to the senate, that, in all causes between the patron and his freedman, they should decide on the particular circumstances of the case, without derogating from the rights of the body at large. Soon after this regulation, Paris, who had received his freedom from Domitia, the emperor's aunt, was removed from her domestic train, and declared to be a freeborn citizen.[2] The colour of law was given to this proceeding; but the judgment was known to be dictated by the prince, and the infamy, therefore, was all his own.

XXVIII. There remained, notwithstanding, even at this juncture, an image of ancient liberty. A proof of this occurred in a contest that took place between Vibullius, the prætor, and, Antistius, tribune of the people. Certain partisans of the players had been, for their tumultuous behaviour, committed to jail by the prætor. The tribune interposed his authority, and released the prisoners. This conduct was condemned by the senate, as extra-judicial and illegal. A decree passed, ordaining that the tribunes should not presume to counteract the jurisdiction of the prætor, or the consuls; nor to summon to their own tribunal men who resided in different parts of Italy, and were amenable to the municipal laws of the colony. It was further settled, on the motion of Lucius

1 The Romans had two different modes of enfranchisement, or of granting freedom to their slaves. The first was performed by the prætor, who ordered the slave to turn round, and with a switch or cain struck him on the head or back, informing him that he was thereby manumitted. The second way of granting freedom was by writing under the master's hand, or by his voluntary declaration in the presence of a few friends. The most solemn mode of manumission was that by the rod, called *Vindicta:* hence Persius the satirist says, *Vindicta postquam meus a prætore recessi.* The person so enfranchised, obtained all the rights of a Roman citizen. The second form of manumission conveyed to the slave a degree of liberty, but did not rank him in the class of citizens, nor allow him to be in any case a legal witness. The consequence was, that the patron, who granted freedom by his own private act, had time to consider whether the slave, whom he released, was worthy of a further favour. He might, if he thought proper, invest him with all the rights of a citizen by the more solemn mode of manumission before the prætor. See Heineccius, Antiquit. Roman. Juris. i. tit. 4 and 5.

2 Paris the comedian was a slave belonging to Domitia, the emperor's aunt. See the Genealogical Table, No. 40. He had paid a sum of money for the degree of liberty, which her private act conferred, and still remained in her list of freedmen. Aspiring above that rank, he pretended to be ingenuous by his birth, and by consequence, entitled to all the rights of a Roman citizen; and his plea, we find, was admitted. It is said that Domitia was obliged to repay to the pantomime actor, the money which she had received for his freedom.

Piso, consul elect, that it should not be competent to the tribunes to sit in judgment at their own houses; and that the fines, imposed by their authority, should not be entered by the quæstor in the registers of the treasury, before the end of four months from the day of the sentence, that, in the mean time, the party aggrieved might have the benefit of an appeal to the consuls. The jurisdiction of the ædiles, patrician as well as plebeian, was defined and limited; the sureties which they might demand were stated with precision; and the penalties to be imposed by their authority were reduced to a certain sum. In consequence of these regulations, Helvidius Priscus, tribune of the people, seized the opportunity to proceed against Obultronius Sabinus, a quæstor of the treasury. He charged him with harassing the poor with unreasonable confiscations, and unmercifully seizing their effects to be sold by auction. To redress the grievance, Nero removed the register out of the hands of the quæstor, and left that business to the care of præfects commissioned for the purpose.

XXIX. In this department of the treasury various changes had been made, but no settled form[3] was established. In the reign of Augustus, the præfects of the treasury were chosen by the senate; but there being reason to suspect that intrigue and private views had too much influence, those officers were drawn by lot out of the list of the prætors. This mode was soon found to be defective. Chance decided, and too often wandered to men unqualified for the employment. Claudius restored the quæstors, and, to encourage them to act with vigour, promised to place them above the necessity of soliciting the suffrages of the people, and, by his own authority, to raise them to the higher magistracies. But the quæstorship being the first civil office that men could undertake, maturity of understanding was not to be expected. Nero, for that reason, chose from the prætorian rank, a set of new commissioners of known experience and tried ability.

XXX. During the same consulship, Vipsanius Lænas was found guilty of rapacity in his government of Sardinia. Cestius Proculus was prosecuted for extortion; but his accusers giving up the point, he was acquitted. Clodius Quirinalis, who had the command of the fleet at Ravenna, and by his profligate manners and various vices harassed the people in that part of Italy, with a degree of insolence not to be endured by the most abject nation, was brought to his trial on a charge of rapine and oppression. To prevent the final sentence, he despatched himself by poison. About the same time Caninius Rebilus, a man distinguished by his knowledge of the laws, and his ample riches, determined to deliver himself from the miseries of old age and a broken constitution. He opened a vein, and bled to death. The event was matter of surprise to all. The fortitude, that could voluntarily rush on death, was not expected from a man softened by voluptuous enjoyments, and infamous for his effeminate manners. Lucius Volusius, who died in the same year, left a very different character. He had lived, in splendid affluence, to the age of ninety-three, esteemed for the honest arts by which he acquired immense wealth, under a succession of despotic emperors, yet never exposed to danger. He found the art of being rich and virtuous with impunity.

XXXI. Nero, with Lucius Piso for his colleague, entered on his second consulship. [A. U. C. 810. A. D. 57.] In this year we look in vain for transactions worthy of the historian's pen. The vast foundation of a new amphitheatre,[4] built by Nero in the Field of Mars, and the massy timbers employed in that magnificent structure, might swell a volume; but descriptions of that kind may be left to grace the pages of a city journal. The dignity of the Roman people requires that these annals should not descend to a detail so minute and uninteresting. It will be proper to mention here, that Capua and Nuceria, two Roman colonies, were augmented by a body of veterans transplanted to those places. A largess of two hundred small sesterces to each man was distributed to the populace, and, to support the credit of the state, the sum of four hundred thousand great sesterces was deposited in the treasury. The twenty-fifth penny,[5] imposed as a tax on the purchase of slaves, was remitted, with an appearance of moderation, but, in fact, without any solid advantage to the public. The payment of the duty was only shifted to the vender, and he, to indemnify himself, raised his price on the purchaser. The emperor issued a proclamation forbidding the magistrates and imperial procurators to exhibit, in any of the provinces, a show

3 It has been already observed, that *Ærarium* was the treasury of the public; *Fiscus*, that of the prince. Pliny the elder says, that, in the time of the republic, when the private exchequer of the emperor was a thing unknown, the money in the treasury, A. U. C. 663, amounted to a prodigious sum. It was still greater when Julius Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war, A. U. C. 705, made himself master of all the riches of the commonwealth. From that time the dissipation of the emperors, and the rapacity of their favourites, effectually drained the *Ærarium*, and impoverished the state.

4 This amphitheatre was built entirely with wood. Suetonius says it was completed within the year; and that Nero, in the public spectacles which he exhibited, gave orders that none of the combatants should be slain, not even the criminals employed upon that occasion. Suet. in Neron. s. 12. See Pliny, lib. xvi. s. 40.

5 A tax on all commodities exposed to sale was imposed by Augustus, in the consulship of Metellus and Nerva, A. U. C. 755. Dio says it was at first the fiftieth penny, but we find that in time the sum was doubled.

of gladiators, wild beasts, or any other public spectacle. The practice of amusing the people with grand exhibitions had been as sore a grievance as even the grasping hand of avarice. The governors plundered the people, and by displays of magnificence hoped to disguise, or, in some degree, to make atonement for their crimes.

XXXII. A decree passed the senate to protect, by additional terrors of law, the life of the patron from the malice of his slaves. With this view, it was enacted, that, in the case of a master slain by his domestics, execution should be done, not only on such as remained in a state of actual servitude, but likewise on all, who, by the will of the deceased, obtained their freedom, but continued to live under his roof at the time when the murder was committed. Lucius Varius, who had been degraded for rapacious avarice, was restored to his consular rank, and his seat in the senate. Pomponia Græcina, a woman of illustrious birth, and the wife of Plautius,[1] who on his return from Britain, entered the city with the pomp of an ovation, was accused of embracing the rites of a foreign superstition.[2] The matter was referred to the jurisdiction of her husband. Plautius, in conformity to ancient usage, called together a number of her relations, and in her presence, sat in judgment on the conduct of his wife. He pronounced her innocent. She lived to a great age, in one continued train of affliction. From the time when Julia, the daughter of Drusus, was brought to a tragical end by the wicked arts of Messalina,[3] she never laid aside her mourning weeds, but pined in grief during a space of forty years, inconsolable for the loss of her friend. During the reign of Claudius nothing could alleviate her sorrow, nor was her perseverance imputed to her as a crime: in the end, it was the glory of her character.

XXXIII. This year produced a number of criminal accusations. Publius Celer was prosecuted by the province of Asia. The weight of evidence pressed so hard, that Nero, unable to acquit him, drew the cause into a tedious length. During that state of suspense, the criminal died of old age. Celer, the reader will remember, was an instrument in the murder of Silanus,[4] the proconsul. The magnitude of his guilt on that occasion so far surpassed the rest of his flagitious deeds, that nothing else was deemed worthy of notice. The enormity of one atrocious crime screened him from punishment.

The Cilicians demanded justice against Cossutianus Capito, a man of an abandoned character, who at Rome had set the laws at defiance, and thought, that, with equal impunity, he might commit the same excesses in the government of his province. The prosecution was carried on with such unremitting vigour, that he abandoned his defence. He was condemned to make restitution. A suit of the same nature was commenced against Eprius Marcellus by the people of Lycia, but with different success. A powerful faction combined to support him. The consequence was, that some of the prosecutors were banished for a conspiracy against an innocent man.

XXXIV. Nero entered on his third consulship, [A. U. C. 811. A. D. 58.] having for his colleague Valerius Messala, the great-grandson of Corvinus Messala,[5] the celebrated orator, who, in the memory of a few surviving old men, had been associated in the consulship with Augustus, the great-grandfather of Nero's mother, Agrippina. The prince granted to his colleague an annual pension of fifteen hundred thousand sesterces, and with that income Messala, who had fallen into blameless poverty, was able to support the dignity of his rank and character. Yearly stipends were also granted to Aurelius Cotta, and Haterius Antoninus, though they were both, by dissipation, the authors of their own distress.

In the beginning of this year, the war between the Romans and the Parthians, hitherto slow in its operations, grew warm and active on both sides. The possession of Armenia was the point still in dispute. Vologeses saw with indignation the crown, which he had settled on his brother Tiridates, withheld by force, and, to let him receive it as the gift of a foreign power, was a degree of humiliation to which his pride could not submit. On the other hand, to recover the conquests formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey was in Corbulo's judgment worthy of the Roman name. The Armenians balanced between the powers at war, and in their turn invited each. Their natural bias inclined them to the Parthians. Neighbours by situation, congenial in their manners, and by frequent intermarriages closely allied, they were willing to favour the enemies of Rome, and even inclined to submit to a Parthian master. Inured by habit to a taste of servitude, they neither understood, nor wished for, civil liberty.

1 This was Aulus Plautius, who in the reign of Claudius, made the first descent on Britain. See the Life of Agricola.

2 Lipsius and other commentators are of opinion, that what is here called a foreign superstition, was the Christian religion.

3 Suetonius tells us, that Claudius put to death the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any proof of guilt, and without so much as hearing them in their defence, A. U. C. 796. Suet. in Claud. s. 29.

4 See this book, s. 1.

5 Corvinus Messala was joint consul with Augustus, A. U. C. 723. For more of him, see the dialogue concerning Oratory.

XXXV. Corbulo had to struggle with the slothful disposition of his army; a mischief more embarrassing than the wily arts of the enemy. The legions from Syria joined his camp, but so enervated by the languor of peace, that they could scarce support the labours of a campaign. It is certain, that there were amongst them veterans who had seen no service; who had never been on duty at a midnight post; who never mounted guard, and were such total strangers to a fosse and a palisade, that they gazed at both as at a novelty. They had served the term prescribed in garrison-towns, without helmets, and without breast-plates, spruce and trim in their attire, by profession soldiers, yet thinking of nothing but the means of enriching themselves. Having dismissed all such as were by age and infirmity rendered unfit for the service, Corbulo ordered new levies to be made in Galatia and Cappadocia. To these he added a legion from Germany, with some troops of horse, and a detachment of infantry from the cohorts. Thus reinforced, his army kept the field, though the frost was so intense, that, without digging through the ice, it was impossible to pitch their tents. By the inclemency of the season many lost the use of their limbs, and it often happened that the sentinel died on his post. The case of one soldier deserves to be mentioned. He was employed in carrying a load of wood: his hands, nipt by the frost, and cleaving to the faggot, dropt from his arms, and fell to the ground.

The general, during the severity of the weather, gave an example of strenuous exertion; he was busy in every quarter, thinly clad, his head uncovered, in the ranks, at the works, commending the brave, relieving the weak, and by his own active vigour exciting the emulation of the men. But the rigour of the season, and the hardship of the service, were more than the soldiers could endure. The army suffered by desertion. This required an immediate remedy. The practice of lenity towards the first or second offence, which often prevailed in other armies, would have been attended with dangerous consequences. He who quitted his colours suffered death as soon as taken; and this severity proved more salutary than weak compassion. The number of deserters, from that time, fell short of what happens in other camps, where too much indulgence is the practice.

XXXVI. Having resolved to wait the return of spring, Corbulo kept his men within their intrenchments during the rest of the winter. The auxiliary cohorts were stationed at proper posts, under the command of Pactius Orphitus, who had served as principal centurion. The orders given to this officer were, that the advanced posts should by no means hazard an engagement. Orphitus sent to inform the general, that the Barbarians spread themselves round the country with so little caution, that advantage might be taken of their imprudence. Corbulo renewed his orders, that the troops should keep within the lines, and wait for a reinforcement. Orphitus paid no regard to the command of his superior officer. A few troops of horse, from the adjacent castles, came up to join him, and, through inexperience, demanded to be led against the enemy. Orphitus risked a battle, and was totally routed. The forces posted near at hand, whose duty it was to march to the assistance of the broken ranks, fled in confusion to their intrenchments. Corbulo no sooner received intelligence of his defeat, than he resolved to pass the severest censure on the disobedience of his officer. He ordered him, his subalterns, and his men, to march out of the intrenchments,[6] and there left them in disgrace, till, at the intercession of the whole army, he gave them leave to return within the lines.

XXXVII. Meanwhile Tiridates, at the head of his vassals and followers, with a strong reinforcement sent by his brother Vologeses, invaded Armenia, not, as before, by sudden incursions, but with open hostility. Wherever the people were in the interests of Rome, he laid waste their lands; if an armed force advanced against him, he shifted his quarters, and, by the velocity of his flight, eluded the attack. He moved with rapidity from place to place, and, by the terror of a wild and desultory war, more than by the success of his arms, kept the country in a constant alarm. Corbulo endeavoured, but without effect, to bring him to an engagement. He determined, therefore, to adopt the plan of the enemy, and, for that purpose, spread his forces round the country, under the conduct of his lieutenants and other subordinate officers. At the same time he caused a diversion to be made by Antiochus, king of Syria, in the provinces of Armenia, that lay contiguous to his dominions. Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, was willing, in this juncture, to co-operate with the Roman arms. He had put his son Rhadamistus to death for imputed treason, and, to make terms with Rome, while, in fact, he gratified his rooted aversion to the Armenians, he pretended to enter into the war, with the zeal and ardour of a friend to the cause. The Isichians[7] also declared for Corbulo. That people were now, for the first time, the allies of Rome. They made incursions into the wild and desert tracts of Armenia, and by a

6 This mode of punishment was established by ancient usage. Livy relates, that the cohorts, which had lost their colours, were obliged to remain on the outside of the camp, without their tents, and were found in that condition by Valerius Maximus the dictator. *Cohortes, quæ signa amiserant, extra vallum sine tentoriis destitutas invenit dictator Valerius Maximus.* Livy, lib. x. s. 4.

7 See the Geographical Table.

desultory rambling war distracted the operations of the enemy.

Tiridates finding himself counteracted on every side, sent ambassadors to expostulate, as well in the name of the Parthians, as for himself. "After hostages so lately delivered, and a renewal of friendship, that promised mutual advantages, why was his expulsion from the kingdom of Armenia the fixed, the avowed intention of the Roman army? If Vologeses was not as yet in motion with the whole strength of his kingdom, it was because he wished to prevail by the justice of his cause, and not by force of arms. If the sword must be drawn, the event would show that the Arsacides had not forgot that warlike spirit which, on former occasions, had been fatal to the Roman name." Corbulo heard this magnificent language; but, being informed, by sure intelligence, that the revolt of the Hyrcanians[1] found employment for Vologeses, he returned for answer, that the wisest measure Tiridates could pursue, would be to address himself in a suppliant style to the emperor of Rome. The kingdom of Armenia, settled on a solid basis, might be his without the effusion of blood, and the havoc of a destructive war, if to distant and chimerical hopes he preferred moderate measures and present security.

XXXVIII. From this time the business fell into a train of negotiation. Frequent despatches passed between both armies; but no progress being made towards a conclusive treaty, it was at length agreed that, at a fixed time and place, the two chiefs should come to an interview. Tiridates gave notice that he should bring with him a guard of a thousand horse; the number which Corbulo might choose for his own person, he did not take upon him to prescribe; all he desired was, that they should come with a pacific disposition, and advance to the congress without their breastplates and their helmets. This stroke of eastern perfidy was not so fine, but even the dullest capacity, not to mention an experienced general, might perceive the latent fraud. The number limited on one side, and to the opposite party left indefinite, carried with it a specious appearance; but the lurking treachery was too apparent. The Parthian cavalry excelled in the dexterity of managing the bow and arrow; and, without defensive armour, what would be the use of superior numbers? Aware of the design, but choosing to disguise his sentiments, Corbulo calmly answered, that the business being of a public nature, the discussion of it ought to be in the presence of both armies. For the convention he appointed a place inclosed on one side by a soft acclivity of gently rising hills, where the infantry might be posted to advantage, with a vale beneath, stretching to an extent that gave ample space for the cavalry. On the stated day Corbulo advanced to the meeting, with his forces in regular order. In the wings were stationed the allies and the auxiliaries sent by the kings in friendship with Rome. The sixth legion formed the centre, strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand men from the third legion, drafted in the night from the neighbouring camp. Being embodied under one eagle, they presented the appearance of a single legion. Towards the close of day, Tiridates occupied a distant ground, visible indeed, but never within hearing. Not being able to obtain a conference, the Roman general ordered his men to file off to their respective quarters.

XXXIX. Tiridates left the field with precipitation, alarmed at the various movements of the Roman army, and fearing the danger of an ambuscade, or, perhaps, intending to cut off the supplies of provisions then on the way from the city of Trebizonde[2] and the Pontic sea. But the supplies were conveyed over the mountains, where a chain of posts was formed, to secure the passes. A slow and lingering war was now to be apprehended: to bring it to a speedy issue, and compel the Armenians to act on the defensive, Corbulo resolved to level their castles to the ground. The strongest fort in that quarter was known by the name of VOLANDUM:[3] the demolition of that place he reserved for himself, and against the towns of inferior note he sent Cornelius Flaccus, a lieutenant general, and Insteius Capito, præfect of the camp. Having reconnoitred the works, and prepared for the assault, he harangued his men in effect as follows: "You have now to do with a dastardly and fugitive enemy; a vagabond race, always roving in predatory bands, betraying at once their unwarlike spirit and their perfidy; impatient of peace, and cowards in war. The time is arrived, when the whole nation may be exterminated: by one brave exploit you may gain both fame and booty to reward your valour." Having thus inflamed the spirit of his men, he arranged them in four divisions: one close embodied under their shields, forming a military shell, to sap the foundation of the ramparts; a second party advanced with ladders to scale the walls; a third with their warlike engines threw into the place a shower of darts and missive fire; while the slingers and archers, posted at a convenient distance, discharged a volley of metal and huge massy stones.

To keep the enemy employed in every quarter, the attack was made on all sides at once. In less than four hours the Barbarians were driven from their stations; the ramparts were left defenceless, the gates were forced, and the works taken by scalade. A dreadful slaughter followed.

1 For the Hyrcanians, see the Geographical Table.

2 For Trebizonde, see the Geographical Table.

3 Lipsius says, this castle is mentioned by no other ancient author.

All who were capable of carrying arms were put to the sword. On the part of the Romans only one man was killed; the number of wounded was inconsiderable. The women and children were sold to slavery: the rest was left to be plundered by the soldiers. The operations of Flaccus and Capito were attended with equal success. In one day three castles were taken by storm. A general panic overspread the country. From motives of fear or treachery the inhabitants surrendered at discretion. Encouraged by these prosperous events, Corbulo was now resolved to lay siege in form to Artaxata,[4] the capital of the kingdom. He did not, however, think it advisable to march the nearest way. The river Araxes[5] washes the walls of the city: the legions would have found it necessary to construct the necessary bridges in sight of the enemy, exposed to their darts and missive weapons. They took a wider circuit, and forded over where the current was broad and shallow.

XL. Tiridates was thrown into the utmost distress. Shame and fear took possession of him by turns. If he suffered a blockade to be formed, his weak condition would be too apparent; if he attempted to raise the siege, his cavalry might be surrounded in the narrow defiles. He resolved to show himself towards the close of the day in order of battle, and next morning, either to attack the Romans, or, by a sudden retreat, to draw them into an ambuscade. With this intent he made a sudden movement, and surrounded the legions. The attempt gave no alarm to Corbulo: prepared for all events, he had marshalled his men either for action or a march. The third legion took post in the right wing; the sixth advanced on the left; and a select detachment from the tenth formed the centre. The baggage was secure between the ranks: a body of a thousand horse brought up the rear, with orders to face the enemy whenever an attack was made, but never to pursue them. The foot archers, and the rest of the cavalry, were distributed in the wings. The left extended their ranks towards the foot of the hills, in order, if the Barbarians advanced on that side, to hem them in between the front lines and the centre of the army. Tiridates contented himself with vain parade, shifting his ground with celerity, yet never within the throw of a dart, advancing, retreating, and by every stratagem, trying to make the Romans open their ranks, and leave themselves liable to be attacked in scattered parties. His efforts were without effect: one officer, who commanded a troop of horse, advanced from his post, and fell under a volley of darts. His temerity restrained the rest of the army. Towards the close of day, Tiridates, seeing his wiles defeated, withdrew with all his forces.

XLI. Corbulo encamped on the spot. Having reason to imagine that Tiridates would throw himself into the city of Artaxata, he debated whether it would not be best, without loss of time, to push forward by rapid marches, and lay siege to the place. While he remained in suspense, intelligence was brought by the scouts that the prince set off at full speed towards some distant region, but whether to Media or Albania, was uncertain. He resolved, therefore, to wait the return of day, and in the mean time despatched the light-armed cohorts, with orders to invest the city, and begin their attack at a proper distance. The inhabitants threw open their gates, and surrendered at discretion. Their lives were saved, but the town was reduced to ashes. No other measure could be adopted; the walls were of wide extent, and a sufficient garrison could not be spared, at a time when it was necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and if the city were left unhurt, the advantage, as well as glory of the conquest, would be lost. To these reasons were added an extraordinary appearance in the heavens. It happened that the sunbeams played with brilliant lustre on the adjacent country, making the whole circumference a scene of splendour, while the precinct of the town was covered with the darkest gloom, at intervals rendered still more awful by flashes of lightning, that served to show the impending horror. This phænomenon was believed to be the wrath of the gods, denouncing the destruction of the city.

For these transactions Nero was saluted Imperator. The senate decreed a solemn thanksgiving. Statues and triumphal arches were erected, and the prince was declared perpetual consul. The day on which the victory was gained, and also that on which the news arrived at Rome, and the report was made to the senate, were by a decree to be observed as annual festivals. Many other votes were passed with the same spirit of adulation, all in their tendency so excessive, that Caius Cassius, who had concurred with every motion, observed at last, that if, for the benignity of the gods to the Roman people, due thanks were to be voted, acts of religion would engross the whole year; and therefore, care should be taken to fix the days of devotion at proper intervals, that they might not encroach too much on the business of civil life.

XLII. About this time a man who had suffered various revolutions of fortune, and by his vices had brought on himself the public detestation, was cited to answer a charge exhibited against him before the senate. He was condemned, but not without fixing a stain on the character of Seneca. Suillius[6] was the person: in the reign of Claudius he had been

4 See the Geographical Table.

5 For the Araxes, see the Geographical Table.

6 For this man, Suillius, see Annals, iv. s. 31. Annals, xi. s. 1.

the scourge and terror of his fellow-citizens; a venal orator, and an informer by profession. In the late change of government he had been much reduced, but not low enough to gratify the resentment of his enemies. His spirit was still unconquered. Rather than descend to humble supplications, he preferred the character of a convicted malefactor. To come at this man, a late decree of the senate, reviving the pains and penalties of the Cincian law[1] against such advocates as received a price for their eloquence, was thought to have been framed by the advice of Seneca. Suillius exclaimed against the proceeding. At his time of life he had little to fear. To the natural ferocity of his temper he now added a contempt of danger.

He poured out a torrent of invective, and in particular railed with acrimony against Seneca. "The philosopher," he said, "was an enemy to the friends of Claudius. He had been banished by that emperor, and the disgrace was not inflicted without just reason. He is now grown old in the pursuit of frivolous literature, a vain retailer of rhetoric to raw and inexperienced boys. He beholds, with an eye of envy all, who, in the defence of their fellow-citizens, exert a pure, a sound, a manly eloquence. That Suillius lived with reputation in the service of Germanicus, is a fact well known. He was quæstor under that prince, while Seneca corrupted the morals of his daughter, and dishonoured the family. If it be a crime to receive from a client the reward of honest industry, what shall be said of him who steals into the chamber of a princess to debauch her virtue?[2] By what system of ethics, and by what rules of philosophy, has this professor warped into the favour of the emperor, and, in less than four years, amassed three hundred million of sesterces? Through the city of Rome his snares are spread; last wills and testimonies are his quarry; and the rich, who have no children, are his prey. By exorbitant usury[3] he has overwhelmed all Italy; the provinces are exhausted, and he is still insatiate. The wealth of Suillius cannot be counted great; but it is the fruit of honest industry. He is now determined to bid defiance to his enemies, and hazard all consequences, rather than derogate from his rank and the glory of his life, by poorly yielding to a new man; an upstart in the state; a sudden child of fortune."

XLIII. By a set of officious talebearers, who love to carry intelligence, and inflame it with the addition of their own malevolence, these bitter invectives were conveyed to Seneca. The enemies of Suillius were set to work: they charged him with rapine and peculation during his government in Asia. To substantiate these allegations, twelve months were allowed to the prosecutors: but that put off their vengeance to a distant day. To shorten their work, they chose to proceed upon a new charge, without going out of Rome for witnesses. The accusation stated, "That by a virulent prosecution he had driven Quintus Pomponius[4] into open rebellion; that by his pernicious arts Julia, the daughter of Drusus, and Poppæa Sabina, were forced to put a period to their lives; that Valerius Asiaticus, Lusius Saturninus, and Cornelius Lupus, with a long list of Roman knights, were all cut off by his villany; and, in short, every act of cruelty in the reign of Claudius was imputed to him." To these charges Suillius answered, that he acted always under the immediate orders of the prince, and never of his own motion. Nero overruled that defence, averring, that he had inspected all the papers of the late emperor, and from those vouchers it plainly appeared, that not one prosecution was set on foot by the order of Claudius. The criminal resorted to the commands of Messalina; but, by shifting his ground, his cause grew weaker. Why, it was argued, was he the only person who lent himself to the wicked designs of that pernicious prostitute? Shall the perpetrator of evil deeds, who has received his hire, be allowed to transfer his guilt to the person who paid him the wages of his iniquity?

Suillius was condemned, and his effects were confiscated, except a part allowed to his son and grandaughter, in addition to what was left to them under the will of their mother and their grandmother. He was banished to the islands called the Baleares.[5] During the whole of the trial, he behaved with undaunted firmness, and even after the sentence his spirit was still unbroken. He was said to have lived in his lone retreat, not only at ease, but in voluptuous affluence. His enemies intended to wreak their malice on his son Nerulinus, and, with that view, charged him with extortion. Nero checked the prosecution; the ends of justice being, as he thought, sufficiently answered.

XLIV. It happened, at this time, that Octavius Sagitta, tribune of the people, fell in love to

1 For the Cincian law against the venality of orators, see Annals, xi. s. 5 and 7.

2 This was Julia, the daughter of Germanicus. Seneca was accused of an intrigue with her, and banished by Claudius to the isle of Corsica, A. U. C. 794. He was recalled by the influence of Agrippina, Annals, xii. s. 8.

3 The charge of usury, with which the memory of Seneca is loaded, rests chiefly on the authority of Dio. By that historian we are told that the philosopher had placed immense sums at interest in Britain, and, by his vexatious and unrelenting demands of payment, was the cause of insurrections among the Britons. Dio's veracity has been questioned, but the passage in Tacitus gives some colour to the charge.

4 Quintus Pomponius has been mentioned before; Annals, vi. s. 18. For the death of Sabina Poppæa, see Annals, xi. s. 2.

5 For the Baleares, see the Geographical Table.

distraction with a married woman of the name of Pontia. By presents and unbounded generosity he seduced her to his embraces, and afterwards, by a promise of marriage, engaged her consent to a divorce from her husband. Pontia was no sooner free from the nuptial tie, than her imagination opened to her other prospects. She affected delays; her father made objections; she had hopes of a better match, and finally she refused to perform her contract. Octavius expostulated; he complained; he threatened; his reputation suffered, and his fortune was ruined. His life was all that he had left, and that he was ready to sacrifice at her command. His suit, however earnest, made no impression. In despair, he begged one night only; that small indulgence would assuage his sorrows, and take the sting from disappointment. The assignation was made. Pontia ordered her servant, who was privy to the intrigue, to watch her bedchamber. The lover went to his appointment. He carried with him one of his freedmen, and a poniard under his robe. The scene which usually occurs, when love is stung to jealousy, was acted between the parties; reproaches, fond endearments, rage, and tenderness, war and peace, took their turn.[6]

Part of the night was passed in mutual enjoyment. At length, Octavius, in the moment of soft security, when the unhappy victim thought all violence at an end, seized his dagger, and sheathed it in her heart. The maid rushed in to assist her mistress. Octavius wounded her, and made his escape. On the following day, the murder was reported abroad; and the hand that gave the blow was strongly suspected. Octavius, it was certain, had passed the night with the deceased; but his freedman boldly stood forth, and took the crime upon himself. It was his deed; an act of justice due to an injured master. This generous fortitude from the mouth of an assassin was heard with astonishment, and for some time gained credit, till the maid, who had recovered from her wound, disclosed the particulars of the whole transaction. Pontia's father appealed to the tribunal of the consuls, and Octavius, as soon as his office of tribune ceased, was condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian law against assassins.[7]

XLV. In the course of the same year, another scene of libidinous passion was brought forward, more important than that which we have related, and, in the end, the cause of public calamity. Sabina Poppæa, at that time, lived at Rome in a style of taste and elegance. She was the daughter of Titus Ollius, but she took her name from Poppæus Sabinus,[8] her grandfather by the maternal line. Her father Ollius was, at one time, rising to the highest honours; but being a friend of Sejanus, he was involved in the ruin of that minister. The grandfather had figured on the stage of public business. He was of consular rank, and obtained the honour of a triumph. To be the known descendant of a man so distinguished, flattered the vanity of Poppæa. Virtue excepted, she possessed all the qualities that adorned the female character. Her mother[9] was the reigning beauty of her time. From her the daughter inherited nobility of birth, with all the graces of an elegant form. Her fortune was equal to her rank; her conversation had every winning art; her talents were cultivated, and her wit refined. She knew how to assume an air of modesty, and yet pursue lascivious pleasures; in her deportment, decent; in her heart, a libertine. When she appeared in public, which was but seldom, she wore a veil, that shaded, or seemed to shade, her face; perhaps intending that her beauty should not wear out or tarnish to the eye; or because that style of dress was most becoming. To the voice of fame she paid no regard: her husband and her adulterer were equally welcome to her embraces. Love, with her, was not an affair of the heart. Knowing no attachment herself, she required none from others. Where she saw her interest, there she bestowed her favours; a politician even in her pleasures. She was married to Rufius Crispinus, a Roman knight, and was by him the mother of a son;[10] but Otho, a youth of expectation, luxurious, prodigal, and high in favour with Nero, attracted her regard. She yielded to his addresses, and, in a short time, married the adulterer.

XLVI. Otho, in company with the emperor, grew lavish in her praise. Her beauty and her elegant manners were his constant theme. He talked, perhaps, with the warmth and indiscretion of a lover; perhaps, with a design to inflame the passions of Nero, and from their mutual relish of the same enjoyments to derive new strength to support his interest. Rising from Nero's table, he was often heard to say, "I am going to the arms of her, who possesses every amiable accomplishment; by her birth ennobled; endeared by beauty; the wish of all beholders, and to the favoured man the source of true delight." Nero became enamoured. No time was lost. Poppæa received his visits. At the first interview

6 In this account of the varying passions of lovers, Tacitus seems to have had his eye on the passage in Terence:

In amore hæc omnia insunt vitia: injuriæ,
Suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rursum. Eunuch. act i. s. 14.

7 He was sent into banishment. History, iv. s. 44.

8 Probably the same who was consul A. U. C. 762.

9 Her mother Poppæa has been mentioned, Annals, xi. s. 1 and 2.

10 The name of the son was Rufinus Crispinus, who, we are told by Suetonius, was thrown into the sea by order of Nero, because he was reported to act among his play-fellows the part of a general or an emperor. Suet. in Neron. s. 35. Otho, who succeeded so well with Poppæa, was afterwards emperor.

she called forth all her charms, and ensured her conquest. She admired the dignity of the prince. His air, his manner, and his looks were irresistible. By this well-acted fondness she gained entire dominion over his affections. Proud of her success, she thought it time to act her part with female airs, and coy reluctance. If Nero wished to detain her more than a night or two, she could not think of complying; she was married to a man whom she loved. She could not risk the loss of a situation so perfectly happy. Otho led a life of taste and elegance, unrivalled in his pleasures. Under his roof she saw nothing but magnificence, in a style worthy of the highest station. She objected to Nero that he had contracted different habits. He lived in close connection with Acte, a low-born slave; and from so mean a commerce, what could be expected but sordid manners and degenerate sentiment! From that moment, Otho lost his interest with the prince: he had orders neither to frequent the palace, nor to show himself in the train of attendants. At length, to remove a rival, Nero made him governor of Lusitania. Otho quitted Rome, and, till the breaking out of the civil wars, continued in the administration of his province, a firm and upright magistrate, in this instance exhibiting to the world that wonderful union of repugnant qualities which marked the man; in private life, luxurious, profligate, and prone to every vice; in his public capacity, prudent, just, and temperate in the use of power.

XLVII. It was in this juncture that Nero first threw off the mask. He had hitherto cloked the vices of his nature. The person whom he dreaded most, was Cornelius Sylla; a man, in fact, of a dull and sluggish understanding; but his stupidity passed with Nero for profound thinking, and the deep reserve of a dangerous politician. In this idea he was confirmed by the malignity of one Graptus, a man enfranchised by the emperor, and from the reign of Tiberius hackneyed in the practice of courts. He framed an artful story. The Milvian[1] bridge was, at that time, the fashionable scene of midnight revelry: being out of the limits of Rome, the emperor thought that he might riot, at that place, with unbounded freedom. Graptus told him, that a conspiracy had been formed against his life, and the villains lay in ambush on the Flaminian way; but as fortune would have it, the prince, by passing through the Sallustian[2] gardens, escaped the snare. To give colour to this invented tale, he alleged the following circumstance: In one of the riots which were common in those dissolute times, a set of young men fell into a skirmish with the attendants of the emperor. This, he said, was a concerted plot, and Sylla was the author of it, though not so much as one of his clients, nor even a slave of his, was found to have been of the party. Sylla, in fact, had neither capacity nor spirit for an undertaking so big with danger; and yet, on the suggestion of Graptus, which was received as positive proof, he was obliged to quit his country, and reside, for the future, in the city of Marseilles.

XLVIII. During the same consulship, the senate gave audience to the deputies, from the magistrates and the people of Puteoli.[3] The former complained of the licentiousness of the populace, and the latter retaliated, in bitter terms, against the pride and avarice of the nobles. It appeared that the mob rose in a tumultuous body, discharging volleys of stones, and threatening to set fire to the houses. A general massacre was likely to be the consequence. Caius Cassius was despatched to quell the insurrection. His measures, too harsh and violent for the occasion, served only to irritate the people. He was recalled, at his own request, and the two Scribonii were sent to supply his place. They took with them a prætorian cohort. By the terror of a military force, and the execution of a few ringleaders, the public tranquillity was restored.

XLIX. A decree of the senate, which had no higher object than to authorize the people of Syracuse to exceed, in their public spectacles, the number of gladiators limited by law, would be matter too trite and unworthy of notice, if the opposition, made by Pætus Thrasea, had not excited against that excellent man a number of enemies. They seized the opportunity to traduce his character. "If he is, as he pretends to be, seriously of opinion, that the public good requires liberty of speech and freedom of debate, why descend to things so frivolous in their nature? Are peace and war of no importance? When laws are in question; when tributes and imposts are the subject before the fathers, and when points of the first importance are in agitation, where is his eloquence then? Every senator, who rises in his place, has the privilege of moving whatever he conceives to be conducive to the public welfare; and what he moves, he has a right to discuss, to debate, and put to the vote. And yet to regulate the amphitheatre of Syracuse is the sole business of a professed and zealous patriot! Is the administration in all its parts so fair and perfect, that even Thrasea himself, if he held the reins of government, could find nothing to reform? If he suffers matters of the first importance to pass in silence, why amuse us with a mock debate on questions, wherein no man finds himself interested?"

The friends of Thrasea desired an explanation of his conduct; his answer was as follows: When he rose to make his objections to the law in question, he was not ignorant of the mis-

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 Brotier says, now *Villa Belloni* and *Villa Verospi*, near the gate called *Salara*.

3 See the Geographical Table.

management that prevailed in all departments of the government; but the principle on which he acted, had in view the honour of the senate. When matters of little moment drew the attention of the fathers, men would see that affairs of importance could not escape a body of men, who thought nothing that concerned the public beneath their notice.

L. The complaints of the people, in the course of this year, against the oppressions practised by the collectors[4] of the revenue, were so loud and violent, that Nero was inclined to abolish the whole system of duties and taxes, thereby to serve the interests of humanity, and bestow on mankind the greatest blessing in his power. To this generous sentiment the fathers gave the highest applause; but the design, they said, however noble, was altogether impracticable. To abrogate all taxes, were to cut off the resources of government, and dissolve the commonwealth. Repeal the imposts on trade, and what would be the consequence? The tribute paid by the provinces must, in like manner, be remitted. The several companies that farmed the revenue were established by the consuls and tribunes of Rome, in the period of liberty, when the old republic flourished in all its glory. The revenue system, which has since grown up, was farmed on a fair estimate, proportioned to the demands of government. It would, indeed, be highly proper to restrain within due bounds the conduct of the collectors, that the several duties which were sanctioned by the acquiescence of ages, might not, by oppression and rapacity, be converted into a grievance too rigorous to be endured.

LI. Nero issued a proclamation, directing that the revenue laws,[5] till that time kept among the mysteries of state, should be drawn up in form, and entered on the public tables for the inspection of all degrees and ranks of men. It was also made a rule, that no arrear of more than a year's standing should be recovered by the taxgatherers, and, in all cases of complaint against those officers, the same should be heard and decided in a summary way, by the prætor at Rome, and in the provinces by the proprætors or proconsuls. To the soldiers all former privileges and immunities were preserved, with an exception of the duties on merchandise, if they entered into trade. Many other regulations were added, all just and equitable, and, for some time, strictly observed, but suffered afterwards to fall into disuse. The abolition, however, of the fortieth and the fiftieth penny, with many other exactions, invented by the avarice of the publicans, still continues in force. The exportation of corn, from the provinces beyond sea, was also put under proper regulations; the imposts were diminished; the shipping employed in commerce was not to be rated in the estimate of the merchants' effects, and, of course, stood exempted from all duties.

LII. Sulpicius Camerinus[6] and Pomponius Silvanus, who had governed in Africa with proconsular authority, were both accused of maladministration, and acquitted by the emperor. The accusers of Camerinus were few in number, and their allegations were private acts of cruelty to individuals, not rapine or extortion, or any charge of a public nature. Silvanus was beset by powerful enemies. They prayed time to produce their witnesses: the defendant pressed for an immediate hearing. He was rich, advanced in years, and had no children; the consequence was, that a strong party espoused his interest. He triumphed over his enemies, and his friends went unrewarded. They hoped by their services to merit his estate, but he survived them all.

LIII. During this whole period, a settled calm prevailed in Germany. The commanders, in that quarter, plainly saw that triumphal ornaments, granted, as they had been, on every trifling occasion, were no longer an honour. To preserve the peace of the provinces they thought their truest glory. Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus were then at the head of the legions. That the soldiery, however, might not languish in a state of inaction, Paulinus finished the great work of a bank, to prevent the inundations of the Rhine; a project begun by Drusus sixty-three years before.[7] Vetus had conceived a vast design; he had in contemplation a canal, by which the waters of the Moselle[8] and the Arar were to be communicated, to the end that the Roman forces might be able, for the future, to enter the Rhone from the Mediterranean, and passing thence into the Arar, proceed through the new channel into the Moselle, and sail down the Rhine into the German ocean. This plan

4 The oppressions exercised by this class of men are often mentioned by Tacitus, Livy, and other Roman historians.

5 See Montesquieu on this subject, Spirit of Laws, book xiii. ch. 19.

6 Sulpicius Camerinus, with his son, was afterwards put to death by Nero. See Appendix to the xvith book of the Annals.

7 Drusus, the father of Germanicus, died in Germany A. U. C. 745. He had finished a canal, as mentioned Annals, ii. s. 8; and to prevent the overflowings of the Rhine, which often deluged the adjacent parts of Gaul, he laid the plan of a strong bank, by which the waters would have been thrown into a different course, and discharged into the lakes, now the *Zuyder-zee*. This great work was at length finished by Paulinus Pompeius.

8 The *Arar* is now the *Saone*. Brotier observes, that this great undertaking, tending to communicate the Mediterranean and the Ocean, often attempted, and as often abandoned, was at length accomplished, to the immortal glory of Lewis XIV. That "imperial work, worthy of a king," is now called the *Royal Canal* or the Canal of *Languedoc*.

was on a great scale: fatiguing marches over a long tract of land would be no longer necessary, and a commodious navigation would be opened between the western and the northern seas.

Ælius Gracilis, who commanded in the Belgic Gaul, heard of this magnificent plan with the jealousy of a little mind. He gave notice to Vetus, that he and his legions must not think of entering the province of another officer. Such a step, he said, would have the appearance of a design to gain the affections of the people of Gaul, and, by consequence, might give umbrage to the emperor. In this manner, as often happens, the danger of having too much merit laid aside a project of great importance to the public.

LIV. The Barbarians, having seen the long inactivity of the Roman armies, conceived a notion that the generals had it in command not to march against the enemy. In this persuasion, the Frisians,[1] having ordered the weak, through sex or age, to be conveyed across the lakes, marched with the flower of their young men through woods and morasses towards the banks of the Rhine, where they took possession of a large tract, vacant, indeed, at the time, but in fact appropriated to the use of the Roman soldiers. In this emigration, the leading chiefs were Verritus and Malorix, both of them sovereign princes, if sovereign power may be said to exist in Germany. They had already fixed their habitations: they began to cultivate the soil, and the lands were sown in as full security as if they occupied their native soil: when Vibius Avitus, who succeeded Paulinus in the government of the province, threatened to attack them with his whole force, if they did not evacuate the country, or obtain a settlement from the emperor. Intimidated by these menaces, the German chiefs set out for Rome. Being there obliged to wait till Nero was at leisure from other business, they employed their time in seeing such curiosities as are usually shown to strangers. They were conducted to Pompey's theatre,[2] where the grandeur of the people, in one vast assembly, could not fail to make an impression. Rude minds have no taste for the exhibitions of the theatre.[3] They gazed at every thing with a face of wonder: the place for the populace, and the different seats assigned to the several orders of the state, engaged their attention. Curiosity was excited: they enquired which were the Roman knights, and which the senators. Among the last they perceived a few, who, by their exotic dress, were known to be foreigners. They soon learned that they were ambassadors from different states, and that the privilege of mixing with the fathers was granted by way of distinction, to do honour to men, who by their courage and fidelity surpassed the rest of the world. The answer gave offence to the two chieftains. In point of valour and integrity, the Germans, they said, were second to no people upon earth. With this stroke of national pride, they rose abruptly, and took their seats among the senators. Their rough but honest simplicity diffused a general pleasure through the audience. It was considered as the sudden impulse of liberty; a glow of generous emulation. Nero granted to the two chiefs the privilege of Roman citizens, but, at the same time, declared, that the Frisians must depart from the lands which they had presumed to occupy. The Barbarians refused to submit. A detachment of the auxiliary horse was sent forward, with orders to dislodge them. The attack was made with vigour, and all who resisted, were either taken prisoners, or put to the sword.

LV. Another irruption was soon after made in the same quarter by the Ansibarians,[4] a people respected for their own internal strength, and still more formidable, on account of the general sympathy with which the neighbouring states beheld their sufferings. They had been driven by the Chaucians from their native land, and having no place which they could call their country, they roamed about in quest of some retreat, where they might dwell in peace, although in exile. Boiocalus, a warlike chief, was at the head of this wandering nation. He had gained renown in arms, and distinguished himself by his faithful attachment to the interests of Rome. He urged, in vindication of his conduct, that in the revolt of the Cheruscans,[5] he had been loaded with irons by the order of Arminius. Since that time, he had served in the Roman armies; at first under Tiberius, and afterwards under Germanicus; and now, at the end of fifty years, he was willing to add to his past services the merit of submitting himself and his people to the protection of the Romans. "The country in dispute," he said, "was of wide extent; and under colour of reserving it for the use of the legions, whole tracts of land remained unoccupied, waste, and desolate. Let the Roman soldiers depasture their cattle; let them retain lands for that purpose; but let them not, while they feed their horses, reduce mankind to the necessity of perishing by famine. Let them not prefer a

1 For the Frisians, see the Geographical Table.

2 Pliny the elder says, that Pompey's theatre was large enough to hold forty thousand men. Pliny, lib. xxxvi. s. 15.

3 The Germans had no idea of any kind of public spectacle but that which they had seen in their own country. Manners of the Germans, s. 24.

4 The country into which the irruption was made, is supposed to be the land between *Wesel* and *Dusseldorf*. The Ansibarians, before they were expelled by the Chaucians, inhabited between the river *Amisia* (the *Ems*) and the *Rhine*.

5 The revolt of the Cheruscans, in which Varus and his three legions perished. Annals, book i. s. 10.

dreary solitude to the interests of humanity. The affections of a people, willing to live in friendship with them, are preferable to a wide waste of barren lands. The exclusive possession of the country in question was by no means a novelty. It had been occupied, first by the Chamavians;[6] after them by the Tubantes; and finally, by the Usipians. The firmanent over our heads is the mansion of the gods; the earth was given to man; and what remains unoccupied, lies in common for all." At these words, he looked up to the sun, and appealing to the whole planetary system, asked with a spirit of enthusiasm, as if the heavenly luminaries were actually present, whether an uncultivated desert, the desolation of nature, gave a prospect fit for them to survey. Would they not rather let loose the ocean, to overwhelm in a sudden deluge a race of men, who made it their trade to carry devastation through the nations, and make the world a wilderness?

LVI. Avitus answered in a decisive tone, that the law of the strongest must prevail. "The gods, whom Boiocalus invoked, had so ordained. By their high will, the Romans were invested with supreme authority: to give, or take away, was their prerogative; they were the sovereign arbiters, and would admit no other judges." Such was the answer given in public to the Ansibarians. To Boiocalus, in consideration of his former merit, an allotment of lands was privately offered. The German considered it as the price of treachery, and rejected it with disdain: "The earth," he said, "may not afford a spot where we may dwell in peace: a place where we may die we can never want." The interview ended here. Both sides departed with mutual animosity. The Ansibarians prepared for war. They endeavoured to rouse the Bructerians,[7] the Tencterians, and other nations still more remote. Avitus sent despatches to Curtilius Mancia, the commander-in-chief on the Upper Rhine, with instructions to cross the river, and show himself in the rear of the enemy. In the meantime, he put himself at the head of his legions, and entered the country of the Tencterians,[8] threatening to carry sword and fire through their territories, if they did not forthwith renounce the confederacy. The Barbarians laid down their arms. The Bructerians in a panic followed their example. Terror and consternation spread through the country. In the cause of others none were willing to encounter certain danger.

In this distress, the Ansibarians, abandoned by all, retreated to the Usipians and Tubantes. Being there rejected, they sought protection from the Cattians, and afterwards from the Cheruscans. In the end, worn out with long and painful marches, no where received as friends, in most places repulsed as enemies, and wanting every thing in a foreign land, the whole nation perished. The young, and such as were able to carry arms, were put to the sword; the rest were sold to slavery.

LVII. In the course of the same summer, a battle was fought, with great rage and slaughter, between the Hermundurians and the Cattians.[9] The exclusive property of a river, which flowed between both nations, impregnated with stores of salt,[10] was the cause of their mutual animosity. To the natural fierceness of Barbarians, who know no decision but that of the sword, they added the gloomy motives of superstition. According to the creed of those savage nations, that part of the world lay in the vicinity of the heavens, and thence the prayers of men were wafted to the ear of the gods. The whole region was, by consequence, peculiarly favoured; and to that circumstance it was to be ascribed, that the river and the adjacent woods teemed with quantities of salt,[11] not, as in other places, a concretion on the seashore, formed by the foaming of the waves, but produced by the simple act of throwing the water from the stream on a pile of burning wood, where, by the conflict of opposite elements, the substance was engendered. For this salt a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared in favour of the Hermundurians. The event was the more destructive to the Cattians, as both armies, with their usual ferocity, had devoted the vanquished as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. By that horrible vow, men and horses, with whatever belonged to the routed army, were doomed to destruction. The vengeance meditated by the Cattians fell with redoubled fury on themselves.

About the same time, a dreadful and unforeseen disaster befel the Ubians, a people in alliance with Rome. By a sudden eruption of subterraneous fire, their farms, their villages, their cities, and their habitations, were all involved in one general conflagration. The flames extended far and wide, and well nigh reached the Roman colony, lately founded in that part of Germany. The fire raged with such violence, that neither the rain from the heavens, nor the river-waters, could extinguish it. Every remedy failed, till the peasants, driven to desperation, threw in heaps of stones, and checked the fury of the flames. The mischief beginning to sub-

6 For the Chamavians, the Tubantes, and Usipians, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 32 and 33.

7 For the Bructerians and Tencterians, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 32 and 33.

8 The country on the borders of the river *Luppia*, now the *Lippe*.

9 See the Geographical Table.

10 This was the river *Sala*, still known by the same name. It discharges itself into the *Albis*, now the *Elbe*.

11 This method of producing salt is explained by Pliny in his Natural History, lib. xxxi. s. 7.

side, they advanced with clubs, as if to attack a troop of wild beasts. Having beat down the fire, they stripped off their clothes, and throwing them, wet and besmeared with filth, upon the flames, extinguished the conflagration.

LVIII. This year the tree, called RUMINALIS,[1] which stood in the place assigned for public elections, and eight hundred and forty years before[2] had given shelter to the infancy of Romulus and Remus, began to wither in all its branches. The sapless trunk seemed to threaten a total decay. This was considered as a dreadful prognostic, till new buds expanding into leaf, the tree recovered its former verdure.

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1 It was supposed that under the shade of this tree Romulus and Remus were nourished by the she-wolf, as beautifully described by Virgil:

Fecerat et viridi fœtam Mavortis in antro
Procubuisse lupam: Geminos huic ubera circum
Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
Impavidos; illam tereti cervice revulsam
Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.
ÆNEID, lib. viii.

Rumen was an old Latin word for *mamma*, or the dug of the she-wolf: thence the tree was called RUMINALIS.

2 Some of the commentators think that there is a mistake in the computation, and that it ought to be eight hundred and thirty years. The difference is not material.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

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These transactions include near four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ	Consuls.
812	59	Caius Vipstanus Apronianus, Lucius Fonteius Capito.
813	60	Nero, 4th time, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
814	61	Cæsonius Pætus, Petronius Turpilianus.
815	62	P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

I. Caius Vipstanus and Lucius Fonteius succeeded to the consulship [A. U. C. 812. A. D. 59.] Nero was determined no longer to defer the black design which had lain for some time fostered in his heart. He had gained in four years a taste of power, and was now grown sanguine enough to think that he might hazard a daring stride in guilt. His love for Poppæa kindled every day to higher ardour. To be the imperial wife was the ambition of that aspiring beauty; but while Agrippina lived, she could not hope to see Octavia divorced from the emperor. She began, by whispering calumny, to undermine the emperor's mother, and, at times, in a vein of pleasantry, to alarm the pride and jealousy of Nero. With an air of raillery she called him a pupil, still under tuition; a dependant on the will of others, in fancy guiding the reins of government, but, in reality, deprived of personal liberty. "For what reason was her marriage so long deferred? Had her person already lost the power of pleasing? Were the triumphal honours obtained by her ancestors a bar to her preferment? Or was it supposed that she was not of a fruitful constitution, capable of bearing children? Perhaps the sincerity of her love was called in question. No; the voice of a wife might be heard, and the pride and avarice with which an imperious mother insulted the senate and oppressed the people, might be exposed in open day. If, however, it was a settled point with Agrippina, that no one but the bosom plague of the emperor should be her daughter-in-law, Poppæa could return to the embraces of Otho;[1] with him she could retire to some remote corner of the world, where she might hear, indeed, of the emperor's disgrace, but at a distance, with the consolation of neither being a spectatress of the scene, nor a sharer in his afflictions." By these and such like suggestions, intermixed with tears and female artifice, she ensnared the heart of Nero. No one attempted to weaken her influence. To see the pride of Agrippina humbled was the wish of all; but that the son would renounce the ties of natural affection, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his mother, was what never entered the imagination of any man.

II. In the history of those times, transmitted to us by Cluvius, we read, that Agrippina, in her rage for power, did not scruple to meet the emperor about the middle of the day, as he rose from table, high in blood, and warm with wine. Having adorned her person to the best advantage, she hoped, in those moments, to incite desire, and allure him to the unnatural union. Wanton play and amorous dalliance were seen by the confidential attendants, and deemed a certain prelude to the act of criminal gratification. Against the artifices of one woman Seneca resolved to play off the charms of another, and Acté[2] was accordingly employed. The jealousy of the concubine was easily alarmed: she saw her own danger, and the infamy that awaited the prince. Being taught her lesson, she gave notice to Nero that he was publicly charged with incest, while his mother gloried in the crime. The army, she said, would revolt from a man plunged in vice of so deep a dye. Fabius Rusticus differs from this account. If we believe that author, Agrippina did not seek this vile pollution. It was the natural passion of Nero, and Acté had the address to wean him from it. Cluvius, however, is confirmed by the testimony of other writers. The report of common fame is also on his side. Men were willing to believe the worst of Agrippina. If she was not, in fact, guilty of a design so detestable, a new inclination, however shocking to nature, seemed probable in a woman of her character; who, in the prime of her youth, from motives of ambition, resigned her person to Lepidus;[3] who afterwards, with the same view, descended to be the prostitute of Pallas, and, to crown the whole, by an incestuous marriage with her uncle, avowed herself capable of the worst of crimes.

III. From this time Nero shunned the presence of his mother. Whenever she went to

1 Otho, afterwards emperor. See book xiii. s. 45 and 46.

2 Acte has been already mentioned, Annals, xiii. 12.

3 Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 54.

her gardens, or to either of her seats at Tusculum[1] or Antium, he commended her taste for the pleasures of retirement. At length, detesting her wherever she was, he determined to despatch her at once. How to execute his purpose, whether by poison, or the poniard, was the only difficulty. The former seemed the most advisable; but to administer it at his own table might be dangerous, since the fate of Britannicus was too well known. To tamper with her domestics was equally unsafe. A woman of her cast, practised in guilt, and inured to evil deeds, would be upon her guard; and besides, by the habit of using antidotes, she was fortified against every kind of poison. To assassinate her, and yet conceal the murder, was impracticable. Nero had no settled plan, nor was there among his creatures a single person in whom he could confide.

In this embarrassment Anicetus offered his assistance. This man had a genius for the worst iniquity. From the rank of an enfranchised slave, he rose to the command of the fleet that lay at Misenum. He had been tutor to Nero in his infancy, and always at variance with Agrippina. Mutual hostility produced mutual hatred. He proposed the model of a ship upon a new construction, formed in such a manner that in the open sea part might give way at once, and plunge Agrippina to the bottom. The ocean, he said was the element of disasters; and if the vessel foundered, malignity itself could not convert into a crime what would appear to be the effect of adverse winds and boisterous waves. After her decease the prince would have nothing to do but to raise a temple to her memory. Altars and public monuments would be proofs of filial piety.

IV. Nero approved of the stratagem, and the circumstances of the time conspired to favour it. The court was then at Baiæ, to celebrate, during five days, the festival called the QUINQUATRUA.[2] Agrippina was invited to be of the party. To tempt her thither Nero changed his tone. "The humours of a parent claimed indulgence; for sudden starts of passion allowance ought to be made, and petty resentments could not be effaced too soon." By this artifice he hoped to circulate an opinion of his entire reconciliation, and Agrippina, he had no doubt, with the easy credulity of her sex, would be the dupe of a report that flattered her wishes. She sailed from Antium to attend the festival. The prince went to the sea-coast to receive her. He gave her his hand; he embraced her tenderly, and conducted her to a villa colled Bauli,[3] in a pleasant situation, washed by the sea, where it forms a bay between the cape of Misenum and the gulf of Baiæ. Among the vessels that lay at anchor, one in particular, more superb than the rest, seemed intended by its decorations to do honour to the emperor's mother. Agrippina was fond of sailing parties. She frequently made coasting voyages in a galley with three ranks of oars, and mariners selected from the fleet. The banquet of which she was to partake, was fixed at a late hour, that the darkness of the night might favour the perpetration of an atrocious deed.

But the secret transpired: on the first intelligence, Agrippina, it is said, could scarce give credit to so black a story. She chose, however, to be conveyed to Baiæ in a land carriage. Her fears, as soon as she arrived, were dissipated by the polite address of her son. He gave her the most gracious reception, and placed her at table above himself. He talked with frankness, and, by intermixing the sallies of youthful vivacity with more sedate conversation, had the skill to blend the gay, the airy, and the serious. He protracted the pleasures of the social meeting to a late hour, when Agrippina thought it time to retire. The prince attended her to the shore; he exchanged a thousand fond endearments, and, clasping her to his bosom, fixed his eyes upon her with ardent affection, perhaps intending, under the appearance of filial piety, to disguise his purpose; or, it might be, that the sight of a mother doomed to destruction, might make even a heart like his yield, for a moment, to the touch of nature.

V. That this iniquitous scene should not be wrapped in darkness, the care of Providence seems to have interposed. The night was calm and serene; the stars shot forth their brightest lustre, and the sea presented a smooth expanse. Agrippina went on board, attended by only two of her domestic train. One of them, Crepereius Gallus, took his place near the steerage; the other, a female attendant, by name Acerronia, stretched herself at the foot of the bed where her mistress lay, and in the fulness of her heart expressed her joy to see the son awakened to a sense of his duty, and the mother restored to his good graces. The vessel had made but little way, when, on a signal given, the deck over Agrippina's cabin fell in at once. Being loaded with lead, Crepereius was crushed under the weight. The props of the bed-room happening to be of a solid structure, bore up the load, and saved both Agrippina and her servant. Nor did the vessel, as was intended, fall to pieces at once. Consternation, hurry, and confusion, followed. The innocent, in a panic, bustled to and fro, embarrassing and confounding such as were in the plot. To heave the ship on one side, and sink her at once, was the design of the accomplices: but not acting in concert, and the rest making contrary

1 See the Geographical Table.

2 A feast in honour of Minerva, beginning on the nineteenth of March, and continued for five days. See Ovid. Fast. lib. iii. ver. 713 and 810.

3 *Bauli*, formerly the seat of Hortensius, was famous for great plenty of fish; hence at this day the name of *Peschiera d'Ortensio*.

efforts, the vessel went down by slow degrees. This gave the passengers an opportunity of escaping from the wreck, and trusting to the mercy of the waves.

Acerronia, in her fright, called herself Agrippina, and, with pathetic accents, implored the mariners to save the emperor's mother. The assassins fell upon her with their oars, with their poles, and with whatever instruments they could seize. She died under repeated blows. Agrippina hushed her fears; not a word escaping from her, she passed undistinguished by the murderers, without any other damage than a wound on her shoulder. She dashed into the sea, and by struggling with all her efforts, kept herself above water till the small barks put off from the shore, and, coming in good time to her assistance, conveyed her up the Lucrine lake[1] to her own villa.

VI. She was now at leisure to reflect on the misery of her situation. The treachery of her son's letter, conceived in terms of affection, and his mock civility, were too apparent. Without a gust of wind, and without touching a rock, at a small distance from the shore, the vessel broke down from the upper deck, like a piece of mechanism constructed for the purpose. The death of Acerronia, and the wound which she herself received, were decisive circumstances. But even in that juncture she thought it best to temporize. Against powerful enemies not to see too much is the safest policy. She sent her freedman Agerinus to inform her son that, by the favour of the gods, and the good auspices of the emperor, she had escaped from a shipwreck. The news, she had no doubt, would affect her son, but for the present, she wished he would forbear to visit her. In her situation, rest was all she wanted. Having despatched her messenger, she assumed an air of courage; she got her wound dressed, and used all proper applications. With an air of ease she called for the last will of Acerronia, and, having ordered an inventory to be made of her effects, secured every thing under her own seal; acting in this single article without dissimulation.

VII. Nero in the meantime, expected, with impatience, an account of his mother's death. Intelligence at last was brought that she still survived, wounded, indeed, and knowing from what quarter the blow was aimed. The prince heard the news with terror and astonishment. In the hurry of his imagination, he saw his mother already at hand, fierce with indignation, calling aloud for vengeance, and rousing her slaves to an insurrection. She might have recourse to the army, and stir up a rebellion; she might open the whole dark transaction to the senate; she might carry her complaints to the ear of the people. Her wound, the wreck, the murder of her friends, every circumstance would inflame resentment. What course remained for him? Where was Seneca? and where was Burrhus? He had sent for them on the first alarm: they came with expedition; but whether strangers to the plot, remains uncertain. They stood, for some time, fixed in silence. To dissuade the emperor from his fell design, they knew was not in their power; and, in the present dilemma, they saw, perhaps, that Agrippina must fall, or Nero perish. Seneca, though on all other occasions ready to take the lead, fixed his eyes on Burrhus. After a pause, he desired to know whether it were advisable to order the soldiers to complete the business. Burrhus was of opinion, that the prætorian soldiers, devoted to the house of Cæsar, and still respecting the memory of Germanicus, would not be willing to spill the blood of his daughter. It was for Anicetus to finish the last act of the tragedy.

That bold assassin undertook the business. He desired to have the catastrophe in his own hands. Nero revived at the sound. From that day, he said the imperial dignity would be his, and that mighty benefit would be conferred by an enfranchised slave. "Haste, fly," he cried; "take with you men fit for your purpose, and consummate all." Anicetus heard that a message was sent by Agrippina, and that Agerinus was actually arrived. His ready invention planned a new scene of villany. While the messenger was in the act of addressing the prince, he dropped a poniard between his legs, and instantly, as if he had discovered a treasonable design, seized the man, and loaded him with irons, from that circumstance taking colour to charge Agrippina with a plot against the life of her son. When she was disposed of, a report that, in despair, she put an end to her life, would be an apt addition to the fable.

VIII. Meanwhile, the news of Agrippina's danger spread an alarm round the country. The general cry imputed it to accident. The people rushed in crowds to the sea-shore; they went on the piers that projected into the sea; they filled the boats; they waded as far as they could venture; stretching forth their hands, and calling aloud for help; the bay resounded with shrieks and lamentations, with distracting questions, dissonant answers, and a wild confusion of voices. Amidst the uproar, numbers came with lighted torches. Finding that Agrippina was safe, they pressed forward to offer their congratulations, when a body of armed soldiers, threatening violence, obliged the whole crowd to disperse. Anicetus planted a guard round the mansion of Agrippina, and having burst open the gates, he seized the slaves, and forced his way to her apartment.

A few domestics remained at the door to guard

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4 The Lucrine Lake, now *Lago Lucrino*. Agrippina's villa was at *Baali*. There is in the neighbourhood a place now called *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

the entrance: fear had dispersed the rest. In the room the pale glimmer of a feeble light was seen, and only one maid in waiting. Before the ruffians broke in, Agrippina passed the moments in dreadful agitation: she wondered that no messenger had arrived from her son. What detained Agerinus? she listened, and on the coast where, not long before, the whole was tumult, noise, and confusion, a dismal silence prevailed, broken at intervals, by a sudden uproar, that added to the horror of the scene. Agrippina trembled for herself. Her servant was leaving the room: she called to her, "And do you too desert me?" In that instant she saw Anicetus entering the chamber. Herculeus, who had the command of a galley, and Oloaritus, a marine centurion, followed him. "If you come," said Agrippina, "from the prince, tell him I am well; if your intents are murderous, you are not sent by my son: the guilt of parricide is foreign to his heart." The ruffians surrounded her bed. The centurion of the marines was drawing his sword: at the sight Agrippina presented her person, "And here," she said, "PLUNGE YOUR SWORD IN MY WOMB." Herculeus, in that moment, gave the first blow with a club, and wounded her on the head. She expired under a number of mortal wounds.

IX. The facts here related stand confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historians. It is added, but not with equal authority, that Nero beheld his mother stretched in death, and praised the elegance of her form. This, however, is denied by other writers. The body was laid out on a common couch, such as is used at meals, and, without any other ceremony, burnt that very night. During the life of Nero, no honour was offered to her remains; no tomb was erected to tell where she lay: nor was there so much as a mound of earth to enclose the place. After some time an humble monument[1] was raised by her domestics on the road to Misenum, near the villa[2] of Cæsar the Dictator, which, from an eminence, commands a beautiful prospect of the sea and the bays along the coast. Mnester, one of the enfranchised slaves of Agrippina, attended the funeral. As soon as the pile was lighted, this man, unwilling to survive his mistress, or, perhaps, dreading the malice of her enemies, despatched himself with his own sword. Of her own dreadful catastrophe Agrippina had warning many years before, when, consulting the Chaldeans about the future lot of her son, she was told, that he would reign at Rome, and kill his mother. "Let him," she said, "let him kill me but let him reign."

X. This dreadful parricide was no sooner executed than Nero began to feel the horrors of his guilt. He lay, during the rest of the night, on the rack of his own mind; silent, pensive, starting up with sudden fear, wild and distracted. He lifted his eyes in quest of daylight, yet dreaded its approach. The tribunes and centurions, by the advice of Burrhus, were the first to administer consolation. The flattery of these men raised him from despair. They grasped his hand, congratulating him on his escape from the dark designs of his mother. His friends crowded to the temples to offer up their thanks to the gods. The neighbouring cities of Campania followed their example. They offered victims, and sent addresses to the prince. Nero played a different part; he appeared with a dejected mien, weary of life, and inconsolable for the loss of his mother. But the face of a country cannot, like the features of man, assume a new appearance. The sea and the adjacent coast presented to his eyes a scene of guilt and horror. It was reported at the same time that the sound of trumpets was distinctly heard along the ridge of the hills, and groans and shrieks issued from Agrippina's grave. Nero removed to Naples, and from that place despatched letters to the senate, in substance as follows:

XI. "Agerinus, the freedman of Agrippina, and of all her creatures the highest in her confidence, was found armed with a poniard; and the blow being prevented, with the same spirit that planned the murder of her son, she despatched herself." The letter proceeded to state a number of past transactions: "Her ambition aimed at a share in the supreme power, and the prætorian bands were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to her. The senate and the people were to submit to the same indignity, and bear the yoke of female tyranny. Seeing her schemes defeated, she became an enemy to the fathers, to the soldiers, and the whole community; she neither suffered a donative to be distributed to the army, nor a largess to the populace. At her instigation prosecutions were set on foot against the best and most illustrious men in Rome. If she did not enter the senate, and give audience to the ambassadors of foreign nations,[3] all would remember how that disgrace was prevented." The reign of Claudius did not escape his animadversion; but whatever were the enormities of that period, Agrippina, he said, was the cause of all. Her death was an event in which the good fortune of the empire was signally displayed. He gave a circumstantial account of the shipwreck: but what man existed, so absurd and so stupid,

1 It is still called, as mentioned above, *Sepolchro d'Agrippina.*

2 Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar, had their villas in the neighbourhood of *Baiæ*, all built on the ridge of hills, and looking, as Seneca says, more like military works, than rural seats. *Scias non villas esse, sed castra.* Epist. 5.

3 See her attempt prevented by Seneca, Annals, xiii. s. 5.

as to believe it the effect of chance? Was it probable that a woman, who had just escaped from the fury of the waves, would send a single ruffian to attempt the life of a prince, surrounded by his guards and his naval officers? The indignation of the public was not confined to Nero: with regard to him, who had plunged in guilt beyond all example, it was useless to complain. Censure was lost in mute astonishment. The popular odium fell on Seneca: his pen was seen in the prince's letters, and the attempt to gloss and varnish so vile a deed, was considered as the avowal of an accomplice.

XII. The voice of the people did not restrain the adulation of the senate. Several decrees were passed in a strain of servile flattery; such as supplications and solemn vows at all the altars throughout the city of Rome; the festival called the Quinquatrua (during which the late conspiracy was detected) was to be celebrated, for the future, with the addition of public games; the statue of Minerva, wrought in gold, to be placed in the senate house, with that of the emperor near it; and finally, the anniversary of Agrippina's birth-day to be unhallowed in the calendar. Pætus Thrasea had been often present, when the fathers descended to acts of meanness, and he did not rise in opposition; but, upon this occasion, he left his seat, and walked out of the house, by his virtue provoking future vengeance, yet doing no service to the cause of liberty.

There happened, about this time, a number of prodigies, all deemed striking prognostics, but no consequences followed. A woman was delivered of a serpent: another died in the embrace of her husband, by a stroke of thunder. The sun suffered an eclipse,[4] and the fourteen quarters of Rome were struck with lightning. In these extraordinary appearances the hand of providence, it is evident, did not interpose; since the vices and tyranny of Nero continued to harass mankind for several years. The policy of the prince had now two objects in view: the first, to blacken the memory of his mother; and the second, to amuse the people with a show of his own clemency, when left, without control, to the bent of his own inclination. To this end, he recalled from banishment, to which they had been condemned by the vindictive spirit of Agrippina, two illustrious women, namely, Junia[5] and Calpurnia, together with Valerius Capito, and Licinius Gabolus, both of prætorian rank. He permitted the ashes of Lollia Paulina[6] to be brought to Rome, and a mausoleum to be erected to her memory. To Iturius and Calvisius,[7] whom his own violence had driven into exile, he granted a free pardon. Silana[8] had paid her debt to nature. Towards the end of Agrippina's life, when the power of that princess began to decline, or her resentment to be appeased, she had obtained leave to return from her distant exile as far as Tarentum. At that place she closed her days.

XIII. Nero loitered in the towns of Campania, full of doubt and perplexity, unable to determine how he should enter the city of Rome. Would the senate receive him with a submissive and complying spirit? Could he rely on the temper of the people? These were points that made him anxious and irresolute. The vile advisers of his court (and never court more abounded with so pernicious a race) interfered to animate his drooping spirit. They assured him, with confidence, that the name of Agrippina was held in detestation, and, since her death, the affections of the people for the person of the emperor knew no bounds. He had only to show himself, and it would be seen that he reigned in the hearts of the multitude. To prepare the way, they desired leave to enter the city of Rome before him.

On their arrival, they found all things favourable beyond their hopes; they saw the several tribes going forth in procession to meet the prince; the senate in their robes of state; whole crowds of women, with their children, ranged in classes according to their respective ages, in the streets through which Nero was to pass; rows of scaffolding built up, and an amphitheatre of spectators, as if a triumph were to enter the city. Nero made his entry, flushed with the pride of victory over the minds of willing slaves, and proceeded, amidst the acclamations of gazing multitudes, to the capitol, where he offered thanks to the gods. From that moment he threw off all restraint. The authority of his mother, feeble as it was, had hitherto curbed the violence of his passions: but that check being now removed, he broke out at once, and gave a full display of his character.

XIV. To acquire the fame of a charioteer, and to figure in the race with a curricle and four horses, had been long the favourite passion of Nero. He had besides another frivolous talent: he could play on the harp, and sing to his own performance. With this pitiful ambition he had been often the minstrel of convivial parties. He justified his taste by observing, that "in ancient times, it had been the practice of heroes and of kings. The names of illustrious persons, who consecrated their talents to the honour of the gods, were preserved in immortal verse. Apollo was the tutelar deity of melody and song; and,

4 This eclipse was the day before the calends of May, that is, on the 30th of April, A. U. C. 812; of the Christian era 59. See Pliny, lib. ii. s. 70.

5 For Junia Calvina, see Annals, xii. s. 8; and the Genealogical Table, No. 62. For Calpurnia, Annals, xii. s. 22.

6 For Lollia Paulina, see Annals, xii. s. 22.

7 Iturius and Calvisius banished by Nero; Annals, xiii. s. 22.

8 Silana was also banished by Nero; Annals, xiii. s. 22.

though invested with the higher attributes of inspiration and prophecy, he was represented, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Roman temples, with a lyre in his hand, and the dress of a musical performer." The rage of Nero for these amusements was not to be controlled. Seneca and Burrhus endeavoured to prevent the ridicule, to which a prince might expose himself by exhibiting his talents to the multitude. By their direction, a wide space, in the vale at the foot of the Vatican,[1] was inclosed for the use of the emperor, that he might there manage the reins, and practise all his skill, without being a spectacle for the public eye. But his love of fame was not to be confined within those narrow bounds. He invited the multitude. They extolled, with raptures, the abilities of a prince, who gratified their darling passion for public diversions.

The two governors were in hopes that their pupil, as soon as he had his frolic, would be sensible of the disgrace; but the effect was otherwise. The applause of the populace inspired him with fresh ardour. To keep himself in countenance, he conceived if he could bring the practice into fashion, that his own infamy would be lost in the disgrace of others. With this view, he cast his eye on the descendants of families once illustrious, but at that time fallen to decay. From that class of men he selected the most necessitous, such as would be easily tempted to let themselves out for hire. He retained them as actors, and produced them on the public stage. Their names I forbear to mention: though they are now no more, the honour of their ancestors claim respect. The disgrace recoils on him, who chose to employ his treasure, not for the noble end of preventing scandal, but to procure it. Nor was he willing to stop here: by vast rewards he bribed several Roman knights to descend into the arena, and present a show to the people. The situation of these unhappy men deserves our pity; for what are the bribes of an absolute prince, but the commands of him who has power to compel?

XV. Nero was not as yet hardy enough to expose his person on a public stage. To gratify his passion for scenic amusements, and at the same time to save appearances, he established an entertainment, called the JUVENILE SPORTS. To promote this institution, numbers of the first distinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honours, were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimicry; proud to languish at the soft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank[2] studied the most lascivious characters. In the grove planted round the lake, where Augustus gave his naval engagement, booths and places of recreation were erected, to pamper luxury, and inflame desire. By the prince's orders sums of money were distributed. Good men, through motives of fear, accepted the donation; and to the profligate, whatever ministered to sensuality, was sure to be acceptable. Luxury and corruption triumphed.

The manners, it is true, had, long before this time, fallen into degeneracy; but in these new assemblies a torrent of vice bore down every thing, beyond the example of former ages. Even in better days, when science and the liberal arts had not entirely lost their influence, virtue and modesty could scarce maintain their post; but in an age, that openly professed every species of depravity, what stand could be made by truth, by innocence, or by modest merit? The general corruption encouraged Nero to throw off all restraint. He mounted the stage, and became a public performer for the amusement of the people. With his harp in his hand, he entered the scene; he tuned the chords with a graceful air, and with delicate flourishes gave a prelude to his art. He stood in a circle of his friends, a prætorian cohort on guard, and the tribunes and centurions near his person. Burrhus was also present, pleasure in his countenance, and anguish at his heart. He grieved, while he applauded. At this time was instituted a company of Roman knights under the title of THE AUGUSTAN SOCIETY,[3] consisting of young men in the prime of life, some of them libertines from inclination, and others hoping by their profligacy to gain preferment. They attended night and day, to applaud the prince; they admired the graces of his person, and, in the various notes of that exquisite voice, they heard the melody of the gods, who were all excelled by the enchanting talents of the prince. The tribe of sycophants assumed airs of grandeur, swelling with self-importance, as if they were all rising to preferment by their genius and their virtues.

XVI. Theatrical fame was not sufficient for the ambition of Nero: he wished to excel in poetry. All, who possessed the art of versification, were assembled to assist his studies. In this society of wits, young men, not yet qualified by their years to figure in the world, displayed the first essays of their genius. They met in the dearest intimacy. Scraps of poetry, by different

1 This was a circus begun by Caligula, and finished by Nero. The church of St. Peter is built on this spot, and the obelisk which stood there, was placed before St. Peter's at a vast expense, by Pope Sixtus V.

2 We are told by Dio, that Ælia Catella, a woman of fourscore, exposed herself and old age to scorn, by dancing on the stage, among the court sycophants of the time. Dio, lib. lxi.

3 Suetonius says, that the leaders of this new society had salaries of forty thousand sesterces allowed them. In Neron. s. 20.

hands,[3] were brought to the meeting, or composed on the spot; and those fragments, however unconnected, they endeavoured to weave into a regular poem, taking care to insert the words and phrases of the emperor, as the most brilliant ornaments of the piece. That this was their method, appears from a perusal of the several compositions, in which we see rhapsody without genius, verse without poetry, and nothing like the work of one creative fancy. Nor was philosophy disregarded by the emperor. At stated hours, when his convivial joys were finished, the professors of wisdom were admitted. Various systems were dogmatically supported; and to see the followers of different sects quarrel about an hypothesis was the amusement of Nero. He saw besides, among the venerable sages, some with formal mien and looks of austerity, who under an air of coyness plainly showed that they relished the pleasures of a court.

XVII. About this time a dreadful fray broke out between the inhabitants of Nuceria[4] and Pompeii, two Italian colonies. The dispute, slight in the beginning, soon rose to violence, and terminated in blood. It happened that Livineius Regulus,[5] who, as already mentioned, had been expelled the senate, gave a spectacle of gladiators. At this meeting jests and raillery, and the rough wit of country towns, flew about among the populace; abuse and scurrility followed; altercation excited anger; anger rose to fury; stones were thrown, and finally they had recourse to arms. The people of Pompeium, where the spectacle was given, were too strong for their adversaries. The Nucerians suffered in the conflict. Numbers of their friends, covered with wounds, were sent to Rome. Sons wept for their parents, and parents for their children. The senate, to whom the matter was referred by the prince, directed an inquiry before the consuls, and, upon their report, passed a decree, prohibiting, for the space of ten years, the like assemblies at Pompeium, and, moreover, dissolving certain societies established in that city, and incorporated contrary to law. Livineius and others, who appeared to be ringleaders in the riot, were ordered into banishment.

XVIII. At the suit of the Cyrenians, Pedius Blæsus[6] was expelled the senate. The charge against him was that he had pillaged the sacred treasure of Æsculapius, and, in the business of listing soldiers, had been guilty of receiving bribes, and committing various acts of gross partiality. A complaint was preferred by the same people against Acilius Strabo, a man of prætorian rank, who had been sent a commissioner by the emperor Claudius, with powers to ascertain the boundaries of the lands which formerly belonged to king Apion,[7] and were by him bequeathed, with the rest of his dominions, to the Roman people. Various intruders had entered on the vacant possession, and from occupancy and length of time hoped to derive a legal title. The people, disappointed in their expectations, appealed from the sentence of Strabo. The senate, professing to know nothing of the commission granted by Claudius, referred the business to the decision of the prince. Nero ratified the award made by Strabo; but, to show a mark of good will to the allies of Rome, he restored the lands in question to the persons who had been dispossessed.

XIX. In a short time after died Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two illustrious citizens, eminent for the civil honours which they attained, and not less distinguished by their eloquence. Afer had been a shining ornament of the bar: Servilius entered the same career, but having left the forum, gave a signal proof of his genius by a well-digested history of Roman affairs. Elegant in his life and manners, he formed a contrast to the rough character of Afer, to whom in point of genius he was every way equal, in probity and morals his superior.[8]

XX. Nero entered on his fourth consulship, with Cornelius Cossus for his colleague, [A. U. C. 813. A. D. 60.] On the model of the Greek olympics, he instituted public games to be celebrated every fifth year, and, for that reason, called quinquennial.[9] In this, as in all cases of innovation, the opinions of men were much at variance. By such as disliked the measure, it was observed, that even Pompey, by building a permanent theatre,[10] gave offence to the thinking men of that day. Before that period, an occasional theatre, with scenery and benches to serve the purpose, was deemed sufficient; and, if the inquiry were carried back to ancient times, it would be found that the spectators were obliged to stand during the whole representation. The reason was, that the people accommodated

3 Brotier compares this poetical patchwork to the *bouts rimes*, which exercised the minor poets of France in the last century.

4 See the Geographical Table.

5 It does not appear when this man was expelled the senate. The account of that affair is lost. It is probable that this is the Livineius Regulus, who is mentioned, Annals, iii. s. 11.

6 He was afterwards restored to his rank. Hist. i. s. 17. For the Cyrenians, see the Geographical Table.

7 This African king, according to Livy, epitome lxx. died A. U. C. 658, and left all his possessions to the Roman people.

8 Domitius Afer was a man of ambition, willing to advance his fortune by the worst of crimes. *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere.* Annals, iv. s. 52. He is praised by Quintilian as an orator of considerable eloquence. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory.

9 Suetonius informs us, that Nero was the first that instituted in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several arts of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed every five years, which he called *Neronia*. In Neron. s. 12.

10 This theatre has been mentioned, book xiii. s. 54. It was built A. U. C. 699.

with seats, might be tempted to waste whole days in idle amusements. Public spectacles were, indeed, of ancient origin, and, if still left to the direction of the prætor, might be exhibited with good order and propriety. But the new mode of pressing the citizens of Rome into the service of the stage had ruined all decorum. The manners had long since degenerated, and now, to work their total subversion, luxury was called in from every quarter of the globe; foreign nations were ransacked for the incentives of vice; and, whatever was in itself corrupt, or capable of diffusing corruption, was to be found at Rome. Exotic customs and a foreign taste infected the young men of the time; dissipation, gymnastic arts, and infamous intrigues, were the fashion, encouraged by the prince and the senate, and not only encouraged, but established by their sanction, enforced by their authority.

"Under colour of promoting poetry and eloquence, the patricians of Rome disgraced themselves on the public stage. What further step remained? Nothing, but to bare their bodies; to anoint their limbs; to come forth naked in the lists; to wield the cæstus, and, throwing aside their military weapons, fight prizes for the entertainment of the rabble. Will the sanctity of the augur's office, or the judicial character[1] of the Roman knights, edify by the manners now in vogue? Will the former be held in higher reverence, because he has been lately taught to thrill with ecstacy at the soft airs of an effeminate song? And will the judge decide with greater ability, because he affects to have a taste, and to pronounce on music? Vice goes on increasing; the night is added to the day; and, in mixed assemblies, the profligate libertine, under covert of the dark, may safely gratify the base desires, which his imagination formed in the course of the day."

XXI. Licentious pleasure had a number of advocates; all of them the apologists of vice disguised under specious names. By these men it was argued, "that the citizens of Rome, in the earliest period, were addicted to public shows, and the expense kept pace with the wealth of the times. Pantomime players[2] were brought from Tuscany, and horse-races[3] from Thurium. When Greece and Asia were reduced to subjection, the public games were exhibited with greater pomp; though it must be acknowledged that in two hundred years (the time that elapsed from the triumph of Lucius Mummius, who first introduced theatrical representations) not one Roman citizen of rank or family was known to degrade himself by listing in a troop of comedians. But it is also true, that, by erecting a permanent theatre, a great annual expense was avoided. The magistrate is now no longer obliged to ruin his private fortune for the diversion of the public. The whole expenditure is transferred to the state, and, without encumbering a single individual, the people may enjoy the games of Greece. The contests between poets and orators would raise a spirit of emulation, and promote the cause of literature. Nor will the judge be disgraced, if he lends an ear to the productions of genius, and shares the pleasures of a liberal mind. In the quinquennial festival, lately instituted, a few nights, every fifth year, would be dedicated, not to criminal gratifications, but to social gaiety, in a place fitted for a large assembly, and illuminated with such a glare of light, that clandestine vice would by consequence be excluded."

Such was the argument of the advocates for dissipation. It is but fair to acknowledge, that the celebration of the new festival was conducted without any offence against decency or good manners. Nor did the rage of the people for theatrical entertainments break out into any kind of excess. The pantomime performers, though restored to the theatre, were still excluded from such exhibitions as were held to be of a sacred nature. The prize of eloquence was not adjudged to any of the candidates; but it was thought a fit compliment to the emperor, to pronounce him conqueror. The Grecian garb, which was much in vogue during the festival, gave disgust, and from that time fell into disuse.

XXII. A comet having appeared, in this juncture, that phenomenon, according to the popular opinion, announced that governments were to be changed, and kings dethroned. In the imaginations of men Nero was already deposed, and who should be his successor was the question. The name of Rubellius Plautus resounded in every quarter. By the maternal line this eminent citizen was of the Julian house. A strict observer of ancient manners, he maintained a rigid austerity of character. Recluse and virtuous in his family, he lived remote from danger but his fame from the shade of obscurity shone forth with brighter lustre. The report of his elevation was confirmed by an accident, slight in itself, but by vulgar error received as a sure prognostic. Wile Nero was at table at a villa called SUBLAQUEUM,[5] on the borders of the

1 Among the Roman knights there were four *Decuriæ* appointed to exercise jurisdiction. Suetonius says, that Caligula, to relieve the judges from the fatigue of business, added a fifth class to the former four. In Calig. s. 16.

2 The pantomime-performers were brought to Rome from *Tuscany*, A. U. C. 390. Livy, lib. vii. s. 2.

3 The people called *Thurii* inhabited part of Lucania. The spectacle of horse-races was invented by them, and exhibited at Rome, A. U. C. 140. Livy, lib. i. s. 35.

4 Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, A. U. C. 608. and obtained the title of *Achaicus*. Velleius Paterc. lib. i. s. 13.

5 This place received its name from its proximity to the Simbruine Lakes, and was thence called *Sublaqueum*. Brotier says, it is now *La Badia di Subjaco*.

Simbruine lakes, it happened that the victuals, which had been served up, received a stroke of lightning, and the banquet was overturned. The place was on the confines of Tivoli, where the ancestors of Plautus by his father's side derived their origin. The omen, for that reason, made a deeper impression, and the current opinion was, that Plautus was intended for imperial sway. The men, whom bold, but often misguided, ambition leads to take an active part in revolutions of government, were all on his side. To suppress a rumour so important, and big with danger, Nero sent a letter to Plautus, advising him "to consult the public tranquillity, and withdraw himself from the reach of calumny. He had patrimonial lands in Asia, where he might pass his youth, remote from enemies, and undisturbed by faction." Plautus understood the hint, and with his wife, Antistia, and a few friends, embarked for Asia.

In a short time after, Nero, by his rage for new gratifications, put his life in danger, and drew on himself a load of obloquy. He chose to bathe at the fountain-head of the Marcian waters,[6] which had been brought to Rome in an aqueduct of ancient structure. By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the sacred stream, and to have profaned the sanctity of the place. A fit of illness, which followed this frolic, left no doubt in the minds of the populace. The gods, they thought, pursued with vengeance the author of so vile a sacrilege.

XXIII. We left Corbulo employed in the demolition of Artaxata.[7] That city being reduced to ashes, he judged it right, while the consternation of the people was still recent, to turn his arms against Tigranocerta.[8] The destruction of that city would spread a general panic; or if he suffered it to remain unhurt, the fame of his clemency would add new laurels to the conqueror. He began his march, and, that the Barbarians might not be driven to despair, preserved every appearance of a pacific disposition, still maintaining discipline with the strictest rigour. He knew, by experience, that he had to do with a people prone to change; cowards in the hour of danger, but, if occasion offered, prepared, by their natural genius, for a stroke of perfidy. At the sight of the Roman eagles the Armenians were variously affected. They submitted with humble supplications; they fled from their villages; they took shelter in their woods; and numbers, carrying off all that was dear to them, sought a retreat in their dens and caverns. To these different movements the Roman general adapted his measures; to the submissive he behaved with mercy; he ordered the fugitives to be pursued with vigour, but for such as lay hid in subterraneous places he felt no compassion. Having filled the entrances, and every vent of the caverns, with bushes and faggots, he set fire to the heap. The Barbarians perished in the flames. His march lay on the frontier of the Mardians,[9] a race of freebooters, who lived by depredation, secure on their hills and mountains from the assaults of the enemy. They poured down from their fastnesses, and insulted the Roman army. Corbulo sent a detachment of the Iberians to lay waste their country, and thus at the expense of foreign auxiliaries, without spilling a drop of Roman blood, he punished the insolence of the enemy.

XXIV. Corbulo had suffered no loss in the field of battle; but his men, exhausted by continual toil, and forced, for want of grain and vegetables, to subsist altogether on animal food, began to sink under their fatigue. The heat of the summer was intense; no water to allay their thirst; long and laborious marches still remained; and nothing to animate the drooping spirits of the army but the example of their general, who endured more than even the common soldiers. They reached, at length, a well cultivated country, and carried off a plentiful crop. The Armenians fled for shelter to two strong castles. One of them was taken by storm; the other, after resisting the first assault, was by a close blockade obliged to surrender. The army marched into the territories of the Tauranitians.[10] In that country Corbulo narrowly escaped a snare laid for his life. A Barbarian of high distinction among his people, was found lurking with a concealed dagger near the general's tent. He was instantly seized, and, being put to the rack, not only confessed himself the author of the plot, but discovered his accomplices. The villains, who, under a mask of friendship, meditated a foul assassination, were on examination found guilty of the treachery, and put to death. Ambassadors arrived soon after from Tigranocerta, with intelligence that their gates stood open to receive the Roman army, and the inhabitants were ready to submit at discretion. As an earnest of hospitality and friendship they presented a golden crown. Corbulo received it with all marks of honour. To conciliate the affections of the people, he did no damage to their city, and left the natives in full possession of their effects.

XXV. The royal citadel, which was considered as the strong hold of the Armenian kings, did not immediately surrender. A band of stout and resolute young men threw themselves into the place, determined to hold out to the last. They had the spirit to sally out, but, after a battle under the walls, were driven back within

6 The Marcian waters were conveyed to Rome in aqueducts of great labour and expense by Ancus Marcius, one of the Roman kings. See Pliny, lib. xxxi. c. 3.

7 See Annals, xiii. c. 41.

8 See the Geographical Table.

9 For the Mardians, see the Geographical Table.

10 For the Tauranitii, see the Geographical Table.

their lines, and, the Romans entering sword in hand, the garrison laid down their arms. This tide of success, however rapid, was in a great measure forwarded by the war, that kept the Parthians engaged in Hyrcania. From the last-mentioned country ambassadors had been sent to Rome, soliciting the alliance of the emperor, and, as an inducement, urging, that, in consequence of their rupture with Vologeses, they had made a powerful diversion in favour of the Roman army: the deputies, on their way back to their own country, had an interview with Corbulo. The general received them with marks of friendship, and fearing, if they passed over the Euphrates, that they might fall in with detached parties of the Parthian army, he ordered them to be escorted under a military guard, as far as the margin of the Red sea.[1] From that place their road was at a distance from the Parthian frontier.

XXVI. Meanwhile, Tiridates,[2] after a march through the territory of the Medians, was hovering on the extremities of Armenia, intending from that quarter to invade the country. To counteract his motions, Corbulo despatched Verulanus with the auxiliary forces, and, to support him, made a forced march at the head of the legions. Tiridates retired with precipitation, and, in despair, abondoned the war. The Roman general proceeded with severity against all who were known to be disaffected: he carried fire and sword through their country, and took upon himself the government of Armenia. The whole kingdom was reduced to subjection, when Tigranes arrived from Rome, by the appointment of Nero, to assume the regal diadem.

The new monarch was by birth a Cappadocian, of high nobility in that country, and grandson to king Archelaus;[3] but the length of time which he had passed at Rome in the condition of a hostage broke the vigour of his mind, and sunk him to the meanest servility. He was not received with the consent of the nation. A strong party still retained their old affection for the line of the Arsacides; but an inveterate antipathy to the Parthians, on account of their pride and arrogance, inclined the majority to accept a king from Rome. Corbulo placed Tigranes on the throne, and assigned him a body-guard, consisting of a thousand legionary soldiers, two cohorts from the allied forces, and two squadrons of horse. That his new kingdom might not prove unwieldy, parts of the country, as they happened to lie contiguous to the neighbouring princes, were parcelled out to Pharasmanes,[4] to Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus. Having made these arrangements, Corbulo marched back into Syria, to take upon him the administration of that province, vacant by the death of Ummidius Quadratus,[5] the late governor.

XXVII. In the course of the same year,[6] Laodicea, a celebrated city in Asia, was destroyed by an earthquake; and though Rome in so great a calamity contributed no kind of aid, it was soon rebuilt, and, by the internal resources of the inhabitants, recovered its former splendour. In Italy, the ancient city of Puteoli received new privileges, with the title of the Neronian Colony. The veteran soldiers, entitled to their discharge from the service, were incorporated with the citizens of Tarentum, and Antium; but the measure did not increase population in those deserted places. The soldiers rambled back to the provinces, where they had formerly served, and, by the habits of a military life, being little inclined to conjugal cares and the education of children, the greatest part mouldered away without issue. The old system of colonization was at this time greatly altered. Entire legions were not, as had been the practice, settled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and soldiers, in one regular body, forming a society of men known to each other, and by sentiments of mutual affection inclined to act with a spirit of union. A colony, at the time we speak of, was no more than a motley mixture, drawn together from different armies, without a chief at their head, without a principle to unite them, and, in fact, no better than a mere conflux of people from distant parts of the globe; a wild heterogeneous multitude, but not a colony.

XXVIII. The election of prætors had been hitherto subject to the discretion of the senate; but the spirit of competition breaking out with unusual violence, Nero interposed his authority. He found three candidates more than usual. By giving to each the command of a legion[7] he allayed the ferment. He also made a considerable addition to the dignity of the senate, by an ordinance requiring that, in all appeals from an inferior judicature to that assembly, a sum equal[8]

1 The shortest way to Hyrcania was by the Caspian Sea; but, for the reason given by Tacitus, the *Red Sea* was thought more eligible.

2 Tiridates was brother to Vologeses, the Parthian king. See Annals, xii. s. 51: and book xiii. s. 37 and 41.

3 Archelaus was king of Cappadocia. See Annals, ii. s. 42.

4 Pharasmanes has been often mentioned as king of *Iberia;* Polemon, king of *Pontus;* Aristobulus, king of *Armenia Minor;* and Antiochus of *Commagene.*

5 See Annals, xii. s. 45.

6 For Laodicea, see the Geographical Table.

7 Suetonius says, Nero struck off the supernumerary candidates, and, to make them some compensation for the delay of their hopes, assigned them posts of honour in the legions. In Neron. s. 15.

8 The sum, by way of penalty for a frivolous and vexatious appeal, was one third of the money in dispute between the parties. The words of the law were, *Asertor, si provocet, in ejusmodi tertiam cavere debet, quanti causa æstimata est.*

to what was customary in like cases before the emperor, should be deposited by the appellant, to wait the final determination. Before this rule was established, an appeal to the fathers was open to all, without being subject to costs, or any kind of penalty. Towards the end of the year, Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was accused by the Moors[9] of rapine and extortion, and, being found guilty of the charge, was banished out of Italy. For so mild a sentence he was indebted to the weight and influence of his brother, Vibius Crispus.[10]

XXIX. During the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus[11] [A. U. C. 814. A. D. 61.] a dreadful calamity befel the army in Britain. Aulus Didius,[12] as has been mentioned, aimed at no extension of territory, content with maintaining the conquest already made. Veranius, who succeeded him, did little more: he made a few incursions into the country of the Silures,[13] and was hindered by death from prosecuting the war with vigour. He had been respected, during his life, for the severity of his manners; in his end, the mask fell off, and his last will discovered the low ambition of a servile flatterer, who, in those moments could offer incense to Nero, and add, with vain ostentation, that, if he lived two years, it was his design to make the whole island obedient to the authority of the prince. Paulinus Suetonius succeeded to the command; an officer of distinguished merit. To be compared with Corbulo was his ambition. His military talents gave him pretensions, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, raised him to the highest eminence. By subduing the mutinous spirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant success of Corbulo in Armenia. With this view, he resolved to subdue the isle of Mona;[14] a place inhabited by a warlike people, and a common refuge for all the discontented Britons. In order to facilitate his approach to a difficult and deceitful shore, he ordered a number of flat-bottomed boats to be constructed. In these he wafted over the infantry, while the cavalry, partly by fording over the shallows, and partly by swimming their horses, advanced to gain a footing on the island.

XXX. On the opposite shore stood the Britons, close embodied, and prepared for action. Women were seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder; their apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind, in their hands flaming torches, and their whole appearance resembling the frantic rage of the Furies. The Druids[15] were ranged in order, with hands uplifted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible imprecations. The novelty of the sight struck the Romans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid amazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, riveted to one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations of the general diffused new vigour through the ranks, and the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each other to deeds of valour. They felt the disgrace of yielding to a troop of women, and a band of fanatic priests; they advanced their standards, and rushed on to the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons perished in the flames, which they themselves had kindled. The island fell, and a garrison was established to retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedicated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled to the ground. In those recesses, the natives imbrued their altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in the entrails of men explored the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island, he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

XXXI. Prasutagus,[16] the late king of the Icenians, in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and the emperor in equal shares, conceiving, by that stroke of policy, that he should provide at once for the tranquillity of his kingdom and his family. The event was otherwise. His dominions were ravaged by the centurions; the slaves pillaged his house, and his effects were seized as lawful plunder. His wife, Boadicea, was disgraced with cruel stripes; her daughters were ravished, and the most illustrious of the Icenians were, by force, deprived of the possessions which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy

9 The people of Mauritania.

10 For an account of Vibius Crispus, an advocate who accumulated immense riches, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

11 Petronius Turpilianus, during his consulship, was the author of a law, called *Lex Petronia*, by which the master was no longer at liberty, at his will and pleasure, to compel any of his slaves to fight the wild beasts; but a just ground of complaint appearing before the proper magistrate, that mode of punishment was enforced. *Dominis potestas oblata est ad bestias depugnandas suo arbitrio servos tradendi. Oblato tamen judici servo, si justa sit domini querela, sic pœna tradetur* Digest, lib. xlviii. tit. 8. He was also the author of a decree called the *Turpilian Decree*, by which all who began a prosecution, and either harassed the defendant by delays, or abandoned the cause, were subjected to heavy penalties. Two regulations so just, that it is wonderful, says Brotier, how they escaped the notice of Tacitus.

12 For the inactivity and unwarlike spirit of Aulus Didius, see Annals, xii. s. 45; and Life of Agricola, s. 14.

13 For the Silures, see the Geographical Table.

14 Mona, now *Anglesey*.

15 For an account of the Druids, see Cæsar's Commentaries.

16 Prasutagus, king of the Icenians. See the Geographical Table. The outrages committed by the Romans are strongly painted by the late Mr. Glover, after his master Tacitus.

bequeathed to the plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation, was the conduct of the veterans, lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the veterans were supported by the common soldiers; a set of men, by their habits of life, trained to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To overrun a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

XXXII. While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in restless ecstacy rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council-chamber of the Romans[1] hideous clamours were heard in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony[2] in ruins was seen in the transparent water; the sea was purpled with blood, and at the tide of ebb, the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these appearances the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the meantime, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis, the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no palisade thrown up; nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise, and in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the Barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out, but, after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his intrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom, by rapine and oppression, he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

XXXIII. Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as London;[3] a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit that station, and, by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications, nor the tears of the inhabitants, could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium,[4] a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength. Wherever they expected feeble resistance, and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill

1 The world at that time wa[illegible] by the glo[illegible] of superstition. The Roman[illegible] how to [illegible] themselves of it; but the B[illegible] had the advantage.

2 Houses seemed to be inv[illegible] laws of optics were not co[illegible] their minds every thing wa[illegible]

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4 [illegible] St. Alban's, in [illegible] the name

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bequeathed to the plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighbouring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation, was the conduct of the veterans, lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression; they drove the natives from their habitations, and calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added insult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression, the veterans were supported by the common soldiers; a set of men, by their habits of life, trained to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honour of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests, appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To overrun a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

XXXII. While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke, the statue of victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from its base, without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women in restless ecstacy rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council-chamber of the Romans[1] hideous clamours were heard in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony[2] in ruins was seen in the transparent water; the sea was purpled with blood, and at the tide of ebb, the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these appearances the Romans were sunk in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the meantime, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis, the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no palisade thrown up; nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise, and in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the Barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out, but, after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his intrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and further dreading the indignation of a people, whom, by rapine and oppression, he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

XXXIII. Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, marched through the heart of the country as far as London;[3] a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit that station, and, by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications, nor the tears of the inhabitants, could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the Barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium,[4] a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength. Wherever they expected feeble resistance, and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill

1 The world at that time was overcast by the gloom of superstition. The Romans often knew how to avail themselves of it; but the Barbarians in this instance had the advantage.

2 Houses seemed to be inverted in the water; but the laws of optics were not considered by the Britons. In their minds every thing was a prognostic.

3 London, even at that time, was the seat of trade and commerce. If it has gone on increasing for above 1700 years, till it is now become the greatest city in the world, it is because industry has been protected by a constitution, which has improved during the whole time, and is now the wonder and the envy of surrounding nations.

4 Verulanum, now *Verulum*, near *St. Albans*, in *Hertfordshire*. The great Bacon has made the name immortal.

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Pænius Posthumus, præfect in the camp[1] of the second legion, as soon as he heard of the brave exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the disgrace of having, in disobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the soldiers under his command of their share in so complete a victory. Stung with remorse, he fell upon his sword, and expired on the spot.

XXXVIII. Suetonius called in all his forces, and, having ordered them to pitch their tents, kept the field in readiness for new emergencies, intending not to close the campaign till he put an end to the war. By directions from the emperor a reinforcement of two thousand legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts,[2] and a thousand horse, arrived from Germany. By this accession of strength the ninth legion was completed. The cohorts and cavalry were sent into new quarters, and the country round, wherever the people had declared open hostility, or were suspected of treachery, was laid waste with fire and sword. Famine was the evil that chiefly distressed the enemy: employed in warlike preparations, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands, depending altogether on the success of their arms, and the booty which they hoped to seize from the Romans. Fierce and determined in the cause of liberty, they were rendered still more obstinate by the misunderstanding that subsisted between the Roman generals. Julius Classicianus had succeeded to the post vacant by the sudden flight of Catus Decianus. Being at variance with Suetonius, he did not scruple to sacrifice the public good to private animosity. He spread a report, that another commander in chief might be soon expected, and in him the Britons would find a man, who would bring with him neither ill will to the natives, nor the pride of victory. The vanquished would, by consequence, meet with moderation and humanity. Classicianus did not stop here: in his despatches to Rome, he pressed the necessity of recalling Suetonius. The war would, otherwise, never be brought to a conclusion by an officer who owed all his disasters to his own want of conduct, and his success to the good fortune of the empire.

XXXIX. In consequence of these complaints, Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was sent from Rome to inquire into the state of Britain. The weight and authority of such a messenger, Nero flattered himself, would produce a reconciliation between the hostile generals, and dispose the Britons to a more pacific temper. Polycletus set out with a large retinue, and, on his journey through Italy and Gaul, made his grandeur a burden to the people. On his arrival in Britain he overawed the Roman soldiers; but his magnificent airs and assumed importance met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and derision. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguished. The exorbitant power of a manumitted slave was a novelty which those ferocious islanders could not digest. They saw an army that fought with valour, and a general who led them on to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondsman. In the report made by this man the state of affairs was such as gave no jealousy to Nero. Suetonius, therefore, was continued in his government. It happened, in a short time afterwards, that a few ships were wrecked on the coast, and all on board perished in the waves. This was considered as a calamity of war, and, on that account, Suetonius was recalled. Petronius Turpilianus, whose consulship had just then expired, succeeded to the command. Under him a languid state of tranquillity followed. The general saw the passive disposition of the Britons, and not to provoke hostilities was the rule of his conduct. He remained inactive, content to decorate his want of enterprise with the name of peace.

XL. This year was remarkable for two atrocious crimes; one, the act of a senator, and the other perpetrated by the daring spirit of a slave. Domitius Balbus, of prætorian rank, was, at that time, far advanced in years. His wealth, and his want of issue, made him obnoxious to the arts of ill-designing men. His relation, Valerius Fabianus, a man high in rank, and likely to obtain the first honours of the state, forged his will. To give colour to the fraud, he drew into his plot Vincius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, two Roman knights, who chose to act in concert with Antonius Primus[3] and Asinius Marcellus. Antonius was a prompt and daring spirit, ready for any mischief. Marcellus was grandson to the renowned Asinius Pollio: his character was, till that time, without a stain; but his favourite maxim was, that poverty[4] is the worst of evils. In the presence of those conspirators, and other witnesses of inferior note, Fabianus sealed the will. The fraud being brought to light before the senate, the author of it, with three of his accomplices, namely, Antonius, Rufinus, and Terentius, were condemned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian

1 According to Camden, the camp of the second legion was in *Monmouthshire*, at a place called, by the Britons, Kaer Lhegion, *Urbs Legionis*, the city of the legion. The place where this battle was fought is not ascertained; but it is evident that Suetonius had collected his forces from all quarters.

2 There is reason to infer from a passage in the History, book i. s. 59, that the eight auxiliary cohorts were Batavians.

3 Antonius Primus will be seen, in the History of Tacitus, acting the part of an able general.

4 The man who thinks poverty the worst of evils, will not be long before he thinks honesty a ragged virtue. Seneca has left a very different maxim. *Si vis vacare animo, aut pauper sis oportet, aut pauperi similis.* Epist. xvii.

law.[5] Marcellus found in the favour of the prince, and the dignity of his ancestors, a powerful protection. He was saved from punishment, not from infamy.

XLI. The same day was fatal to two others of rank and distinction. Pompeius Ælianus, a young man who had already passed with honour through the office of quæstor, was charged as an accessary in the guilt of Fabianus. He was banished, not only from Italy, but from Spain, the place of his birth. Valerius Ponticus met with equal severity. The crime alleged against him was, that, with a design to elude the jurisdiction of the præfect of Rome, he had accused several delinquents before the prætor; intending, in the first instance, under colour of a legal process, and afterwards, by abandoning the prosecution, to defeat the ends of justice. The fathers added a clause to their decree, whereby all persons concerned either in procuring or conducting for hire a collusive action, were to be treated as public prevaricators,[6] and to suffer the pains and penalties inflicted by the law on such as stood convicted of a false and calumnious accusation.

XLII. The second daring crime that marked the year, as mentioned above, was the act of a slave. This man murdered his master, Pedanius Secundus, at that time præfect of the city. His motive for this desperate act was either because his liberty, after a bargain made,[7] was still withheld, or, being enamoured of a foreign pathic, he could not endure his master as his rival. Every slave in the family where the murder was committed, was by ancient usage subject to capital punishment; but the populace, touched with compassion for so many innocent men, opposed the execution with rage and tumult little short of a seditious insurrection. In the senate many of the fathers embraced the popular side, but the majority declared for the rigour of the law without innovation. In the debate on this occasion,[8] Caius Cassius spoke to the following effect:

XLIII. "I have been often present, conscript fathers, when motions have been made in this assembly for new decrees, repugnant to the laws in being, and utterly subversive of all ancient establishments. To those measures I made no opposition, though well convinced, that the regulations made by our ancestors were the best, the wisest, the most conducive to the public good. To change that system is to change for the worse. This has ever been my settled opinion; but I forbore to take a part in your debates, that I might not be thought bigoted either to antiquity, or to my own way of thinking. I had another reason for my conduct. The weight and influence which I flattered myself I had acquired in this assembly, might, by frequently troubling you, lose its effect. I determined, therefore, to reserve myself for some important conjuncture when my feeble voice might be of use. That conjuncture occurs this very day. A man of consular rank, without a friend to assist him, without any one person to oppose the ruffian's blow, no notice given, no discovery made, has been in his own house barbarously murdered. The law which dooms every slave under the roof to execution, is still in force. Repeal that law, and, if you will, let this horrible deed pass with impunity; but when you have done it, which of us can think himself safe? Who can depend on his rank or dignity, when the first magistrate of your city dies under the assassin's stroke? Who can hope to live in security amongst his slaves, when so large a number as four hundred could not defend Pedanius Secundus? Will our domestics assist us in the hour of need, when we see, in the instance before us, that neither their own danger nor the terrors of the law could induce them to protect their master? Will it be said that the murderer struck his blow to revenge a personal injury? What was the injury? The paternal estate of a ruffian, perhaps, was in danger; or the foreign pathic, whom they were going to ravish from him, descended to him from his ancestors. If that be so, the deed was lawful, and, by consequence, we, conscript fathers, ought to pronounce it justifiable homicide.

XLIV. "But let me ask you; are we, at this time of day, to support by argument, what has been long settled by the wisdom of ages? Suppose the point in dispute were a new question, to be now decided for the first time; can we imagine that a ruffian, who had formed a black design to murder his master, kept the whole so closely locked up in his breast, that, in the agitations of a guilty mind, nothing escaped from him? Not a menace, not so much as a rash word to give the alarm? Nothing, we are told, of this sort happened; we are to believe that the assassin brooded over his horrible purpose in sullen silence; that he prepared his dagger unseen by every eye, and that his fellow-slaves knew nothing of it. Be it so; did he pass unseen through the train of attendants that guarded the bed-chamber? Did he open the door unperceived by all? Did he enter with a light, and strike

5 The Cornelian law was enacted by Cornelius Sylla the dictator, who made banishment to an island the sentence to be passed on all who should suppress a true will, or forge a false one. It appears however in the History, book ii. s. 86, that Antonius was only expelled the senate.

6 That punishment was either *exile*, *relegation* to an island, or degradation from the offender's rank. *Omnes enim calumniatores exilii, vel insulæ relegatione, aut ordinis amissione puniri placuit.* See Julius Paulus, De Injuriis, leg. xi.

7 Slaves were in the habit of saving money in order to purchase their freedom. See the case of Paris the comedian, book xiii. s. 27. See also Seneca, Epist. lxxx.

8 Caius Cassius has been mentioned to his honour, book xii. s. 12.

the mortal blow, without the knowledge of any person whatever?

"Between the first design, and the final execution of evil deeds, symptoms of guilt are often seen. If our slaves are faithful, if they give timely intelligence, we may live secure in our houses; or if we must fall by the murderer's dagger, it is a satisfaction to know, that justice will overtake the guilty. The mind and temper of the slave, though born on the master's estate, or even in his house, imbibing with his first milk affection and gratitude to the family, were always suspected by our ancestors. At present, we have in our service whole nations of slaves; the scum of mankind, collected from all quarters of the globe; a race of men, who bring with them foreign rites, and the religion of their country, or, probably, no religion at all. In such a conflux, if the laws are silent, what protection remains for the master? But, it is said, the innocent may suffer with the guilty. To this I answer, when an army, seized with a general panic, turns its back on the enemy, and, to restore military discipline, the men are drawn out and decimated; what distinction is then made between the gallant soldier and the coward who fled from his post? In political justice there is often something not strictly right: but partial evil is counterbalanced by the good of the whole."

XLV. To this reasoning no reply was made, and yet a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly. The number doomed to suffer, their age, their sex, and the undoubted innocence of the greatest part, awakened sentiments of campassion; but the majority was for letting the law[1] take its course. Their opinion prevailed. The popular cry was still for mercy. The rabble rose in a tumultuous body, and with stones and firebrands stopped the execution. To quell their fury, Nero issued a proclamation, and by his order the streets were lined with soldiers under arms. The unhappy victims suffered death. Cingonius Varro moved, that even the freedmen, who were actually in the house at the time of the murder, should, by a decree of the senate, be banished out of Italy. To this Nero answered, that since mercy was not allowed to mitigate the system of ancient laws, to increase their rigour by new pains and penalties, would be an act of cruelty.

XLVI. During the same consulship, Tarquitius Priscus, at the suit of the people of Bithynia, was convicted of extortion, and condemned to make restitution. The senate remembered the violence of this man in the prosecution against Statilius Taurus,[2] his own proconsul in Africa, and now retaliated with a vindictive spirit. The people in both the Gauls were reviewed and rated by Quintus Volusius, Sextius Africanus, and Trebellius Maximus. The two former, elate with family pride, passed their time in mutual jealousy, thwarting each other, and struggling for pre-eminence. They looked down with contempt on Trebellius; but their petty animosities served only to degrade themselves, and give to their colleague a decided superiority.

XLVII. In the course of this year died Memmius Regulus, distinguished by his virtues, and his unblemished character. Admired for his constancy and unshaken firmness, he rose to as high a pitch of credit and authority, as can be attained under a government, where the grandeur of the prince throws a shade over the merit of every private citizen. As a proof of this, we have the following anecdote. Nero being confined with a fit of illness, the tribe of sychophants, fluttering about his person, poured forth the anguish of their hearts, and, "if any thing happened to the emperor, the day," they said, "that put a period to his life, would be the last of the empire." "No," replied the prince, "a pillar of the state will still remain." The courtiers stood at gaze, wondering who that person conld be; Nero told them, "Memmius Regulus is the man." Strange as it may seem, Regulus survived that opinion of his virtue. In his love of retirement he found a retreat from danger. A man, whose family had lately risen to honours, gave no alarm; and his fortune raised no envy. It was in the same year that Nero dedicated a gymnasium,[3] or public school for athletic exercises, and, with the obliging facility of Greek manners, gave orders that the senators and Roman knights, without any expense on their part, should be provided with oil, to prepare their limbs for that elegant exhibition.

XLVIII. During the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius, [A. U. C. 815. A. D. 62.] a prosecution was set on foot against Antistius, then invested with the office of prætor. The conduct of this man, when tribune of the people,[4] has been already mentioned. The charge against him was, that being the author of sarcastic verses against the emperor, he produced his poem to a large company at the table of Ostorius Scapula. For this libel he was arraigned on the law of majesty. The cause was conducted by Cossutianus Capito,[5]

1 See a decree of the senate on this subject, Annals, xiii. s. 32.

2 See book xii. s. 59

3 Pliny the elder, lib. xv. s. 4, says, that the Greeks, the inventors of every kind of vice, were the first that made oil subservient to the corruption of manners, by distributing it at their public spectacles. *Usum olei ad luxuriam vertere Græci, vitiorum omnium genitores, in Gymnasiis publicando.*

4 See Annals, xiii. s. 28.

5 Capito was formerly accused by the people of Cilicia, and convicted of oppression and extortion. Annals, xiii. s. 33.

who had been lately raised, by the interest of Tigellinus, his father-in-law, to the senatorian order. The law of majesty had fallen into disuse, and was now revived, for the first time in the reign of Nero, not, as was imagined, to make Antistius feel its severity, but, in fact, to give the emperor an opportunity, after judgment of death was passed, to interpose his tribunitian[6] authority, and, by preventing the execution, add new lustre to his name. Ostorius Scapula was called as a witness. He remembered nothing of the verses in question. The evidence of others was believed, and, thereupon, Junius Marcellus, consul elect, moved, that the criminal, divested in the first instance of his prætorship, should suffer death according to the laws in force,[7] and the practice under former emperors. The rest of the senate concurring in the same opinion, Pætus Thrasea rose to oppose the motion. He began with honourable mention of the prince, nor did he take upon him to defend the conduct of Antistius. On the contrary, he blamed the licentious spirit of the man in terms of severity; but under a virtuous emperor, and in a senate left to act with independence, the question, he said, was not the magnitude of the crime, nor what punishment the rigour of the law would warrant. The executioner, the gibbet, and the halter were, for some time, unknown at Rome. Other pains and penalties were provided by law, and those might be inflicted, without branding the judges with cruelty, and the age with infamy. Antistius may be condemned to banishment; his effects may be confiscated. Let him pass the remainder of his days in one of the islands. His life, in that situation, will be protracted misery. He will there continue to languish in exile, a burden to himself, yet a living monument of the equity and moderation of the times.

XLIX. The firmness with which Thrasea delivered his sentiments inspired the senate with the same ardour. The consul put the question, and the fathers divided.[8] The majority voted with Thrasea. The dissentients were but a small number. Amongst them was Aulus Vitellius,[9] of all the flattering crew, the most corrupt and servile; fluent in invective; eager to attack the most eminent characters, and ever sure, with the confusion of a little mind, to shrink from the reply. He heard his adversary with silent patience. The consuls, however, did not presume to close the business by a decree in form: they chose to make their report to the emperor, and wait his pleasure. Nero, for some time, balanced between shame and resentment. At length his answer was, "That Antistius, without provocation, or any cause of complaint, had distilled the venom of his pen on the name and character of his sovereign. The matter had been referred to the senate, and justice required a punishment adequate to the crime. Nevertheless, as it had been from the first his resolution to mitigate a rigorous sentence, he would not now control the moderation of the fathers. They might determine, as to their wisdom should seem meet. They were even at liberty to acquit the criminal altogether." From this answer it was evident, that the conduct of the senate had given offence at court. The consuls, however, were not inclined to alter their report. Thrasea maintained his former opinion, and all who had voted with him followed his example. Some were unwilling, by a change of sentiment, to expose the prince to the popular odium; others thought themselves safe in a large majority; and Thrasea, with his usual elevation of mind, would not recede from the dignity of his character.

L. On a charge of the same complexion as the former, Fabricius Veiento[10] was involved in similar danger. In certain writings, which he called the LAST WILLS of persons deceased, he had inserted strokes of satire reflecting on several members of the senate, and others of the sacerdotal order. Talius Geminus was the prosecutor. He added another allegation, charging, that the criminal abused his credit at court, and disposed of the favours of the prince, and the honours of the state, by bargain and sale, for his own private emolument. This last article roused the resentment of Nero; he removed the cause to his own tribunal. Veiento was banished out of Italy. His books were condemned to the flames, but eagerly sought, and universally read. Men perused with avidity what was procured with danger. When no longer prohibited, the work sunk into oblivion.

LI. Meanwhile, the public grievances went on with increasing violence, and the means of redress diminished every day. Burrhus died at this time, whether in the course of nature, or by

6 The tribunitian power was assumed by Augustus, as he said, for the purpose of protecting the people. *Ad tuendam plebem tribunicio jure contentum se ferebat.* Annals, i. s. 2. It was, in fact, the whole executive power of the state vested in one man, who could, at his will and pleasure, control the senate and all the magistrates.

7 By this judgment Antistius was to suffer *more majorum*, that is, as Suetonius explains it, to be fastened stark naked by the neck within a forked stick, and scourged to death. Suet. in Neron. s. 49.

8 The senate often decided, without calling on each member for his opinion, by *dividing the house; per discessionem.* Pliny the younger describes the manner of doing it: You who think so, go to that side: as many as are of a contrary opinion, go to this side. *Lex ita discessionem fieri jubet; qui hæc sentitis, in hanc partem; qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite qua sentitis.* Plinius, lib. viii. ep. 14.

9 This was Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

13 This man was one of the pernicious race of informers in the reign of Domitian. Juvenal mentions him, Sat. iv. ver. 123.

poison, cannot now be known. The general opinion ascribed his death to a fit of illness. He was seized with a disorder in the throat, and the inflammation in the glands swelling to a prodigious size, suffocation followed. There was, however, a current report, that, under a pretence of administering a proper gargle, poison was mixed in the medicine, by order of Nero, and that Burrhus, having discovered the villany, as soon as he perceived the prince entering his room, turned from him with aversion, and to all inquiries, shortly answered, "I am well at present." He died universally lamented. His virtues were long remembered, and long regretted. Nor was the public grief alleviated by the two persons who succeeded to his employments, namely, Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus,[1] the former a man of undoubted innocence, but the innocence that proceeds from want of spirit. Tigellinus stood distinguished by a life of debauchery, and the infamy of his character. Rufus owed his advancement to the voice of the people, who were pleased with his upright management of the public stores. Tigellinus was a favourite of the emperor. The early vices of the man recommended him to notice. The command of the prætorian guards, which had been intrusted to Burrhus only, was granted to those two by a joint commission. The impression, which they had given of their characters, was confirmed by their conduct in office. Tigellinus gained an absolute ascendant over the mind of a debauched and profligate emperor. In all scenes of revelry he was a constant companion. Rufus obtained the good-will of the soldiers and the people, but his merit ruined him with the prince.

LII. By the death of Burrhus, Seneca lost the chief support of his power. The friend of upright measures was snatched away, and virtue could no longer make head against the corruption of a court, governed altogether by the wild and profligate. By that set of men Seneca was undermined. They blackened his character, and loaded him with various imputations. "His wealth was exorbitant, above the condition of a private citizen; and yet his unappeasable avarice went on without intermission, every day grasping at more. His rage for popularity was no less violent. He courted the affections of the people, and by the grandeur of his villas, and the beauty of his gardens, hoped to vie with imperial splendour. In matters of taste and genius he allows no rival. He claims the whole province of eloquence as his own; and since Nero showed his taste for poetry, from that moment Seneca began to court the muse,[2] and he too has his copy of verses.

"To the other diversions of the prince he is an avowed, an open enemy. The skill of the charioteer provokes his raillery; he sneers at the management of horses; and the melody of the prince's voice is a subject for his wit and ridicule. In all this what is his drift? Why truly, that, in the whole extent of the empire, there should be nothing worthy of praise but what flows from his superior talents. But Nero is no longer the pupil of this subtle philosopher; he has attained the prime season of manhood, and may now discard his tutor. He has before his eyes the brightest model for his conduct, the example of his own illustrious ancestors."

LIII. These insidious arts were not unknown to Seneca. There were still at court a few in the interests of virtue, and from such men he received intelligence of all that passed. Finding that the prince had withdrawn his friendship, and no longer admitted him to his conversation, he demanded an audience, and spoke to the following effect: "It is now, Cæsar, the fourteenth year since I was placed near your person; of your reign it is the eighth. In that space of time you have lavished upon me both wealth and honours, with so liberal a hand, that to complete my happiness nothing now is necessary but moderation and contentment. In the humble request, which I presume to make, I shall take the liberty to cite a few examples, far, indeed, above my condition, but worthy of you. Augustus, your illustrious ancestor, permitted Marcus Agrippa to retire to Mitylene;[3] he allowed Mæcenas to live almost a stranger in Rome, and in the heart of the city[4] to dwell as it were in solitude. The former of those illustrious men had been the companion of his wars; the latter supported the weight of his administration: both, it is true, received ample rewards, but rewards fairly earned by great and eminent services. For myself, if you except some attainments in literature, the fruit of studies pursued in the shade of retirement, what merit can I assume? My feeble talents are supposed to have seasoned your mind with the first tincture of letters, and that honour is beyond all recompense.

"But your liberality knows no bounds. You

1 Tigellinus rose from obscurity to be in high favour with Nero. He was the grand teacher of debauchery and every vice. Juvenal has recorded him, sat. i. ver. 155. See an account of the prodigious banquet given by this man, Annals, xv. s. 37.

2 It is not settled among the critics, whether Seneca did not write some of the tragedies that bear his name.

3 Agrippa, in the year of Rome 731, retired to the isle of *Lesbos*, now *Metelin*.

4 Mæcenas had a house and magnificent gardens near Mount Esquiline. Pliny says, that the practice of having pleasure-grounds within the walls of a city, was unknown, till Epicurus led the way at Athens. *Primus hoc instituit Athenis Epicurus, otii magister. Usque ad eum moris non fuerat in oppidis habitari rura.* Pliny, lib. xix. s. 4. The gardens of Epicurus are become proverbial.

have loaded me with favours, and with riches. When I reflect on your generosity, I say to myself, Shall a man of my level, without family pretensions, the son of a simple knight, born in a distant province,[5] presume to rank with the grandees of Rome? My name, the name of a new man, figures among those who boast a long and splendid line of ancestors. Where is now the mind, which long since knew, that to be content with little is true happiness? The philosopher is employed in laying out gardens,[6] and improving pleasure-grounds. He delights in the extent of ample villas; he enjoys a large rent-roll, and has sums of money[7] laid out at interest. I have but one apology; your munificence was a command, and it was not for me to resist.

LIV. "But the measure of generosity on your part, and submission on mine, is now complete. What a prince could give, you have bestowed; what a friend could take, I have received. More will only serve to irritate envy, and inflame the malice of my enemies. You indeed tower above the passions of ill-designing men; I am open to their attacks; I stand in need of protection. In a campaign, or on a march, if I found myself fatigued and worn out with toil, I should not hesitate to sue for some indulgence. Life is a state of warfare; it is a long campaign, in which a man in years, sinking under a load of cares, and even by his riches made obnoxious, may crave leave to retire. I am willing to resign my wealth: let the auditors of the imperial revenue take the account, and let the whole return to its fountain-head. By this act of self-denial I shall not be reduced to poverty; I shall part with that superfluity which glitters in the eyes of my enemies: and for the rest, the time, which is spent in the improving of gardens, and the embellishing of villas, I shall transfer to myself, and for the future lay it out in the cultivation of my mind. You are in the vigour of your days; a long train of years lies before you. In full possession of the sovereign power, you have learnt the art of reigning. Old age may be permitted to seek repose. It will, hereafter, be your glory, that you knew how to choose men of moderation, who could descend from the summit of fortune, to dwell with peace and humble content in the vale of life."

LV. "Nero replied as follows: If I give an immediate answer to a speech of prepared eloquence, the power of doing it I derive from you. The faculty of speaking not only when the matter has been premeditated, but also on sudden occasions, I possess (if I do possess it) by your care and instruction. Augustus, it is true, released Agrippa and Mæcenas from the fatigue of business; but he did it, at a time, when his authority was established on the firmest basis, and his own experience was equal to the cares of government. He did not, however, resume the grants which he had made. What those eminent citizens obtained, they deserved in war and civil commotions; for in those busy scenes Augustus passed his youth. Had my lot been the same, your sword would not have been idle. What the conjuncture demanded, you supplied: you formed my mind to science, and you assisted me with your wisdom and advice. The advantages which I derive from you are not of a perishable nature; they will cleave to me through life. As to the favours which it was in my power to grant, such as houses, gardens, and sums of money, they are precarious gifts, subject to accidents and the caprice of fortune. Presents of that kind may seem magnificent; but they fall short of what I have bestowed on others, who had neither your accomplishments, nor your merit. I could mention freedmen, who flourish in higher splendour; but I blush to name them. I blush, that you, who are the first in my esteem, should not, at the same time, be the first man in my dominions.

LVI. "I grant that you are advanced in years, but the vigour of your constitution is still unbroken. You are equal to business, and the fruit of your labours you can still enjoy. My reign is but just begun; and what has been my liberality? Vitellius was three times consul,[8] and Claudius was his friend: are you to be deemed inferior to the former? and must I, in point of munificence, yield to the latter? Volusius,[9] by a long life of parsimony, raised an immoderate fortune; and shall not my generosity put you on a level with a man of that description? The impetuosity of youth may hurry me beyond the bounds of prudence: it will then be yours to recall my wandering steps, and lead me to the paths of honour. You helped to form my youthful understanding, and to what you polished you still can give life and energy. If you resign your wealth, can you suppose that your moderation will be deemed the cause? If you desert your prince, will your love of quiet be thought the motive? Far otherwise: my avarice

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5 Seneca was a native of Spain; born at *Corduba*, now *Cordova*.

6 Seneca had a number of villas and extensive gardens. Juvenal mentions

——— Magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos.

SAT. x. ver. 16.

The name of one of his villas was *Nomentanum*, as appears epist. cx. where he says, *Ex Nomentano meo te saluto*.

7 This confirms the account given by Dio of his immoderate riches; but perhaps that historian exaggerates, when he imputes insurrections in Britain to the exactions of Seneca.

8 In the Annals, book xi. we have seen Vitellius consul for the third time.

9 Volusius has been mentioned as an honest man, who acquired his wealth by honourable means, and lived to a great age. Annals, xiii. s. 30.

will be arraigned; my cruelty will be the general topic. The praise, indeed, of wisdom may pursue you in your retreat; but will it be generous to build your fame on the disgrace and ruin of your friend?"

To this flattering speech Nero added fond embraces, and all the external marks of affection. Inclined by nature to disguise his sentiments, and by habit exercised in the arts of dissimulation, he knew how to hide under the surface of friendship the secret malice of his heart. Seneca answered in a submissive tone. He returned his best thanks, the usual close of every conference in the cabinet of the prince. He resolved, however, to change his mode of living: he resigned his power, and retained no appearance of his former splendour: the crowd of visitors no longer frequented his house; he dismissed his train of followers, and but rarely appeared abroad, willing to be considered as an infirm old man, obliged to take care of his health at home, or a philosopher, absorbed in abstract speculations.

LVII. Seneca's influence was now in its wane. To ruin the credit of Fenius Rufus was the next object. In this his enemies found no difficulty. The crime of being attached to Agrippina was sufficient. Tigellinus, in the meantime, rose to the highest pitch of credit and influence at court. Possessing a genius for every mischief, and having no other talents, he resolved to draw the prince into a confederacy in guilt. Congenial vices, he had no doubt, would render him still more dear to his master. With this view he began to watch the passions of Nero, and to explore the secrets of his heart. He found that the two persons whom the emperor dreaded most were Plautus[1] and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy; the former into Asia, and the latter to Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his secret hostilities against them both. He talked of their rank and high descent. Plautus, he observed, was not far distant from the armies in the east; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himself, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own private advantage. The welfare of his sovereign was his only object. At Rome, he could insure the safety of the prince. If plots were formed, by vigilance and activity, they might be crushed in the bud. But for distant provinces who could answer? The name of Sylla, rendered famous by the celebrated dictator of that name, would rouse and animate the people of Gaul. In Asia the grandson of Drusus[2] would have a number of adherents, and might, by consequence, excite the nations to a revolt. Sylla, indeed, was indigent and distressed: but his very poverty would be a source of courage, a motive for vigorous enterprise; and though he seemed to languish in repose and indolence, his love of ease was a cloak to cover his ambition. He waited for an opportunity to avow his dark designs.

Plautus, on the other hand, possessed immoderate wealth. To lead a sluggish life was not in his temper or his character: he did not even affect it. He copied, with emulation, the manners of the ancient Romans, and to his austerity added the maxims of the stoic sect: a sect at all times fond of public commotions, proud, fierce, and turbulent. By this reasoning Nero was convinced. No delay intervened. Assassins were despatched. On the sixth day they landed at Marseilles, where, without notice, or so much as a hint to alarm him, Sylla was taken by surprise at his own table, and instantly murdered. His head was conveyed to Rome. Nero amused himself with the sight; he saw that the hairs were grown gray before their time, and in that circumstance found a subject for mirth and brutal raillery.

LVIII. The murder of Plautus could not be executed with equal secrecy. His friends were numerous, and his life was valuable to many. The place lay remote; a voyage was to be performed, and, in the meantime, the plot began to transpire. A report prevailed at Rome, that Plautus had put himself under the protection of Corbulo, who was then at the head of powerful armies; a man, in that evil period, when merit and innocence were capital crimes, likely to fall a devoted victim. The rumour further added, that in favour of Plautus all Asia was up in arms, and that the ruffians sent from Rome had either failed in their resolution, or, not finding themselves in force, had gone over to the opposite party. The whole story was without foundation; but, according to custom, credulity swallowed it, and idle men added from their own invention. Plautus, in the meantime, received intelligence of the design against his life by one of his freedmen, who, having the advantage of a fair wind, got the start of the centurions despatched by Nero. This faithful servant was sent by Lucius Antistius, his master's father-in-law, with advice, that no time was to be lost. In such a crisis, sloth would ill become a man whose life was in danger. To fall a tame and passive victim were to die an ignominious death. He had but to exert his most strenuous efforts, and good men, touched with compassion, would espouse his cause. The bold and turbulent would be sure to join him. Nothing should be left untried. It was only necessary to defeat sixty men (for that was the number employed in this bloody tragedy): before Nero could receive intelligence, and despatch another band of ruffians, there would be time to concert bold and vigorous

1 For Rubellius Plautus, see this book, s. 22. For Cornelius Sylla, see book xiii. s. 47.

2 Rubellius Plautus was the son of Rubellius Blandus and Julia. See the Genealogical Table, No. 76.

measures. The flame of war might be kindled all over Asia, and, by this resolute conduct, he might save his life. At the worst, by daring bravely, his case would not be more desperate. Courage might suffer, but it could not suffer more than cowardice.

LIX. This spirited advice had no effect on Plautus. Banished from his country, without arms, or any means of defence, he saw no gleam of hope, and was, therefore, unwilling to be the dupe of visionary schemes. Perhaps his affection for his wife and children softened and disarmed his mind. The emperor, if not exasperated by resistance, he imagined, would act with lenity towards his unhappy family. According to some historians, the advice sent by Antistius was of a different tendency, importing that there was no danger to alarm him. We are further told, that by the exhortations of two philosophers, by name Cæranus,[3] a Greek by birth, and Musonius, of Tuscan origin, he had been taught that, though life is a series of toil, and danger, and calamity, to wait with patience till the stroke of death delivered him from a scene of misery, would be heroic fortitude. Thus much is certain: he was surprised by the assassins in the middle of the day, disarmed and naked, attending to the refreshment and exercise of his body.

In that condition a centurion despatched him, while Pelagon, one of the eunuchs, stood a spectator of the tragic scene. This wretch was sent by Nero to superintend the ruffians, like the minister of a despotic prince, placed over the guards and tools of iniquity to see his master's orders strictly executed. The head of the deceased was carried to Rome. At the sight of the dismal object, the emperor cried out (I give his very words), "Nero, now you may safely marry Poppæa. What obstacle remains to defer a match, long intended, and often deferred on account of this very Plautus, and men of his description? Octavia may be divorced without delay: her conduct, it is true, has been blameless, but the imperial name of her father,[4] and the esteem of the people, have made her in my eyes an object of terror and detestation." Having thus fortified his mind, he despatched a letter to the senate, written in guarded terms, without so much as glancing at the murder of Sylla and Plautus. He mentioned them both, charging them with seditious machinations, by which he himself was kept in a constant alarm, lest some dreadful convulsion should, by their means, shake the empire to its foundation. The fathers decreed public vows and supplications to the gods. Sylla and Plautus, though no longer in being, were expelled the senate; and with this mockery, to every good mind more grievous than the worst oppression, the people were amused and insulted.

LX. Nero finding, by the slavish tenor of the decree, that the fathers were willing to transform his vices into virtues, resolved to balance no longer. He repudiated Octavia, alleging her sterility for his reason, and immediately married Poppæa. This woman, some time the concubine of the emperor, and now his wife, continued to govern him with unbounded sway. Not content with her new dignity, she suborned a domestic servant of Octavia to charge his mistress with a dishonourable intrigue with one of her slaves. For this purpose they chose for the pretended adulterer a man of the name of Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, remarkable for his skill on the flute. The female servants were put to the torture. Some of them, overcome by pain and agony, confessed whatever was demanded of them; but the greatest part persevered, with constancy, to vindicate the honour of their mistress. Tigellinus stood near at hand, pressing them with questions. One of them had the spirit to answer, "The person of Octavia is freer from pollution than your mouth." Sentence was pronounced against Octavia. With no more ceremony than what is usual among citizens of ordinary rank, she was dismissed from the palace. The house of Burrhus, and the estates of Plautus, two fatal presents! were allotted for her separate use. She was soon after banished to Campania, under a military guard. Murmurs of discontent were heard in every quarter of Rome. The common people spoke out without reserve. To rules of caution and political wisdom, their rough manners made them strangers, and the meanness of their condition left them nothing to fear. Their clamours were so loud and violent, that Nero gave orders to recall Octavia, but without affection, and without remorse.

LXI. The populace, transported with joy by this event, pressed in crowds to the capitol, to offer up their thanks to the gods. The statues of Poppæa were dashed to the ground, while those of Octavia, adorned with wreaths of flowers, were carried in triumph on men's shoulders, and placed in the forum and in the temples. The multitude went in a tumultuous body to greet the emperor; they surrounded his palace; they desired him to come forth and receive their congratulations. A band of soldiers rushed forth sword in hand, and obliged the crowd to disperse. Whatever was pulled down during the riot, was restored to its place, and the statues of Poppæa were once more erected. But her malice to Octavia was not to be appeased. To inveterate hatred she added her dread of a popular insurrection, in consequence of which, Nero might be compelled to renounce his passion for her person.

3 This philosopher is praised by Pliny as an author of distinguished merit. Musonius has been also much commended for his moral doctrine.

4 Her father, the emperor Claudius.

She threw herself at his feet: "I am not now," she said, "in a situation to contend for our nuptial union, though dearer to me than life itself. But my life is in danger. The slaves and followers of Octavia, calling their own clamour the voice of the people, have committed, in a time of profound peace, public outrages little short of open rebellion. They are in arms against their sovereign. They want nothing but a leader, and, in civil commotions, that want is soon supplied. What has Octavia now to do, but to leave her retreat in Campania, and show herself to the people of Rome? She, who in her absence can raise a tumult so fierce and violent, will soon discover the extent of her power. But what is my crime? What have I committed? Whom have I offended? The people may see me the mother of legitimate heirs to the house of Cæsar; but, perhaps, they would fain reserve the imperial dignity for the issue of an Ægyptian minstrel.[1] Submit to Octavia, since your interest will have it so: recall her to your embrace, but do it voluntarily, that the rabble may not give the law to their sovereign. You must either adopt that measure, or, by just vengeance on the guilty, provide for your own safety and the public peace. The first alarm was easily quelled; a second insurrection may prove fatal. Should the mob have reason to despair of seeing Octavia the partner of Nero's bed, they may, in their wisdom, find for her another husband."

LXII. This artful speech, tending at once to inflame the prince with resentment, and alarm his fears, had its effect. Nero heard the whole with mixed emotions of rage and terror. That Octavia was guilty with one of her slaves, was a device of which men could no longer be made the dupes. The firmness of her servants on the rack removed even the shadow of suspicion. A new stratagem was now to be tried. A man was to be found who would dare to confess the guilt; and if the same person could, with some colour of probability, be charged with a conspiracy against the state, the plot would lie the deeper. For this dark design, no one so fit as Anicetus,[2] the commander of the fleet at Misenum, and the murderer of the prince's mother. This officer, for some time after that atrocious deed, enjoyed the smiles of the emperor, but soon experienced the common fate of all pernicious miscreants: he was favoured at first, and detested afterwards. It is the nature of great men, when their turn is served, to consider their tools as a living reproach, and standing witnesses against themselves. Nero summoned Anicetus to his presence: he thanked him for services already performed. "By you," he said, "I was delivered from the snares of an ambitious mother. A deed of greater moment still remains. Set me free from the furious spirit of an imperious wife. To effect this you need not so much as raise your hand. Neither sword nor dagger will be wanted. Confess yourself guilty of adultery with Octavia; I ask no more." He concluded with a promise of ample rewards, to be managed, indeed, with secrecy, but without bound or measure, and, in the end, a safe retreat in some delightful country. "And now," he said, "accept the offers which I have made, or certain death awaits you."

Anicetus undertook the business. Practised in guilt, and by the success of his former crimes inspired with courage, he went even beyond his commission. In the presence of certain chosen persons, whom Nero summoned to a secret council, he told his story with circumstances that showed he had no need of a prompter. He was banished to the island of Sardinia. At that place he continued to live in affluence, and died, at last, in the course of nature.

LXIII. Nero issued a proclamation, declaring the guilt of Octavia, and, in express terms, averring, that, to obtain the command of the fleet at Misenum, she had prostituted her person to Anicetus. He added, that by the use of medicines to procure abortion, she had thrown a veil over her adulterous commerce. In this public declaration, the objection on account of sterility, so lately urged, was no more remembered. The facts, however, were said to be clearly proved. She was banished to the isle of Pandataria.[3] The public mind was never so deeply touched with compassion. The banishment of Agrippina, by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many; and that of Julia,[4] in the reign of Claudius, was still more fresh in the memory of all: but those two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigour of their days, and were, by consequence, better enabled to endure the stroke of adversity. They had known scenes of happiness, and, in the recollection of better times, could lose, or at least assuage, the sense of present evils. To Octavia the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony. She was led to a house, where she could discover nothing but memorials of affliction; her father carried off by poison,[5] and her brother, in a short time afterwards, destroyed by the same detestable machination. She saw herself superseded by the allurements of a female slave; she saw the affections of her husband alienated from herself, and a marriage, by which her ruin was

1 This was Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, mentioned in s. 60.

2 For Anicetus, the murderer of Agrippina, see this book, s. 7.

3 See the Geographical Table.

4 Julia, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was banished by the emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 794.

5 The emperor Claudius her father, and her brother Britannicus, were both poisoned. See Annals, xii. s. 67: and Annals, xiii. s. 16.

completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, she underwent a cruel accusation, to an ingenuous mind worse than death. At the time when the storm burst upon her, she was only in the twentieth year of her age, and, even then, in the bloom of life, delivered to the custody of centurions and soldiers. Her present afflictions, she plainly saw, were a prelude to her impending fate. She was cut off from all the comforts of life; but the tranquillity of the grave was still denied to her.

LXIV. In a few days afterwards she received a mandate, commanding her to end her days. Alarmed and terrified, she descended to supplications; she admitted herself to be a widow; she claimed no higher title than that of the emperor's sister;[6] she invoked the race of Germanicus, the common ancestors of Nero and herself, and, in the anguish of her heart, regretted even Agrippina, during whose life, she said, her marriage would have been a state of wretchedness, but would not have brought her to an untimely end. Amidst these effusions of sorrow, the ruffians seized her, and, having bound her limbs, opened her veins. Her blood was chilled with fear, and did not issue at the wound. The assassins carried her to a bath of intense heat, where she was suffocated by the vapour. To complete the horror of this barbarous tragedy, her head was cut off, and sent to Rome, to glut the eyes of Poppæa.

Such were the transactions, for which the fathers decreed oblations to the gods. I mention the fact in this place, that the reader of this or any other history of those disastrous times, may know, once for all, that as often as banishment, or a bloody execution, was ordered, the senate never failed to thank the gods for their bounty. Those solemn acts, which, in the earlier periods of Rome, were the pious gratitude of the people for increasing happiness, were now profanely and abominably converted to memorials of horror and public misery. This may be received as a general truth; and yet whenever a decree occurs, remarkable either for a new strain of adulation, or the base servility of the times, it is my intention not to pass it by in silence.

LXV. In the course of this year, Nero is said to have destroyed by poison the most considerable of his freedmen. Among those Doriphorus had opposed the marriage with Poppæa, and for that crime lost his life. Pallas was in possession of exorbitant wealth; but, living to a great age, he delayed the eager avarice of the emperor. He was murdered for his riches.[7] Romanus, another of the freedmen, endeavoured, by clandestine calumny, to accomplish the ruin of Seneca. He charged the philosopher with being an accomplice in the machinations of Caius Piso; but the blow, warded off by Seneca, recoiled upon the accuser. By this incident Piso was alarmed for his own safety.[8] A dark conspiracy followed, big with danger to Nero, but abortive in the end.

6 Nero was adopted by Claudius her father, and consequently was brother to Octavia.

7 Doriphorus, according to Dio, was private secretary to Nero. Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, has been often mentioned. He was dismissed from all his employments by Nero. See Annals, xiii. s. 14. Brotier says that his monument was found near Rome, in the year 1720.

8 For more of Piso, see Annals, xv. s. 48.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XV.

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These transactions passed in little more than three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
815	62	continued, Marius Celsus, Asinius Gallus.
816	63	Memmius Regulus, Virginius Rufus.
817	64	C. Læcanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus.
818	65	Licinius Nerva Silianus, M. Vestinus Atticus.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XV.

I. During these transactions, Vologeses, king of the Parthians, began to raise new commotions in the East. The success of Corbulo alarmed his jealousy; he saw, with wounded pride, the defeat of his brother, Tiridates; and, in his room, Tigranes, an alien prince,[1] seated on the throne of Armenia. The honour of the Arsacides was tarnished by these events, and he was determined to restore its former lustre. But the struggle was to be with a great and powerful empire. Treaties of alliance, long in force and long respected by the two nations, held him in suspense. By nature anxious and irresolute, he formed no settled plan. He was at variance with the Hyrcanians, and, after a long and obstinate conflict, that brave and powerful nation still made head against him. While he continued wavering, fresh intelligence fired him with indignation. Tigranes marched his army into the territory of the Adiabenians, a people bordering on Armenia, and laid waste their country. The enterprise did not resemble the sudden incursion of Barbarians roving in quest of prey; a regular war seemed to be declared in form. The chiefs of the Adiabenians saw, with resentment, their lands made a scene of desolation, not by a Roman army, but by a foreigner, a despicable hostage, who for years had lived at Rome undistinguished from the common slaves.

Monobazus, the sovereign of the province, inflamed the discontents of the people, and, at the same time, roused the pride of Vologeses by frequent messages, importing, that he knew not which way to turn, nor from what quarter to expect relief. Armenia, he said, was lost, and the neighbouring states, if not reinforced by the Parthians, must be all involved in the same calamity, perhaps, with the consent of the people, as Rome, it is well known, made a distinction between the nations that fell by conquest, and those that submitted at discretion. Tiridates, by his behaviour, added force to these complaints. Driven from his throne, he appeared with all the silent dignity of distress, or, if he spoke occasionally, his words were few, short, and sententious. "Mighty kingdoms," he said, "are not supported by inactivity. Men and arms, and warlike preparations, are necessary. The conqueror has always justice on his side. In a private station, to defend their property is the virtue of individuals; but to invade the possession of others is the prerogative and the glory of kings."

II. Roused by these incentives, Vologeses summoned a council, and, seating Tiridates next himself, spoke in substance as follows: "You see before you a prince descended from the same father with myself. Acknowledging the right of primogeniture, he ceded to me the diadem of Parthia: in return I placed him on the throne of Armenia, the third kingdom among the eastern nations. Media, in fact, is the second, and Pacorus, at that time, was in possession. By this arrangement, I provided for my family, and by the measure, extinguished for ever those unnatural jealousies, which formerly envenomed brothers against brothers. This system, it seems, has given umbrage to the Romans; they declare against it; and though they never broke with Parthia without paying dearly for their temerity, they now are willing to provoke a war, and rush on their own destruction. Thus much I am willing to declare; the possessions, which have descended to me from my ancestors, shall never be dismembered; but I had rather maintain them by the justice of my cause, than by the decision of the sword. I avow the principle, and if, in consequence of it, I have been too much inclined to pacific measures, the vigour of my future conduct shall make atonement. The national honour, in the meantime, has suffered no diminution. Your glory is unimpaired, and I have added to it the virtues of moderation; virtues, which the gods approve, and which no sovereign, however great or flourishing, ought to despise."

Having thus delivered his sentiments, he placed the regal diadem on the head of Tiridates, and, at the same time, gave to Moneses, an officer of distinguished rank, the command of the cavalry, which, by established usage, is always

1 Tigranes, descended from the nobility of Cappadocia, was sent by Nero to ascend the throne of Armenia. Annals, xiv. s. 26.

appointed to attend the person of the monarch. He added the auxiliaries sent by the Adiabenians, and, with that force, ordered him to march against Tigranes, in order to exterminate the usurper from the throne of Armenia. In the meantime, he proposed to compromise the war with the Hyrcanians, and fall with the whole weight of his kingdom on the Roman provinces.

III. Corbulo was no sooner apprised of these transactions, than he despatched, to support Tigranes, two legions, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus. In their private instructions those officers had it in command, to proceed with caution, and act on the defensive, without pushing on their operations with too much vigour. A decisive campaign was not Corbulo's plan. He wished to protract the war, and, in the meantime, stated, in his letters to the emperor, the necessity of appointing a commander, with a special commission to protect Armenia, as he foresaw a storm gathering in the province of Syria. If Vologeses made an irruption in that quarter, a powerful army would be wanted to repel the invader. With the rest of his legions he formed a chain or posts along the banks of the Euphrates, and, having made a powerful levy of provincial forces, he secured all the passes against the inroads of the enemy. In order to make sure of water in a country not well supplied by nature, he erected strong castles near the springs and fountains; and, where the stations were inconvenient, he choked up a number of rivulets with heaps of sand, with intent to conceal their source from the Parthian army.

IV. While Corbulo was thus concerting measures for the defence of Syria, Moneses advanced by rapid marches, and with all his forces entered Armenia. He hoped to outstrip the fame that flies before an enterprising general, and to fall upon Tigranes by surprise. That prince, aware of the design, had thrown himself into the city of Tigranocerta, a place surrounded by high walls,[1] and defended by a numerous garrison. The river Nicephorius,[2] with a current sufficiently broad, washes a considerable part of the walls. A deep trench inclosed the rest. There was a competent number of soldiers to man the works, and provisions had been laid in with due precaution. Some of the foraging parties having rashly ventured too far, were surrounded by the enemy. This check, however, instead of disheartening the garrison, served only to inspire them with a spirit of revenge. The operations of a siege are ill suited to the genius of the Parthians, whose courage always fails in a close engagement. A few arrows thrown at random made no impression on men sheltered by their fortifications. The besiegers could only amuse themselves with a feeble attack. An attempt was made by the Adiabenians to carry the works by assault. They advanced their scaling-ladders and other military engines, but were soon repulsed, and, the garrison sallying out, the whole corps was cut to pieces.

V. Corbulo was not of a temper to be elated with success. He chose to act with moderation in prosperity, and, accordingly, despatched an embassy to expostulate with Vologeses on the violence with which he had invaded a Roman province, and not only besieged the cohorts of the empire, but also a king in alliance with Rome. If the Parthian prince did not raise the siege, he threatened to advance with the strength of his army, and encamp in the heart of the country. Casperius, a centurion, was charged with this commission. He met the king in the city of Nisibis,[3] distant about seven and thirty miles from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his orders in a tone of firmness. To avoid a war with Rome had been for some time the fixed resolution of Vologeses, and the success of the present enterprise gave him no reason to alter his sentiments.

The siege promised no kind of advantage; Tigranes possessed a strong-hold, well garrisoned, and provided with ample supplies; the forces, that attempted to storm the works, met with a total overthrow; the Roman legions were in possession of Armenia, and others were in readiness, not only to cover the province of Syria, but to push the war into the Parthian territories; his cavalry suffered for want of forage, and all vegetation being destroyed by a swarm of locusts, neither grass nor foliage could be found. Determined by these considerations, yet disguising his fear, Vologeses, with the specious appearance of a pacific disposition, returned for answer to Casperius, that he should send ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to solicit the cession of Armenia, and the re-establishment of peace between the two nations. Meanwhile he sent despatches to Moneses, with orders to abandon the siege of Tigranocerta, and, without further delay, returned to his capital.

VI. These events, ascribed by the general voice to the conduct of the general, and the terror impressed on the mind of Vologeses, were extolled in terms of the highest commendation. And yet malignity was at work. Some would have it, "that there was at the bottom a secret compact to make an end of the war." According to their sinister interpretation, "it was stipulated that Vologeses should return to his own dominions, and that Armenia should be evacuated by Tigranes. With what other view were

1 The walls were fifty cubits high, as we are told by Appian, in his History of the Mithridatic war.

2 For this river, see the Geographical Table.

3 For the city of Nisibis, see the Geographical Table.

the Roman soldiers withdrawn from Tigranocerta? Why give up, by an ill-judged peace, what had been so well defended in time of war? Could the army find, at the extremity of Cappadocia, in huts suddenly thrown up, better winter-quarters, than in the capital of a kingdom, which had been preserved by force of arms? Peace is held forth: but it is, in fact, no more than a truce, a suspension of arms, that Vologeses may have to contend with another general, and that Corbulo should not be obliged to hazard the great renown, which he had acquired during a service of so many years."

The fact was, Corbulo, as we have stated, required a new commander for the special purpose of defending Armenia, and the nomination of Cæsennius Pætus was already announced. That officer arrived in a short time. A division of the forces was allotted to each commander. The fourth and twelfth legions, with the fifth lately arrived from Mæsia, and a body of auxiliaries from Pontus, from Galatia and Cappadocia, were put under the command of Pætus. The third, the sixth, and tenth legions, with the forces of Syria, were assigned to Corbulo. Both commanders were to act in concert, or to push the war in different quarters, as the occasion might require. But the spirit of Corbulo could not brook a rival; and Pætus, though to be second in command under such a general would have been his highest glory, began to aspire above himself. He despised the fame acquired by Corbulo, declaring all his best exploits to be no better than boasted victories, without bloodshed, and without booty; mere pretended sieges, in which not a single place was carried by assault. For himself, he was resolved to carry on the war for more substantial purposes. By imposing tributes and taxes on the vanquished, he meant to reduce them to subjection, and, for the shadow of an oriental king, he would establish the rights of conquest, and the authority of the Roman name.

VII. In this juncture, the ambassadors who had been sent by Vologeses to treat with Nero, returned back to their own country. Their negotiation was unsuccessful, and the Parthians declared war. Pætus embraced the opportunity to signalize his valour. He entered Armenia at the head of two legions; the fourth commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus, and the twelfth by Calavius Sabinus. His first approach was attended with unpropitious omens. In passing over a bridge, which lay across the Euphrates, the horse that carried the consular ornaments, taking fright without any apparent cause, broke from the ranks, and fled at full speed. A victim, likewise, intended for sacrifice, standing near the unfinished fortifications of the winter camp, escaped out of the intrenchments. Nor was this all: the javelins, in the hands of the soldiers, emitted sudden flashes of fire; and this prodigy was the more alarming as the Parthians brandished the same weapon.

VIII. Portents and prodigies had no effect on Pætus. Without waiting to fortify his winter encampment, and without providing a sufficient store of grain, he marched his army over Mount Taurus, determined, as he gave out, to recover Tigranocerta, and lay waste the country through which Corbulo had passed with vain parade. In his progress some forts and castles were stormed, and it is certain, that his share of glory and of booty would have been considerable, if to enjoy the former with moderation, and to secure the latter, had been his talent. He overran by rapid marches vast tracts of country, where no conquest could be maintained. His provisions, in the meantime, went to decay, and, the winter season approaching fast, he was obliged to return with his army. His despatches to Nero were in a style as grand as if he had ended the war, high-sounding, pompous, full of vain-glory, but without any solid advantage.

IX. In the meantime Corbulo never neglected the banks of the Euphrates. To his former chain of posts he added new stations; and lest the enemy, who showed themselves in detached parties on the opposite plains, should be able to obstruct the building of a bridge over the river, he ordered a number of vessels of large size to be braced together with great beams, and on that foundation raised a superstructure of towers armed with slings and warlike engines. From this floating battery he annoyed the enemy with a discharge of stones and javelins, thrown to such a length, that the Parthians could not retaliate with their darts. Under this shelter the bridge was finished. The allied cohorts passed over to the opposite hills. The legions followed, and pitched their camp. The whole of these operations was executed with such rapidity, and so formidable a display of strength, that the Parthians abandoned their enterprise, and, without attempting any thing against the Syrians, drew off their forces to the invasion of Armenia.

X. Pætus had fixed his head-quarters in that country, little aware of the storm ready to burst upon him, and so much off his guard, that he suffered the fifth legion to remain in Pontus, at a considerable distance, while he still weakened his numbers by granting leave of absence to his soldiers without reserve. In this situation he received intelligence of the approach of Vologeses with a powerful army. He called the twelfth legion to his assistance, and, by the necessity of that reinforcement, betrayed to the enemy the feeble condition of his army. He was, notwithstanding, sufficiently strong to maintain his post, and baffle all the efforts of the Parthians, had it been in the genius of the man to pursue with firmness either his own idea, or the council of others. But in pressing exigencies, he no sooner embraced the plan recommended by officers of

known experience, than his little spirit was stung with jealousy, and lest he should be thought to stand in need of advice, he was sure to adopt very different measures, always changing for the worse.

On the first approach of the Parthians, he sallied out of his intrenchments, determined to hazard a battle. Ditches and ramparts, he said, were not given to him in commission, nor had he any need of that defence: the soldier and the sword were all he wanted. In this vapouring strain he led his legions to the field; but a centurion, and a few soldiers, who had been sent to reconnoitre the enemy, being cut off, his courage failed, and he sounded a retreat. He was no sooner in his camp, than perceiving that Vologeses had not pressed on the rear, he once more grew bold, and, in a fit of valour, ordered three thousand of his best infantry to take post on the next eminence of Mount Taurus, to dispute the pass with the Parthian king. The Pannonians, who formed the strength of his cavalry, were drawn up on the open plain. He placed his wife and her infant son in a castle called Arsamosata,[1] and left a cohort to defend the place. In this manner he contrived to divide an army, which, acting with united force, would have been able to repel the attack of a wild and desultory enemy. When pressed by Vologeses, we are told, it was with difficulty that he could submit to acquaint Corbulo with his situation. That officer did not hurry to his assistance. To augment the glory of delivering him, he was willing to let the danger increase. In the meantime, he ordered a detachment of a thousand men, drafted from each of his three legions, and a body of eight hundred horse, with an equal number from the cohorts, to hold themselves in readiness for a sudden enterprise.

XI. Vologeses knew from his scouts that his passage over Mount Taurus was obstructed by the Roman infantry, and that the plain was occupied by the Pannonian horse: but the news did not deter him from pursuing his march. He fell with impetuous fury on the cavalry, who fled with precipitation. The legionary soldiers, in like manner, abandoned their post. A tower, commanded by Tarquitius Crescus, a centurion, was the only place that held out. That officer made several sallies with success, routing such of the enemy as dared to approach the walls, and pursuing the runaways with great slaughter; till by a volley of combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, the works were set on fire. The gallant centurion perished in the flames. Some of the garrison escaped unhurt, and made the best of their way to distant wilds. The wounded returned to the camp, and there related wonders, magnifying, beyond all bounds, the valour of the Parthian king, the number of his troops, and their ferocity in battle. A panic pervaded the army. Men, who feared for themselves, swallowed all that was said with easy credulity. Pætus felt the pressure of his misfortunes. He seemed to resign the command, unable to struggle with adversity. He sent again to Corbulo, with earnest prayers entreating him to save the Roman eagles, with the standards of an unfortunate army, and the army itself, from impending ruin. In the mean time, he and his men would hold out to the last, determined to live or die in the service of their country.

XII. Corbulo, as usual, firm and collected in the moment of danger, prepared for the expedition. Having left a sufficient force to guard his post on the banks of the Euphrates, he moved forward towards Armenia, taking the shortest route through Commagena, and next through Cappadocia, both fertile countries, and capable of furnishing supplies for his army. Besides the usual train attending on a march, he took with him a number of camels, loaded with grain, to answer the double purpose of preventing the want of provisions, and of striking the enemy with the terror of an unusual appearance. Pactius, a centurion of principal rank,[2] was the first from the vanquished army that encountered Corbulo on his march. The common men came up soon after, all endeavouring by various excuses to palliate their disgrace. The general ordered them to join their colours, and try to gain their pardon from Pætus. The merciful disposition of that officer might incline him to forgive; but, for himself, he favoured none but such as conquered by their valour. He then addressed his own legions, visiting the ranks, and inspiring all with zeal and ardour. He called to mind their past exploits, and opened to their view a new field of glory. "It is not," he said, "the towns and villages of Armenia that now demand our swords: a Roman camp invokes our aid, and two legions look to us for relief. Their delivery from the Barbarians will be the reward of victory. If to a private soldier the civic crown,[3] delivered by the hand of his general, is the brightest recompense for the life of a citizen saved; how much greater will be the glory of the present enterprise, in which the number of the distressed is equal to those who bring relief, and, by consequence, every soldier in this army may save his man!" By this discourse one general spirit was diffused through the ranks. The men had private motives to inflame their courage; they felt for their brothers; they wished to succour their relations, and, without halting night or

1 Arsamosata, a city of Armenia, near the Euphrates, now *Simsat*.

2 He is called in the original, *Primi Pili Centurio*, that is, first centurion. He has been mentioned, book xiii s. 36, by the name of Pactius Orphitus.

3 The civic crown for saving the life of a citizen, was often granted by the emperor; but the consular commanders had the same power at the head of their armies.

day, pursued their march with alacrity and vigour.

XIII. Meanwhile Vologeses pressed on the siege. He assaulted the intrenchments; he endeavoured to storm a castle, where the weaker sex, the aged and infirm, were lodged for security. In these several attacks, he came to a closer engagement than usually consists with the military genius of his country. By a show of temerity he hoped to bring on a decisive action. The Romans remained close in their tents, content with a safe post within their intrenchments; some in deference to the orders of their general; others, through want of spirit, tamely waiting to be relieved by Corbulo. If, in the meantime, the enemy overpowered them, they called to mind, by way of consolation, the example of two Roman armies that passed under the yoke; one at Caudium,[4] and the other at Numantia. By those two events submission, in their present distress, would be fully justified, since neither the Samnites, nor the Carthagenians, those famous rivals of the Roman republic, could be compared with the extensive power of the Parthian empire: and moreover, the boasted virtue of the ancient Romans, however decorated by the praises of posterity, was always pliant in misfortune, and willing to make terms with the conqueror. By this unwarlike spirit of his army Pætus was driven to despair. He wrote to Vologeses. His letter was more in the style of reproach than the language of a suppliant. "Hostilities," he said, "were commenced by the Parthians to wrest the kingdom of Armenia from the Romans; a kingdom always in the power of the emperor, or governed by kings invested by him with the regal diadem. Peace is equally the interest of both nations. From the present juncture no conclusion can be drawn, since the whole weight of Parthia is employed against two legions, and Rome has it still in her power to arm in her cause the remaining nations of the world."

XIV. Vologeses, without entering into the question of right, returned for answer, "that he must wait for his two brothers, Pacorus and Tiridates: when they arrived, a convention might be held, and there the rights of Armenia would be adjusted. The gods would then decide the fate of the Roman legions." Pætus sent another embassy, requesting an interview. The king sent Vasaces, his general of the cavalry, to act in the royal name. At that meeting Pætus cited a number of ancient precedents. He talked of Lucullus, Pompey, and the emperors of Rome, who had dealt out the sceptre of Armenia. Vasaces coolly answered, that some shadow of right must be allowed to have been claimed by the Romans; but the substantial power was always vested in the Parthian kings. After much debate it was agreed, that on the next day, Monobazus, the Adiabenian, should attend as a witness to the compact. In his presence it was agreed that, the siege being raised, the Roman legions should forthwith evacuate Armenia; that the strongholds, with their stores and magazines, should be delivered up to the Parthians: and, these conditions duly performed, Vologeses was to be at liberty, by his ambassadors, to negotiate with Nero.

XV. These preliminaries being settled, Pætus ordered a bridge to be built over the Arsanias,[5] a river that flowed by the side of his camp. For this work his pretext was, that it would be convenient to his army when the march began: but the fact was, the Parthians, knowing the utility of a bridge, had made it an article of the treaty, intending, at the same time, that it should remain a monument of their victory. The Roman troops, instead of using the bridge, filed off another way. A report[6] was spread abroad, that the legions had passed under the yoke, and, in addition to that disgrace, suffered all the humiliating circumstances, which usually attend the overthrow of an army. The Armenians gave some colour to the report. Before the Romans marched out, they entered the intrenchments, and formed a line on each side, in order to fix on the slaves and beasts of burden that formerly belonged to themselves. Not content with seizing what they called their own property, they laid violent hands on the apparel of the soldiers, who yielded, with fear and trembling, to avoid a new cause of quarrel.

Vologeses, as a monument of his victory, raised a pile of dead bodies, and arms taken from the enemy: but declined to be a spectator of the legions in their flight. He first indulged his pride, and then sought the fame of moderation. He waded across the Arsanius, mounted on an elephant, while his train and his near relations followed him on horseback. The reason was, a report prevailed, that, by the fraudulent contrivance of the builders, the whole fabric of the bridge would give way at once; but by those, who made the experiment, it was found to be a firm and solid structure.

XVI. The besieged, it is now clear, were provided with grain in such abundance, that, on their departure, they burned their magazines; and, on the other hand, by the account given by Corbulo, it appears, that the Parthians, having consumed their whole stock of provisions, were on the point of raising the siege, at the very time when he was within three days' march of

4 The Roman army defeated by the Samnites, passed under the yoke at the *Caudinæ Furcæ*, now *Forchia*, A. U. C. 183. A more terrible defeat happened afterwards at Numantia, A. U. C. 617. The place is now called *Numancia*, and the ruins of antiquity are still to be seen.

5 See the Geographical Table.

6 Suetonius says expressly, that the legions passed under the yoke. In Neron. s. 39.

the place. Upon the same authority it may be averred as a fact, that Pætus, under the sanction of a solemn oath, sworn under the eagles, and in the presence of witnesses sent by Vologeses, took upon him to engage, that no Roman should set his foot within the territories of Armenia, till Nero's pleasure touching the terms of the treaty should arrive from Rome. These assertions, it may be said, were suggested by malignity, to aggravate the infamy of an unwarlike officer; but it is now known, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Pætus made a forced march of no less than forty miles in one day; leaving behind him the sick and wounded, and flying with as much disorder and confusion as if he had been routed in the field of battle. Corbulo met the fugitives on the banks of the Euphrates. He received them without parade, and without that display of military pomp which might seem a triumph over the fate of the vanquished. His men beheld with regret the disgrace of their fellow soldiers, and tears gushed from every eye. The usual forms of military salutation were suppressed by the general condolence. The pride of courage and the sense of glory, which, in the day of prosperity, are natural passions, were now converted into grief and sympathy. The lower the condition of the soldier, the more sincere his sorrow. In that class of men the honest emotions of the heart appeared without disguise.

XVII. The conference between the two commanders was short, and without ceremony. Corbulo complained that all his labours were rendered abortive, whereas the war might have been terminated by the total overthrow of the Parthians. Pætus observed in reply, that all things were still in the same condition. He proposed to turn the eagles against the enemy, and, since Vologeses had withdrawn his forces, by their joint force Armenia would be easily reduced. Corbulo rejected the offer. He had no such orders from the emperor. It was the danger, in which the legions were involved, that drew him out of his province, and, since it was uncertain where the Parthians would make their next attempt, he was determined to return into Syria with his army; and if his infantry, harassed out with fatiguing marches, could keep pace with the Parthian cavalry, who with their usual velocity could traverse the open plains, he should hold himself indebted to his own good fortune for so signal an event. Pætus fixed his winter-quarters in Cappadocia. Vologeses sent despatches to Corbulo, requiring, that the strong-holds and fortresses on the banks of the Euphrates should be razed to the ground, and the river left, as heretofore, the common boundary of the two empires. Corbulo had no objection, provided both parties withdrew their garrisons, and left Armenia a free and independent country. The Parthian monarch, after some hesitation, acceded to the terms. The castles erected, by Corbulo's order, on the banks of the Euphrates, were all demolished, and the Armenians were left to their natural liberty.

XVIII. Meanwhile trophies of victory were erected at Rome, and triumphal arches on the mount of the capitol. This was ordered by the senate, while the war was still depending; nor was the work discontinued when the event was known. The public eye was amused at the expense of truth. To add to the imposition, and to appear free from all solicitude about foreign affairs, Nero ordered all the damaged grain, that lay in the public stores, to be thrown into the Tiber. By this act of ostentation an idea of great abundance was to be impressed on the minds of the people. Nor did he suffer the price of corn to be raised, though near two hundred vessels, loaded with grain, were lost in the harbour by the violence of a storm, and a hundred more, working their way up the Tiber, were destroyed by the accident of fire. At the same time Nero committed the care of the public imposts to three men of consular rank, namely, Lucius Piso, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paulinus. In making this arrangement he animadverted with severity on the conduct of former emperors, whose extravagance made heavy anticipations of the revenue; whereas he himself, by his frugality, paid annually into the treasury, for the exigencies of the state, six millions of sesterces.

XIX. A custom, highly unjust and prejudicial to the rights of others, was, at this time, in general vogue. When the time drew near for the election of magistrates, or the allotment of provinces, it was the practice of men who had no issue,[1] to become fathers by adoption. Having served their turn in a contest with real parents for the prætorship, and the administration of provinces, they emancipated their pretended sons, and resumed their former state. Against this abuse warm remonstrances were made to the senate. The complainants urged their rights of nature, the care and expense of rearing children, while the compensation by law established [2] was wrested from them by fraud, by artifice, and the facility of feigned adoptions. It was surely a sufficient advantage to such as had no children, that they could live free from all charge and solicitude, without leaving the road to favour, to preferment, and honours open to them in common with men who are of service to the community. Real parents are taught by

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1 It was a settled rule of law, that in all elections for the magistracy, or the government of provinces, the preference should be given to the candidate who had the greatest number of children. See Annals, ii. s. 51.

2 By the law Papia Poppæa, the estates of those who did not entitle themselves to the privileges annexed to the paternal state, were to devolve to the public as the common parent of all. Annals, iii. s. 28.

the laws to expect the reward due to useful members of the community; but the laws are eluded, and the promised reward is snatched away, if such, as have raised no heirs to themselves, are allowed to become parents without paternal affection, and childless again without regret. The deception of a moment serves to counterbalance whole years of expectation, and the true father sees all his hopes defeated. The senate passed a decree, by which it was provided, that in all cases, either of election to the magistracy, or succession by testament, no regard should be paid to adoptions merely colourable.

XX. Claudius Timarchus, a native of Crete, was cited to answer a prosecution commenced against him. Besides the allegations usually laid to the charge of such as rise in the provinces to overgrown wealth, and become the oppressors of their inferior neighbours, an expression, that fell from him, excited the indignation of the senate. This man, it seems, had made it his boast, that addresses of public thanks to the proconsular governors of Crete, depended entirely on his weight and influence. Pætus Thrasea seized this opportunity to convert the incident to the public good. He gave his opinion that the offender ought to be banished from the isle of Crete, and proceeded as follows: "Experience has taught us, conscript fathers, that the wisest laws and the best examples of virtue owe their origin to the actual commission of crimes and misdemeanors. Men of integrity make it their study, on such occasions, to deduce good from evil. To the corrupt practices of public orators we are indebted for the Cincian law,[3] and for the Julian to the intrigues and open bribery of the candidates for public honours. The Calpurnian regulations[4] were produced by the avarice and rapacity of the magistrates. Guilt must precede the punishment, and reformation grows out of abuse. We have now before us the pride and insolence of petty tyrants in the provinces. To check the mischief, let us come to a resolution, consistent with good faith, and worthy of the Roman name. Protection is due to our allies; but let us remember, that, to adorn our names, we are not to depend on the voice of foreign nations. Our fellow-citizens are the best judges of our conduct.

XXI. "The old republic was not content with sending prætors and consuls to administer the provinces. Men who sustained no public character were often commissioned to visit the remotest colonies, in order to report the condition of each, and the temper with which the people submitted to the authority of government. By the judgment of individuals, whole nations were kept in awe. What is our practice now? We pay court to the colonies; we flatter the provinces, and by the influence of some powerful leader, we receive public thanks for our administration. In like manner, accusations are framed at the will and pleasure of some overgrown provincial. Let the right of complaining still remain; and, by exercising that right, let the provinces show their importance; but let them not, by false encomiums, impose upon our judgment. The praise, that springs from cabal and faction, is more pernicious than even malice or cruelty. Let both be suppressed. More mischief is done by the governor who wishes to oblige than by him who shows himself not afraid of offending. It is the misfortune of certain virtues to provoke ill will. In that class may be reckoned inflexible severity, and the firmness that never yields to intrigue, or the arts of designing men. Hence it happens, that every new governor opens a promising scene, but the last act seldom corresponds with the outset. In the end we see an humble candidate for the suffrages of the province. Remove the evil, and government, in every quarter, will be more upright, more just, more uniform. By prosecutions, avarice and rapine have received a check. Abolish the custom of giving public thanks, and you suppress the pitiful ambition which, for vain applause, can stoop to mean compliances."

XXII. This speech was received with the unanimous assent of the fathers. The proposition, notwithstanding, could not be formed into a decree, the consuls refusing to make their report. The prince interposed in the business, and, with his authority, a law was passed, forbidding any person whatever to move in a provincial assembly[5] for a vote of thanks to the proconsul or prætor, or to send a deputation to Rome for that purpose. During the same consulship, the gymnasium, or place of athletic exercises, was struck with lightning, and burnt to the ground. The statue of Nero was found in the ruins, melted down to a shapeless mass. The celebrated city of Pompeii[6] in Campania was

3 The Cincian Law against venal advocates has been mentioned, Annals, xi. s. 5. Laws were also established by Augustus, called *Leges Julia*, to prevent bribery at elections. Suet. in Aug. s. 34 and 40.

4 The Calpurnian Law was introduced by Lucius Calpurnius Piso, *de pecuniis repetundis*, to compel restitution from such as were convicted of extortion, A. U. C. 605, in the beginning of the third Punic war. It was followed from time to time by new decrees, but all proved ineffectual.

5 It was a frequent practice of the provinces, to send a deputation to the senate, with an address of thanks to the proconsuls or prætors, who were returned to Rome, for the blessings enjoyed by the people under their administration: and this contrivance served to advance the fame of the men who condescended to intrigue for applause, and thereby open their road to the highest honours of the state. See the panegyric of Trajan, by Pliny the consul, s. 70.

6 Seneca gives an account of this earthquake, but he places it in the following year. See Quæst. Natural. quæst. vi. s. 1. Pompeii is now called *Torre dell' Annunziata*. It was afterwards totally overwhelmed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, A. U. C. 832.

overthrown by an earthquake, and well nigh demolished. Lælia, the vestal virgin, departed this life; and Cornelia, descended from the family of the Cossi, succeeded to the vacant office.

XXIII. During the consulship of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus, [A. U. C. 816. A. D. 63.] Poppæa was delivered of a daughter. The exultation of Nero was beyond all mortal joy. He called the new-born infant Augusta, and gave the same title to her mother. The child was brought into the world at Antium, where Nero himself was born. The senate, before the birth, had offered vows to the gods for the safe delivery of Poppæa. They fulfilled their obligations, and voted additional honours. Days of supplication were appointed: a temple was voted to the goddess of fecundity; athletic sports were instituted on the model of the religious games practised at Antium: golden statues of the two goddesses of fortune[1] were to be erected on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in honour of the Claudian and Domitian families,[2] Circensian games were to be celebrated at Antium, in imitation of the public spectacles exhibited at Bovillæ to commemorate the Julian race. But these honours were of short duration: the infant died in less than four months, and the monuments of human vanity faded away. But new modes of flattery were soon displayed: the child was canonized for a goddess; a temple was decreed to her, with an altar, a bed of state, a priest, and religious ceremonies.

Nero's grief, like his joy at the birth, was without bounds or measure. At the time when the senate went in crowds to Antium, to congratulate the prince on the delivery of Poppæa, a circumstance occurred worthy of notice. Pætus Thrasea was ordered by Nero not to appear upon that occasion. The affront was deemed a prelude to the ruin of that eminent citizen. He received the mandate with his usual firmness, calm and undismayed. A report prevailed soon after, that Nero, in conversation with Seneca, made it his boast, that he was reconciled to Thrasea, and in return the philosopher wished him joy. In consequence of this incident the glory of those excellent men rose to the highest pitch; but their danger kept pace with their glory.

XXIV. In the beginning of the spring ambassadors from Vologeses arrived at Rome, with letters from the king, their master, in substance declaring, "that he would not revive the question of right, so often urged and fully discussed, since the gods, the sovereign arbiters of nations, had delivered Armenia into the hands of the Parthians, not without disgrace to the Roman name. Tigranes had been hemmed in by a close blockade; Pætus and his legions were enveloped in the like distress, and, in the moment when destruction hung over them, the whole army was suffered to decamp. The Parthians displayed at once their superior valour and their moderation. But even in the present juncture Tiridates had no objection to a long journey to Rome, in order to be there invested with the sovereignty; but, being of the order of the Magi, the duties of the sacerdotal function[3] required his personal attendance. He was willing, however, to proceed to the Roman camp, and there receive the regal diadem under the eagles, and the image of the emperor, in the presence of the legions."

XXV. The style of this letter differed essentially from the account transmitted by Pætus, who represented the affairs of the east in a flourishing situation. To ascertain the truth, a centurion, who had travelled with the ambassadors, was interrogated concerning the state of Armenia. The Romans, he replied, have evacuated the country. Nero felt the insulting mockery of being asked to yield what the Barbarians had seized by force. He summoned a council of the leading men at Rome, to determine, by their advice, which was most eligible, a difficult and laborious war, or an ignominious peace. All declared for war. The conduct of it was committed to Corbulo, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the temper of the Roman army, and the genius of the enemy. The misconduct of Pætus had brought disgrace on the Roman name; and to hazard the same calamities from the incapacity of another officer, was not advisable.

The Parthian deputies received their answer, but were dismissed with handsome presents, leaving them room to infer from the mild behaviour of the emperor, that Tiridates, if he made the request in person, might succeed to the extent of his wishes. The civil administration of Syria was committed to Cestius, but the whole military authority was assigned to Corbulo. The fifteenth legion, then in Pannonia under the command of Marius Celsus, was ordered to join the army. Directions were also given to the kings and tetrarchs of the east, as also to the governors and imperial procurators of the several provinces in those parts, to submit in every thing to the commander-in-chief. Corbulo was now invested with powers little short of what the Roman people committed to Pompey[4] in the war against

1 The worship paid to Fortune as a goddess is well known from Horace, lib. i. ode 35. *O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium.* There were two goddesses of fortune adored in that city; one, the *Happy*; the other, the *Equestrian*.

2 Nero by his father was of the Domitian family, and by adoption of the Claudian. See the Genealogical Table, No. 35.

3 For more of the Parthian superstition, and the scruples of Tiridates, see the Appendix to the Annals, xvi.

4 Pompey was employed as a commander-in-chief in the piratic war, with a commission giving to him supreme

the pirates. Pætus, in the meantime, returned to Rome, not without apprehensions of being called to a severe account. Nero appeased his fears, content with a few sallies of mirth and ridicule. His words were, "I make haste to pardon you, lest a state of suspense should injure a man of your sensibility. Since you are so apt to take fright, delay on my part might hurt your nerves, and bring on a fit of illness."

XXVI. Corbulo expected no advantage to the service from the fourth and twelfth legions, the bravest of their men being all cut off, and the survivors still remaining covered with consternation. He removed them into Syria; and, in exchange, reinforced himself with the sixth legion, and the third; both in full vigour, inured to hardship, and no less distinguished by their success than by their valour. To these he added the fifth legion, which happened to be quartered in Pontus, and, by consequence, had not suffered in the late defeat. The fifteenth legion had lately joined the army, as also a body of select troops from Illyricum and Egypt, with the cavalry, the cohorts, and auxiliaries sent by the confederate kings. The whole force assembled at Melitene,[5] where Corbulo proposed to cross the Euphrates. His first care was to purify his army by a solemn lustration.[6] Those rites performed, he called his men to a meeting, and in a spirited harangue painted forth the auspicious government of the reigning prince; he mentioned his own exploits, and imputed to the imbecility of Pætus all the disasters that happened. The whole of his discourse was delivered in a style of authority, the true eloquence of a soldier.

XXVII. He began his march without delay, and chose the road formerly traversed by Lucullus,[7] having first given orders to his men to open the passes, and remove the obstructions, with which time and long disuse had choked up part of the way. He heard that ambassadors from Tiridates and Vologeses were advancing with overtures of peace, and having no inclination to treat them with disdain, he sent forward some chosen centurions, with instructions neither harsh nor arrogant, in substance stating, "that the misunderstanding between the two nations might still be compromised, without proceeding to the decision of the sword. Both armies had fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, in some instances favourable to the Romans, in others to the Parthians; and from those events both sides might derive a lesson against the pride and insolence of victory. It was the interest of Tiridates to receive, at the hands of the Roman emperor, a kingdom in a flourishing state, before hostile armies laid a scene of desolation; and Vologeses would consult his own advantage, as well as that of his people, by preferring the friendship of Rome to wild ambition and the havoc of a destructive war. The internal dissensions that distract the kingdom of Parthia are too well known. It is also known that Vologeses had for his subjects fierce and barbarous nations, whom no law can check, no government can control. Nero, on the contrary, sees a settled calm throughout the Roman world, and, except the rupture with Parthia, has no other war upon his hands." Such was Corbulo's answer. To give it weight, he added the terrors of the sword. The grandees of Armenia, who had been the first to revolt, were driven out of their possessions, and their castles were levelled to the ground. Between the weak, who made no resistance, and the brave and resolute, no distinction was made. All were involved in one common danger; no place was safe; hills and mountains no less than the open plain were filled with consternation.

XXVIII. The name of Corbulo was not, as is usual among adverse nations, hated by the enemy. He was, on the contrary, held in high esteem, and, by consequence, his advice had great weight with the Barbarians. Vologeses did not wish for a general war. He desired a truce in favour of some particular provinces. Tiridates proposed an interview with the Roman general. An early day was appointed. The place for the congress was chosen by the prince on the very spot where Pætus and his legions were invested. The scene of their late victory flattered the pride of the Barbarians. Corbulo did not decline the meeting. The face of things he knew was changed, and the reverse of fortune was glorious to himself. The disgrace of Pætus gave him no anxiety. Having resolved to pay the last funeral rites to the slaughtered soldiers, whose bodies lay weltering on the field, he chose, for that purpose, the son of the vanquished general, then a military tribune, and ordered him to march at the head of the companies appointed to perform that melancholy duty. On the day fixed for the convention,[8] Tiberius Alexander, a Roman

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authority in every province to the extent of fifty miles from the sea-coast. By the decree of the senate on that occasion, Velleius Paterculus observes, almost the whole Roman world was subjected to the will of one man. *Quo senatus consulto pæne totius orbis terrarum imperium uni viro deferebatur.* Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 31. See Plutarch, Life of Pompey.

5 See the Geographical Table.

6 This superstitious ceremony is described by Livy. The soldiers were drawn out on an open plain, and crowned with laurel wreaths, while victims were sacrificed to the god of war. The general harangued his men upon the occasion. Livy, lib. i. s. 28.

7 Lucullus commanded the legions in Armenia, A. U. C. 685. See Plutarch, Life of Lucullus.

8 Tiberius Alexander was by birth one of the Jewish nation, but an apostate from the religion of his country. Joseph. Jewish. Antiq. lib. xx. s. 5. The emperors frequently sent their chosen favourites to attend the general, but, in fact, to be spies upon his conduct.

knight, who had been sent by Nero to superintend the operations of the campaign, and with him Vivianus Annius, son-in-law to Corbulo, but not yet of senatorian age,[1] though, in the absence of his superior officer, he was appointed to command the fifth legion, arrived in the camp of Tiridates, in the character of hostages, chosen, not only to remove from the mind of the prince all suspicion, but at the same time to do him honour. The Parthian and the Roman general proceeded to the interview, each attended by twenty horsemen. As soon as they drew near, Tiridates leaped from his horse. Corbulo returned the compliment. They advanced on foot, and took each other by the hand.

XXIX. The Roman general addressed the prince. He praised the judgment of a young man, who had the moderation to prefer pacific measures to the calamities of war. Tiridates expatiated on the splendour of his illustrious line, and then taking a milder tone, agreed to set out on a journey to Rome. In a juncture when the affairs of Parthia were in a flourishing state, a prince, descended from the Arsacides, humbling himself before the emperor, would present to the Roman people a new scene of glory. It was then settled as a preliminary article, that Tiridates should lay down the regal diadem at the foot of Nero's statue, and never again resume it, till delivered to him by the hand of the emperor. The parties embraced each other, and the convention ended.

In a few days afterwards the two armies were drawn out with great military pomp. On one side stood the Parthian cavalry, ranged in battallions, with all the pride of eastern magnificence. The Roman legions appeared on the opposite ground, the eagles glittering to the eye, the banners displayed, and the images of the gods, in regular order, forming a kind of temple. In the centre stood a tribunal, and upon it a curule chair supporting the statue of Nero. Tiridates approached. Having immolated victims with the usual rites, he took the diadem from his brow, and laid it at the foot of the statue. The spectators gazed with earnest ardour, and every bosom heaved with mixed emotions. The place where the legions were besieged and forced to capitulate was before the eye, and the same spot exhibited a reverse of fortune. They saw Tiridates on the point of setting out for Rome, a spectacle to the nations through which he was to pass, and to exhibit, in the presence of Nero, the humble condition of a suppliant prince; how little better than a captive!

XXX. To the glory resulting from these events Corbulo added the graceful qualities of affability and condescension. He invited Tiridates to a banquet. The prince was struck with the novelty of Roman manners. Every object awakened his curiosity. He desired to know the reason of all that he observed. When the watch[2] was stationed, why was it announced by a centurion? Why did the company, when the banquet closed, rise from table at the sound of the trumpet? And why was the fire on the augural altar lighted with a torch? The Roman general answered all inquiries, not without partiality for his country. He aggrandized every thing, and gave the Parthian the noblest idea of the manners and institutions of the ancient Romans. On the following day Tiridates desired reasonable time to prepare for so long a journey, and, before he undertook it, desired that he might be at liberty to visit his mother and his brothers. His request was granted. The prince delivered up his daughter as a hostage, and despatched letters to Nero in terms of submission.

XXXI. He met his two brothers, Pacorus in Media, and Vologeses at Ecbatana.[3] The Parthian king was not inattentive to the interest of Tiridates. He had already sent despatches to Corbulo, requesting that his brother should not be disgraced by any circumstance that looked like a badge of slavery; that he should not be obliged to surrender his sword; that the honour of embracing the governors[4] of the several provinces should not be denied to him; that he should not undergo the humiliating affront of waiting at their gates, or in their antechambers; and that at Rome he should be treated with all the marks of distinction usually paid to the consuls. The truth is, the Parthian king, trained up in all the pride of despotism, knew but little of the Romans. He was not informed, that it is the character and policy of that people to maintain, with zeal, the substantial interests of the empire, without any regard to petty formalities, the mere shadow of dominion.

XXXII. In the course of the year Nero granted the rights and privileges of Latium to the maritime nations[5] at the foot of the Alps. He likewise assigned to the Roman knights distinct seats in the circus, advancing them before the space allotted to the populace. Till this re-

1 Not yet five and twenty.

2 The night in a Roman camp was divided into four watches, each for the space of three hours. When the sentinels were changed, notice was given by the sound of trumpet. See Hist. lib. ii. s. 29.

3 Vologeses king of Parthia, and Pacorus king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates. For Ecbatana, see the Geographical Table.

4 None but persons of high rank were admitted to embrace the governors of provinces. According to the ideas of that age, the honour was so high that the Parthian king thought proper to make it a preliminary article.

5 The capital of the Maritime Alps was called *Ebrodunum*, now *Embrun*. See an account of the territories of the Duke of Savoy. The rights and privileges of Latium have been already mentioned, Annals, xv. s. 32.

gulation took place, the knights were mixed indiscriminately with the multitude, the Roscian law[6] extending to no more than fourteen rows of the theatre. A spectacle of gladiators was exhibited this year, in nothing inferior to the magnificence displayed on former occasions; but a number of senators, and women of illustrious rank, descended into the arena,[7] and, by exhibiting their persons in the lists, brought disgrace on themselves and their families.

XXXIII. In the consulship of Caius Læcanius and Marcus Licinius, [A. U. C. 817. A D. 64.] Nero's passion for theatrical fame broke out with a degree of vehemence not to be resisted. He had hitherto performed in private only, during the sports of the Roman youth, called the JUVENALIA; but, upon those occasions, he was confined to his own palace or his gardens; a sphere too limited for such bright ambition, and so fine a voice. He glowed with impatience to present himself before the public eye, but had not yet the courage to make his first appearance at Rome. Naples was deemed a Greek city, and, for that reason, a proper place to begin his career of glory. With the laurels which he was there to acquire, he might pass over into Greece, and after gaining, by victory in song, the glorious crown which antiquity considered as a sacred prize, he might return to Rome, with his honours blooming round him, and by his celebrity inflame the curiosity of the populace. With this idea he pursued his plan. The theatre at Naples was crowded with spectators. Not only the inhabitants of the city, but a prodigious multitude from all the municipal towns and colonies in the neighbourhood, flocked together, attracted by the novelty of a spectacle so very extraordinary. All who followed the prince, to pay their court, or as persons belonging to his train, attended on the occasion. The menial servants, and even the common soldiers, were admitted to enjoy the pleasures of the day.

XXXIV. The theatre, of course, was crowded. An accident happened, which men in general considered as an evil omen: with the emperor it passed for a certain sign of the favour and protection of the gods. As soon as the audience dispersed, the theatre tumbled to pieces. No other mischief followed. Nero seized the opportunity to compose hymns of gratitude. He sung them himself, celebrating with melodious airs his happy escape from the ruin. Being now determined to cross the Adriatic, he stopped at Beneventum. At that place Vatinius entertained him with a show of gladiators. Of all the detestable characters that disgraced the court of Nero, this man was the most pernicious. He was bred up in a shoemaker's stall. Deformed in his person, he possessed a vein of ribaldry and vulgar humour, which qualified him to succeed as buffoon. In the character of a jester he recommended himself to notice, but soon forsook his scurrility for the trade of an informer; and having, by the ruin of the worthiest citizens, arrived at eminence in guilt, he rose to wealth and power, the most dangerous miscreant of that evil period!

XXXV. Nero was a constant spectator of the sports exhibited at Beneventum; but even amidst his diversions his heart knew no pause from cruelty. He compelled Torquatus Silanus to put an end to his life, for no other reason, than because he united to the splendour of the Junian family the honour of being great-grandson to Augustus.[8] The prosecutors, suborned for the business, alleged against him, that, having prodigally wasted his fortune in gifts and largesses, he had no resource left but war and civil commotion. With that design he retained about his person men of rank and distinction, employed in various offices: he had his secretaries, his treasurers, and paymasters, all in the style of imperial dignity, even then anticipating what his ambition aimed at. This charge being made in form, such of his freedmen as were known to be in the confidence of their master were seized, and loaded with fetters. Silanus saw that his doom was impending, and, to prevent the sentence of condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms. Nero, according to his custom, expressed himself in terms of lenity. "The guilt of Silanus," he said, "was manifest: and though, by an act of despair, he showed that his crimes admitted no defence, his life would have been spared, had he thought proper to trust to the clemency of his judge."

XXXVI. In a short time after, Nero, for reasons not sufficiently explained, resolved to defer his expedition into Greece. He returned to Rome, cherishing in imagination a new design to visit the eastern nations, and Egypt in

6 The *Roscian Law*, so called after L. Roscius Otho, was established A. U. C. 685. It assigned fourteen rows in the theatre to the Roman knights; but was silent as to the *Circus*, where the senators, the knights, and the commonality, were mixed in a promiscuous concourse. Afterwards, in the consulship of Cinna and Messala, A. U. C. 757, the senators and knights had a place assigned at the spectacle of the *Circus*, where they sat apart from the *plebeians*, but without any distinction between their own two orders. Claudius allotted proper places for the senators. Suet. in Claud. s. 21. It remained for Nero to take care of the equestrian order. Suet. in Neron. s. 11.

7 Suetonius says, Nero engaged four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, some of them of fair fortune and character, to enter the lists as gladiators, and encounter the wild beasts. He also invited the vestal virgins to see the wrestlers, because, as he said, at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were allowed the privilege of seeing that diversion. Suet. in Neron. s. 12. See Annals, xiv. s. 15; and notes. See Juvenal, sat. vi. ver. 245; sat. viii. ver. 194.

8 For Silanus Torquatus, see the Genealogical Table, No. 61.

particular. This project had been for some time settled in his mind. He announced it by a proclamation, in which he assured the people that his absence would be of short duration, and, in the interval, the peace and good order of the commonwealth would be in no kind of danger. For the success of his voyage he went to offer up prayers in the capitol. He proceeded thence to the temple of Vesta. Being there seized with a sudden tremor in every joint, arising either from a superstitious fear of the goddess, or from a troubled conscience, which never ceased to goad and persecute him, he renounced his enterprise altogether, artfully pretending that the love of his country, which he felt warm at his heart, was dearer to him than all other considerations. "I have seen," he said, "the dejected looks of the people; I have heard the murmurs of complaint: the idea of so long a voyage afflicts the citizens; and, indeed, how should it be otherwise, when the shortest excursion I could make was always sure to depress their spirits? The sight of their prince has, at all times, been their comfort and their best support. In private families the pledges of natural affection can soften the resolutions of a father, and mould him to their purpose: the people of Rome have the same ascendant over the mind of their sovereign. I feel their influence: I yield to their wishes." With these and such like expressions he amused the multitude. Their love of public spectacles made them eager for his presence, and, above all, they dreaded, if he left the capital, a dearth of provisions. The senate and the leading men looked on with indifference, unable to decide which was most to be dreaded, his presence in the city, or his tyranny at a distance. They agreed at length (as in alarming cases fear is always in haste to conclude,) that what happened was the worst evil that could befall them.

XXXVII. Nero wished it to be believed that Rome was the place in which he most delighted. To diffuse this opinion, he established convivial meetings in all the squares and public places.[1] The whole city seemed to be his house. Of the various feasts given upon this occasion, that which was prepared for the prince by Tigellinus, exceeded in profusion and luxury every thing of the kind. I shall here give a description of this celebrated entertainment, that the reader, from one example, may form his idea of the prodigality of the times, and that history may not be encumbered with a repetition of the same enormities. Tigellinus gave his banquet on the lake of Agrippa,[2] on a platform of prodigious size,[3] built for the reception of the guests.

To move this magnificent edifice to and fro on the water, he prepared a number of boats superbly decorated with gold and ivory. The rowers were a band of pathics. Each had his station, according to his age, or his skill in the science of debauchery. The country round was ransacked for game and animals of the chase. Fish was brought from every sea, and even from the ocean. On the borders of the lake brothels were erected, and filled with women of illustrious rank. On the opposite bank was seen a band of harlots, who made no secret of their vices, or their persons. In wanton dance and lascivious attitudes they displayed their naked charms. When night came on, a sudden illumination from the adjacent groves and buildings blazed over the lake. A concert of music, vocal and instrumental, enlivened the scene. Nero rioted in all kinds of lascivious pleasure. Between lawful and unlawful gratifications he made no distinction. Corruption seemed to be at a stand, if, at the end of a few days, he had not devised a new abomination to fill the measure of his crimes. He personated a woman, and in that character was given in marriage to one of his infamous herd, a pathic named Pythagoras.[4] The emperor of Rome, with the affected airs of female delicacy, put on the nuptial veil. The augurs assisted at the ceremony; the portion of the bride was openly paid;[5] the genial bed was displayed to view; nuptial torches were lighted up; the whole was public, not even excepting the endearments which, in a natural marriage, decency reserves for the shades of night.

XXXVIII. A dreadful calamity followed in a short time after, by some ascribed to chance, and by others[6] to the execrable wickedness of

1 Suetonius tells us, that Nero frequently supped in public, either in the Field of Mars, or the Circus, attended at table by the common harlots of the city, or from Syria. When he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted along the bay of Baiæ, booths, with all conveniences for drinking and debauchery, were arranged on the margin of the sea, while ladies of pleasure stood like sirens, to invite the passengers from their ships. Suet. in Neron. s. 27.

2 The lake of Agrippa was in the gardens adjoining to his house, near the Pantheon.

3 This platform was constructed by a great number of timbers fastened together, and left to float on the water. Lucan has described such a platform with a tower on it. Pharsal. lib. iv. ver. 17.

4 Dio has given an account of Nero's marriage with Pythagoras, and also of his taking Sporus, the eunuch, to be his wife. See Appendix to book xvi. s. 8.

5 Juvenal has described this scene of impious prostitution:

——— Dudum sedet illa parato
Flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
Sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
Antiquo; veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
SAT. x. v. 333.

Adorn'd with bridal pomp she sits in state,
The public notaries and aruspex wait;
The genial bed is in the garden drest;
The portion paid, and every rite exprest,
Which in a Roman marriage is profest.
DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

6 Suetonius relates the fire at Rome, and has no doubt

Nero. The authority of historians is on both sides, and which preponderates it is not easy to determine. It is, however, certain, that of all the disasters that ever befell the city of Rome from the rage of fire, this was the worst, the most violent, and destructive. The flame broke out in that part of the circus which adjoins, on one side, to mount Palatine, and, on the other, to mount Cœlius. It caught a number of shops stored with combustible goods, and, gathering force from the winds, spread with rapidity from one end of the circus to the other. Neither the thick walls of houses, nor the inclosures of temples, nor any other building, could check the rapid progress of the flames. A dreadful conflagration followed. The level parts of the city were destroyed. The fire communicated to the higher buildings, and, again laying hold of inferior places, spread with a degree of velocity that nothing could resist. The form of the streets, long and narrow, with frequent windings, and no regular opening, according to the plan of ancient Rome,[7] contributed to increase the mischief. The shrieks and lamentations of women, the infirmities of age, and the weakness of the young and tender, added misery to the dreadful scene. Some endeavoured to provide for themselves, others to save their friends, in one part dragging along the lame and impotent, in another waiting to receive the tardy, or expecting relief themselves; they hurried, they lingered, they obstructed one another; they looked behind, and the fire broke out in front; they escaped from the flames, and in their place of refuge found no safety; the fire raged in every quarter; all were involved in one general conflagration.

The unhappy wretches fled to places remote, and thought themselves secure, but soon perceived the flames raging round them. Which way to turn, what to avoid or what to seek, no one could tell. They crowded the streets; they fell prostrate on the ground; they lay stretched in the fields, in consternation and dismay, resigned to their fate. Numbers lost their whole substance, even the tools and implements by which they gained their livelihood, and, in that distress, did not wish to survive. Others, wild with affliction for their friends and relations whom they could not save, embraced a voluntary death, and perished in the flames. During the whole of this dismal scene, no man dared to attempt any thing that might check the violence of the dreadful calamity. A crew of incendiaries stood near at hand denouncing vengeance on all who offered to interfere. Some were so abandoned as to heap fuel on the flames. They threw in firebrands and flaming torches, proclaiming aloud, that they had authority for what they did. Whether, in fact, they had received such horrible orders, or, under that device, meant to plunder with greater licentiousness, cannot now be known.

XXXIX. During the whole of this terrible conflagration, Nero remained at Antium, without a thought of returning to the city, till the fire approached the building by which he had communicated the gardens of Mæcenas[8] with the imperial palace. All help, however, was too late. The palace, the contiguous edifices, and every house adjoining, were laid in ruins. To relieve the unhappy people, wandering in distress without a place of shelter, he opened the Field of Mars, as also the magnificent buildings raised by Agrippa,[9] and even his own imperial gardens.[10] He ordered a number of sheds to be thrown up with all possible despatch, for the use of the populace. Household utensils, and all kinds of necessary implements, were brought from Ostia, and other cities in the neighbourhood. The price of grain was reduced to three sesterces. For acts like these, munificent and well-timed, Nero might hope for a return of popular favour; but his expectations were in vain; no man was touched with gratitude. A report prevailed,[11] that, while the city was in a blaze, Nero went to his own theatre, and there, mounting the stage, sung the destruction of Troy, as a happy allusion to the present misfortune.

XL. On the sixth day the fire was subdued at the foot of mount Esquiline. This was effected, by demolishing a number of buildings, and thereby leaving a void space, where for want of materials the flame expired. The minds of men had scarce begun to recover from their consternation, when the fire broke out a second time with no less fury than before. This hap-

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of Nero's guilt. He tells us, that somebody repeating in conversation,

> Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί,
> *When I am dead let fire devour the world.*

Let it be, said Nero, *whilst I am living*, ἐμοῦ ζῶντος. And accordingly, pretending to dislike the old buildings, and the narrow winding of the streets, he set fire to the city in so barefaced a manner, that several men of consular rank met Nero's domestic servants with torches and combustibles, but did not dare to apprehend them. Suet. in Neron. s. 38. See Dio, lib. lxii.

7 Livy observes, that, after the city was fired by the Gauls, it was rebuilt in close, narrow winding streets. See Livy, lib. v. s. 55.

8 The gardens of Mæcenas were near mount Esquiline.

9 The monuments of Agrippa were, his house, his gardens, his baths, and the Pantheon. The last remains at this day.

10 Nero's gardens joined to the Vatican.

11 Suetonius says, in express terms, that Nero beheld the conflagration from a tower on the top of Mæcenas's house, and, being highly pleased with so grand a sight, went to his own theatre, and in his scenic dress tuned his harp, and sung the destruction of Troy. Suet. in Neron. s. 38.

pened, however, in a more open quarter, where fewer lives were lost; but the temples of the gods, the porticoes and buildings raised for the decoration of the city, were levelled to the ground. The popular odium was now more inflamed than ever, as this second alarm began in the house of Tigellinus, formerly the mansion of Æmilius. A suspicion prevailed, that to build a new city, and give it his own name, was the ambition of Nero. Of the fourteen quarters, into which Rome was divided, four only were left entire, three were reduced to ashes, and the remaining seven presented nothing better than a heap of shattered houses, half in ruins.

XLI. The number of houses, temples, and insulated mansions, destroyed by the fire cannot be ascertained. But the most venerable monuments of antiquity, which the worship of ages had rendered sacred, were laid in ruins: amongst these were the temple dedicated to the moon by Servius Tullius; the fane and the great altar consecrated by Evander, the Arcadian, to Hercules, his visitor and his guest;[1] the chapel of JUPITER STATOR,[2] built by Romulus; the palace of Numa, and the temple of Vesta,[3] with the tutelar gods of Rome. With these were consumed the trophies of so many victories, the inimitable works of the Grecian artists, with the precious monuments of literature and ancient genius, all at present remembered by men advanced in years, but irrecoverably lost. Not even the splendour, with which the new city rose out of the ruins of the old, could compensate for that lamented disaster. It did not escape observation, that the fire broke out on the fourteenth before the calends of July,[4] a day remarkable for the conflagration kindled by the Senones, when those barbarians took the city of Rome by storm, and burnt it to the ground. Men of reflection, who refined on every thing with minute curiosity, calculated the number of years, months, and days, from the foundation of Rome to the firing of it by the Gauls; and from that calamity to the present they found the interval of time precisely the same.

XLII. Nero did not blush to convert to his own use the public ruins of his country. He built a magnificent palace,[5] in which the objects that excited admiration were neither gold nor precious stones. Those decorations, long since introduced by luxury, were grown stale, and hackneyed to the eye. A different species of magnificence was now consulted: expansive lakes and fields of vast extent were intermixed with pleasing variety; woods and forests stretched to an immeasurable length, presenting gloom and solitude amidst scenes of open space, where the eye wandered with surprise over an unbounded prospect. This prodigious plan was carried on under the direction of two surveyors, whose names were Severus and Celer. Bold and original in their projects, these men undertook to conquer nature, and to perform wonders even beyond the imagination and the riches of the prince. They promised to form a navigable canal from the lake Avernus[6] to the mouth of the Tiber. The experiment, like the genius of the men, was bold and grand; but it was to be carried over a long tract of barren land, and, in some places, through opposing mountains. The country round was parched and dry, without one humid spot, except the Pomptinian marsh,[7] from which water could be expected. A scheme so vast could not be accomplished without immoderate labour, and, if practicable, the end was in no proportion to the expense and labour. But the prodigious and almost impossible had charms for the enterprising spirit of Nero. He began to hew a passage through the hills that surround the lake Avernus, and some traces of his deluded hopes are visible at this day.

XLIII. The ground, which, after marking out his own domain, Nero left to the public, was not laid out for the new city in a hurry and without judgment, as was the case after the irruption of the Gauls. A regular plan was formed; the streets were made wide and long; the elevation[8] of the houses was defined, with an open area before the doors, and porticoes[9] to secure and adorn the front. The expense of

1 Evander was originally a native of Arcadia in Greece. The visit of Hercules forms a beautiful episode in Virgil's Æneid, book viii.

2 For the temple of Jupiter Stator, see Livy, lib. i. s. 12.

3 The palace of Numa was on Mount Palatine, afterwards the mansion of Augustus, near the temple of Vesta, where the vestal virgins watched the perpetual fire. See Horace, lib. i. ode 2.

4 The fourteenth of the calends of July, or the eighteenth of June. This is confirmed by Livy, who says, lib. vi. s. 1, that the battle of *Allia* was fought on the fifteenth of the calends; and book v. s. 41, he says the victorious Gauls entered Rome on the following day.

5 According to Suetonius, Nero turned the public calamity to his own private advantage. He promised to remove the bodies that lay amidst the ruins, and to clear the ground at his own expense. By that artifice he secured all the remaining property of the unhappy sufferers for his own use. To add to his ill-gotten store, he levied contributions in the provinces, and by those means collected an immense sum. Suet. in Neron. s. 38. Brotier has given an elaborate description of the New Palace, vol. ii. p. 490, 4to edit.

6 The Lake Avernus was in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, now *Lago Averno*.

7 Now *Paludi Pontine*, in the territory of Rome.

8 Strabo says, that by an ordinance of Augustus, no new-built house was to be more than seventy feet high. Trajan afterwards, according to Aurelius Victor, fixed the elevation at sixty feet. The rule prescribed by Nero cannot now be known.

9 We are told by Suetonius, that Nero introduced a new model for building in the city, and, by porticoes and piazzas before the front, contrived, in case of fire, to hinder the flames from spreading. In Neron. s. 16.

the porticoes Nero undertook to defray out of his own revenue. He promised, besides, as soon as the work was finished, to clear the ground, and leave a clear space to every house, without any charge to the occupier. In order to excite a spirit of industry and emulation, he held forth rewards proportioned to the rank of each individual, provided the buildings were finished in a limited time. The rubbish, by his order, was removed to the marshes of Ostia, and the ships that brought corn up the river were to return loaded with the refuse of the workmen. Add to all this, the several houses, built on a new principle, were to be raised to a certain elevation, without beams or wood-work, on arches of stone from the quarries of Alba or Gabii;[10] those materials being impervious, and of a nature to resist the force of fire. The springs of water, which had been before that time intercepted by individuals for their separate use, were no longer suffered to be diverted from their channel, but left to the care of commissioners, that the public might be properly supplied, and, in case of fire, have a reservoir at hand to stop the progress of the mischief.

It was also settled, that the houses should no longer be contiguous, with slight party-walls to divide them;[11] but every house was to stand detached, surrounded and insulated by its own inclosure. These regulations, it must be admitted, were of public utility, and added much to the embellishment of the new city. But still the old plan of Rome was not without its advocates. It was thought more conducive to the health[12] of the inhabitants. The narrowness of the streets and the elevation of the buildings served to exclude the rays of the sun; whereas the more open space, having neither shade nor shelter, left men exposed to the intense heat of the day.

XLIV. These several regulations were, no doubt, the best that human wisdom could suggest. The next care was to propitiate the gods. The Sibylline books were consulted, and the consequence was, that supplications were decreed to Vulcan, to Ceres, and Proserpine. A band of matrons offered their prayers and sacrifices to Juno, first in the capitol, and next on the nearest margin of the sea, where they supplied themselves with water, to sprinkle the temple and the statue of the goddess. A select number of women, who had husbands actually living, laid the deities on their sacred beds,[13] and kept midnight vigils with the usual solemnity. But neither these religious ceremonies, nor the liberal donations of the prince could efface from the minds of men the prevailing opinion, that Rome was set on fire by his own orders. The infamy of that horrible transaction still adhered to him. In order, if possible, to remove the imputation, he determined to transfer the guilt to others. For this purpose he punished, with exquisite torture, a race of men detested for their evil practices,[14] by vulgar appellation commonly called Christians.

The name was derived from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius, suffered under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea. By that event the sect, of which he was the founder, received a blow, which, for a time, checked the growth of a dangerous superstition;[15] but it revived

10 Vitruvius says, that the Alban and Gabian stone was not the hardest, but it resisted fire; while the stone from other quarries was apt, when heated, to crack, and fly off in fragments. Vitruvius, lib. ii. cap. 8.

11 Brotier observes, that by a law of the Twelve Tables, a space of something more than two feet was to be left between all new-built houses.

12 It is known, says Brotier, from the experience of medical people, that at Rome there are more patients, during the summer, in the wide parts of the city, which lie open to the sun, than in the narrow places, where the inhabitants are shaded from the intense heat.

13 The beds on which the gods and goddesses were extended at all public festivals, were called *Lectisternia*. See Livy, lib. v. s. 13.

14 Brotier observes, that the Jews, in that period of time, were guilty of great enormities; and the distinction between them and the Christians not being understood, all were considered in the same light, despised and hated by the Romans.

15 This was the first persecution of the Christians. Nero, the declared enemy of human kind, waged war against a religion, which has since diffused the light of truth, and humanised the savages of Europe. It is true, as Suetonius relates, that Claudius banished the Jews, who were raising seditious tumults at the instigation of one Chrestus. That name, it is almost needless to observe, cannot, at least ought not to be confounded with Jesus Christ; who, it was well known at Rome, had suffered under Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. Chrestus, Brotier observes, was not an uncommon name among the Greeks and Romans. When the Jews were ordered by Claudius to depart from Rome, all of that nation, who professed themselves followers of Christ, were, without distinction, included in the number. The edict of the emperor was not pointed against the Christians. Nero appears to be the first that attacked them as the professors of a new religion; and when such a man as Tacitus calls it a dangerous superstition, *exitiabilis superstitio*, it must be allowed, that, indirectly, an apology is made for Nero. But for Tacitus, who had opportunities for a fair inquiry, and ability to know and decide, what excuse can be offered? The vices of the Jews were imputed to the Christians without discrimination, and Tacitus suffered himself to be hurried away by the torrent of popular prejudice. And yet we find that his friend Pliny, during his administration in the province of Bithynia, thought and acted with moderation. The Christians were under a prosecution; Pliny, in his character of proconsular governor, was in doubt how to proceed. He wrote to the emperor Trajan on the subject; and after stating that the *real Christians were not to be forced, by any means whatever, to renounce the articles of their belief*, he proceeds to the sum total of their guilt, which he found to be as follows: They met on a stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a prayer or hymn to Christ, as to a god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for any wicked purpose, but never to commit any *fraud*, *theft*, or *adultery*; never to

soon after, and spread with recruited vigour, not only in Judæa, the soil that gave it birth, but even in the city of Rome, the common sink into which every thing infamous and abominable flows like a torrent from all quarters of the world. Nero proceeded with his usual artifice. He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and, on the evidence of such men, a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed upon clear evidence of their having set the city on fire, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race.[1] They were put to death with exquisite cruelty, and to their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night.[2]

For the convenience of seeing this tragic spectacle, the emperor lent his own gardens. He added the sports of the circus, and assisted in person, sometimes driving a curricle, and occasionally mixing with the rabble in his coachman's dress. At length the cruelty of these proceedings filled every breast with compassion. Humanity relented in favour of the Christians. The manners of that people were, no doubt, of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice; but it was evident, that they fell a sacrifice, not for the public good, but to glut the rage and cruelty of one man only.

XLV. Meanwhile, to supply the unbounded prodigality of the prince, all Italy was ravaged; the provinces were plundered; and the allies of Rome, with the several places that enjoyed the title of free cities, were put under contribution. The very gods were taxed. Their temples in the city were rifled of their treasures, and heaps of massy gold, which, through a series of ages, the virtue of the Roman people, either returning thanks for victories, or performing their vows made in the hour of distress, had dedicated to religious uses, were now produced to answer the demands of riot and extravagance. In Greece and Asia, rapacity was not content with seizing the votive offerings that adorned the temples, but even the very statues of the gods were deemed lawful prey. To carry this impious robbery into execution, Acratus and Secundus Carinas were sent with a special commission: the former, one of Nero's freedmen, of a genius ready for any black design; the latter, a man of literature, with the Greek philosophy fluent in his mouth, and not one virtue at his heart. It was a report current at the time, that Seneca, wishing to throw from himself all responsibility for these impious acts, desired leave to retire to some part of Italy. Not being able to succeed in his request, he feigned a nervous disorder, and never stirred out of his room. If credit be due to some writers, a dose of poison was prepared for him by Cleonicus, one of his freedmen, by the instigation of Nero. The philosopher however, warned by the same servant, whose courage failed him, or, perhaps, shielded from danger by his own wary disposition, escaped the snare. He lived at that very time on the most simple diet: wild apples, that grew in the woods, were his food; and water from the clear purling stream served to quench his thirst.

XLVI. About the same time a body of gladiators detained in custody at Præneste,[3] made an

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falsify their word, nor *deny a trust reposed in them;* after which it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble to eat their meal together, in a manner perfectly harmless and inoffensive. They desisted, says Pliny, from this custom, after my edict, issued according to your order, against the holding of any assemblies whatever. *Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem; sequeque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent; ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen, et innoxium: quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram.* Plin. lib. x. ep. 97. Such is the account of the religion, which Tacitus calls a *pernicious* superstition. Pliny adds, in the same letter, that, in order to come at the real truth, he ordered two female slaves to be put to the torture, but he could discover nothing more than a rooted and excessive superstition. Trajan, in his answer to this letter, determines, that if Christians are brought before the governor, and proved to be guilty, they must be punished, unless they renounce their errors, and invoke the gods of Rome. In that case they were to be pardoned, notwithstanding any former suspicion. But the emperor says to his minister, "I would not have you officiously enter into any inquiries concerning them." Pliny's letter, Mr. Melmoth observes, is esteemed as almost the only genuine monument of ecclesiastical antiquity, relating to the times immediately succeeding the apostles, being wrote not above forty years after the death of Paul. It was preserved by the Christians themselves, as a clear and unsuspicious evidence of the purity of their doctrines. It is therefore with good reason, says Brotier, that Tertullian, in a strain of exultation, declares, that the Christians, "for their innocence, their probity, justice, truth, and for the living God, were burnt alive. The cruelty, ye persecutors, is all your own; the glory is ours." *Pro tanta innocentia, pro tanta probitate, pro justitia, pro virtute, pro Deo vivo cremamur: crudelitas vestra; gloria est nostra.*

1 The Jews, as will be seen in the History, book v. s. 5, were charged with harbouring a sullen aversion towards all mankind. It is unnecessary to vindicate the Christian religion from that imputation.

2 Juvenal alludes, with his usual indignation, to the barbarous cruelties described by Tacitus. See sat. i. ver. 155.

2 For Præneste, see the Geographical Table.

attempt to recover their liberty. The military guard was called out, and the tumult died away. The incident, notwithstanding, revived the memory of Spartacus.[4] The calamities, that followed the daring enterprise of that adventurer, became the general topic, and filled the minds of all with dreadful apprehensions. Such is the genius of the populace, ever prone to sudden innovations, yet terrified at the approach of danger. In a few days after, advice was received, that the fleet had suffered by a violent storm. This was not an event of war, for there never was a period of such profound tranquillity; but Nero had ordered the ships, on a stated day, to assemble on the coast of Campania. The dangers of the sea never entered into his consideration. His orders were peremptory. The pilots, to mark their zeal, set sail, in tempestuous weather from the port of Formiæ.[5] While they were endeavouring to double the cape of Misenum, a squall of wind from the south threw them on the coast of Cuma, where a number of the larger galleys, and almost all the smaller vessels, were dashed to pieces.

XLVII. Towards the close of the year omens and prodigies filled the minds of the people with apprehensions of impending mischief. Such dreadful peals of thunder were never known. A comet appeared, and that phenomenon was a certain prelude to some bloody act to be committed by Nero. Monstrous births, such as men and beasts with double heads, were seen in the streets and public ways; and in the midst of sacrifices, which required victims big with young, the like conceptions fell from the entrails of animals slain at the altar. In the territory of Placentia[6] a calf was dropped with its head growing at the extreme part of the leg. The construction of the soothsayers was, that another head was preparing for the government of the world, but would prove weak, insufficient, and be soon detected, like the monstrous productions, which did not rest concealed in the womb, but came before their time, and lay exposed to public view near the high road.

XLVIII. Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus entered on their consulship [A. U. C. 818. A. D. 65.] In that juncture a deep conspiracy was formed, and carried on with such a spirit of enterprise, that in the moment of its birth it was almost ripe for execution. Senators, Roman knights, military men, and even women, gave in their names with emulation, all incited by their zeal for Caius Piso, and their detestation of Nero. Piso was descended from the house of Calpurnius, by his paternal line related to the first families in Rome. His virtues, or his amiable qualities that resembled virtues, made him the idol of the people. An orator of high distinction, he employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; possessed of great wealth, he was generous to his friends; by nature courteous, he was affable and polite to all. To these accomplishments he united a graceful figure and an engaging countenance. In his moral conduct neither strict nor regular, he led a life of voluptuous ease, fond of pomp and splendour, and, at times, free and luxurious in his pleasures. His irregularities served to grace his character. At a time when vice had charms for all orders of men, it was not expected, that the sovereign should lead a life of austerity and self-denial.

XLIX. The conspiracy did not originate from the ambition of Piso. Among so many bold and generous spirits, it is not easy to name the person who first set the whole in motion. Subrius Flavius, a tribune of the prætorian guards, and Sulpicius Asper, were the active leaders. The firmness with which they afterwards met their fate, sufficiently marks their characters. Annæus Lucan, the celebrated poet, and Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, entered into the plot with ardour and inflamed resentment. Lucan had personal provocations: Nero was an enemy to his rising fame; not being able to vie with that eminent genius, he ordered him not to make his verses public, determined to silence what he vainly strove to emulate. Lateranus brought with him no private animosity: he acted on nobler principles; the love of his country inspired him, and he knew no other motive. Flavius Scevinus and Afranius Quinctianus, both of senatorian rank, stood forward to guide the enterprise with a degree of spirit little expected from the tenor of their lives. Scevinus, addicted to his pleasures, passed his days in luxury, sloth, and languor. Quinctianus was decried for the effeminacy of his manners. Nero had lampooned him in a copy of defamatory verses, and to revenge the injury Quinctianus became a patriot.

L. The conspirators had frequent meetings. They inveighed against the vices of Nero: they painted forth in glaring colours all his atrocious deeds, by which the empire was brought to the brink of ruin; they urged the necessity of choosing a successor equal to the task of restoring a distressed and tottering state, and, in the interval, enlisted in their confederacy several Roman knights, namely, Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Festus. Senecio, the first in the list, had lived in the closest intimacy with the prince, and, being still obliged to wear the mask, he found the interval big with anxiety, mistrust, and danger. Antonius Natalis was the bosom-friend and confidential agent of Piso; the rest had their separate views, and in a revolution hoped to find their private advantage. There

4 Spartacus, a gladiator, kindled up the Servile War A. U. C. 681.

5 For Formiæ, see the Geographical Table.

6 For Placentia, see the Geographical Table.

were, besides Subrius Flavius and Sulpicius Asper already mentioned, a number of military men ready to draw their swords in the cause. In this class were Granius Silvanus and Statius Proximus, both tribunes of the prætorian bands; Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paullus, two centurions. But the main strength and pillar of the party was Fenius Rufus,[1] commander-in-chief of the prætorian guards; a man of principle, and for the integrity of his conduct esteemed and honoured by the people. But Tigellinus stood in higher favour with the prince, and by his cruel devices no less than by his taste for riot and debauchery, so ingratiated himself, that he was able to supplant the prætorian præfect, and by secret accusations to endanger his life. He represented him to Nero as the favoured lover of Agrippina,[2] still cherishing a regard for her memory, and lying in wait for an opportunity to revenge her wrongs.

Rufus inclined to the discontented party, and, at length, declared himself willing to assist their enterprise. Encouraged by this accession of strength, the conspirators began to think of the decisive blow, and to deliberate about the time and place. We are told that Subrius Flavius resolved to take to himself the glory of the deed. Two different schemes occurred to him. One was, while the prince was singing on the stage, to despatch him in the sight of the whole theatre. His second project was, while Nero was rambling abroad in his midnight frolics, to set fire to the palace, and in the tumult, to take him by surprise, unattended by his guards. The last seemed to be the safest measure. The tyrant, unseen and unassisted, would fall a devoted victim, and die in solitude. On the other hand, the idea of a brave exploit, performed in the presence of applauding numbers, fired the generous ardour of that heroic mind. But prudential considerations had too much weight. He wished to gain immortal fame, and he thought of his own personal safety; a tame reflection, always adverse to every great and noble enterprise.

LI. While the conspirators lingered in suspense, prolonging the awful period of their hopes and fears, a woman, of the name of Epicharis, apprised of the plot (by what means is still a mystery), began to animate their drooping spirit, and to blame their cold delay. What made her conduct singular on this occasion was, that, before this time, not one great or honourable sentiment was ever known to have entered her heart. Seeing the business languish, she retired in disgust, and went into Campania. But a spirit like hers could not be at rest. She endeavoured to seduce the officers of the fleet then lying at Misenum. She began her approaches to Volusius Proculus, an officer who had under his command a thousand marines. He was one of the assassins employed in the tragic catastrophe of Nero's mother. His reward, he thought, was in no proportion to the magnitude of the crime. Being known to Epicharis, or having then contracted a recent friendship, he began to disclose the secrets of his heart. He enumerated his exploits in Nero's service, and complained of the ingratitude with which he was ill requited; avowing, at the same time, a fixed resolution to revenge himself, whenever an opportunity offered. The woman, from this discourse, conceived hopes of gaining a proselyte, and by his means a number of others. She saw that a revolt in the fleet would be of the greatest moment. Nero was fond of sailing parties on the coast of Misenum and Puteoli, and would, by consequence, put himself in the power of the mariners.

Epicharis entered into close conference with Proculus; she recapitulated the various acts of cruelty committed by Nero. The fathers, she said, had no doubt remaining; they were of one mind; all agreed, that a tyrant, who overturned the laws and constitution of his country, ought to fall a sacrifice to an injured people. She added, that Proculus would do well to co-operate with the friends of liberty. If he kindled the same spirit in the minds of the soldiers, a sure reward would wait him. In the fervour of her zeal, she had the prudence to conceal the names of the conspirators. That precaution served to screen her afterwards, when the marine officer turned informer, and betrayed the whole to Nero. She was cited to answer, and confronted with her accuser; but the charge, resting entirely on the evidence of one man, without a circumstance to support it, was easily eluded. Epicharis, notwithstanding, was detained in custody. Nero's suspicions were not to be removed. The accusation was destitute of proof, but he was not the less inclined to believe the worst.

LII. The undaunted firmness of Epicharis did not quiet the apprehensions of the conspirators. Dreading a discovery, they determined to execute their purpose without delay. The place they fixed upon was a villa belonging to Piso, in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, where the emperor, attracted by the beauties of that delightful spot, was used to enjoy the pleasure of bathing, and his convivial parties, divested of his guards, and unincumbered by the parade of state. Piso objected to the measure. "What would the world say, if his table were imbrued with blood, and the gods of hospitality violated by the murder of a prince, however detested for his atrocious deeds? Rome was the proper theatre for such a catastrophe. The scene should be in his own palace, that haughty mansion built with the spoils of plundered citizens. The blow for liberty would be still more noble before an

1 Fenius Rufus has been mentioned to his honour, Annals, xiv. s. 51.

2 Agrippina, Nero's murdered mother.

assembly of the people. The actions of men, who dared nobly for the public, should be seen by the public eye."

Such were the objections advanced by Piso in the presence of the conspirators: in his heart he had other reasons. He dreaded Lucius Silanus,[3] knowing his high descent, and the rare accomplishments which he had acquired under the care of Caius Cassius,[4] who had trained him from his youth, and formed his mind to every thing great and honourable. A man thus distinguished might aspire to the imperial dignity. All who stood aloof from the conspiracy would be ready to second his ambition, and, most probably, would be joined by others, whom the fate of a devoted prince, cut off by treachery, might touch with compassion. Piso was supposed to have another secret motive: he knew the genius and the ardent spirit of Vestinus, the consul. A man of his character might think of restoring the old republic, or be for choosing another emperor, to show mankind that the sovereign power was a gift to be disposed of according to his will and pleasure. Vestinus, in fact, had no share in the conspiracy, though he was afterwards charged as an accomplice, and, under that pretence, doomed to death by the unappeasable malice and the cruelty of Nero.

LIII. At length the conspirators fixed their day. They chose the time of the public games, which were soon to be performed in the circus, according to established usage, in honour of Ceres. During that festival, the emperor, who rarely showed himself to the people, but remained sequestered in his palace or his gardens, would not fail to attend his favourite diversions; and, in that scene of gaiety, access to his person would not be difficult. The assault was to be made in the following manner. Lateranus, a man of undaunted resolution, and an athletic form, was to approach the prince, with an humble air of supplication, as if to entreat relief for himself and family; and, in the act of falling at his feet, to overthrow him by some sudden exertion, and by his weight keep him stretched on the ground. In that condition the tribunes, the centurions, and the rest of the conspirators, as the opportunity offered, and as courage prompted, were to fall on, and sacrifice their victim to the just resentments of the people.

Scevinus claimed the honour of being the first to strike. For this purpose, he had taken a dagger from the temple of Health, in Etruria, or, as some writers will have it, from the temple of Fortune, in the city of Ferentum. This instrument he carried constantly about him, as a sacred weapon, dedicated to the cause of liberty. It was further settled, that, during the tumult Piso was to take his post in the vamplis of Ceres, and there remain till such time as Fenius and his confederates should call him forth, and conduct him to the camp. To conciliate the favour of the people, Antonia, the daughter of the late emperor, was to appear in the cavalcade. This last circumstance, since it is related by Pliny, must rest upon his authority. If it came from a less respectable quarter, I should think myself at liberty to suppress it: but it may be proper to ask, Is it probable that Antonia would hazard her reputation, and even her life, in a project so uncertain, and so big with danger? Is it probable that Piso, distinguished by his conjugal affection, could agree at once to abandon a wife whom he loved, and marry another to gratify his own wild ambition? But it may be said, of all the passions that inflame the human mind, ambition is the most fierce and ardent, of power to extinguish every other sentiment.

LIV. In a conspiracy like the present, so widely diffused among persons of different ages, rank, sex, and condition, some of them poor, and others rich, it may well be matter of wonder, that nothing transpired, till the discovery burst out at once from the house of Scevinus. This active partisan, on the day preceding the intended execution of the plot, had a long conference with Antonius Natalis; after which he returned home, and having sealed his will, unsheathed his sacred dagger, already mentioned. Finding it blunted by long disuse, he gave it to Milichus, his freedman, to be well whetted, and sharpened at the point. In the meantime, he went to his meal, more sumptuously served than had been his custom. To his favourite slaves he granted their freedom, and among the rest distributed sums of money. He affected an air of gaiety; he talked of indifferent things, with counterfeited cheerfulness; but a cloud hung over him, and too plainly showed, that some grand design was labouring in his breast. He desired the same Milichus to prepare bandages for the bracing of wounds, and applications to stop the effusion of blood. If this man was, before that time, apprised of the plot, he had till then acted with integrity; but the more probable opinion is, that he was never trusted, and now from all the circumstances drew his own conclusion.

The reward of treachery no sooner presented itself to the servile mind of an enfranchised slave, than he saw wealth and power inviting him to betray his master. The temptation was bright and dazzling; every principle gave way; the life of his patron was set at nought; and for the gift of freedom no sense of gratitude remained. He advised with his wife, and female advice was the worst he could take. The woman, with all the art and malice of her sex,

3 Lucius Silanus, the son of Marcus Junius Silanus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 59.

4 Caius Cassius, banished to Sardinia A. U. C. 818. See Annals, book xii. s. 11 and 12.

alarmed his fears. Other slaves, she said, and other freedmen, had an eye on all that passed. The silence of one could be of no use. The whole would be brought to light; and he who first made the discovery, would be entitled to the reward.

LV. At the dawn of day Milichus made the best of his way to the gardens of Servilius. Being refused admittance, he declared that he had business of the first importance, nothing less than the discovery of a dark and dangerous conspiracy. The porter conducted him to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freedmen, who introduced him to the presence of his master. Milichus informed the emperor of his danger, and laid open the machinations of his enemies, with all that he knew and all that he conjectured. He produced the dagger, assumed to give the mortal stab, and desired to be confronted with the criminal.

Scevinus was seized by the soldiers, and dragged in custody to answer the charge. "The dagger," he said, "was a sacred relic, left to him by his ancestors. He had preserved it with veneration, and kept it safe in his chamber, till the perfidy of a slave surreptitiously conveyed it away. As to his will, he had often changed it, often signed and sealed a new one, without any distinction of days. He had been always generous to his domestics; nor was it now for the first time that he had given freedom to some, and to others liberal donations. If in the last instance his bounty exceeded the former measure, the reason was, that being reduced in his circumstances, and pressed by his debts, he was afraid that his will would be declared void in favour of his creditors. With regard to his table, it was well known that his style of living had ever been elegant, and even profuse, to a degree that drew upon him the censure of rigid moralists. To the preparation of bandages and styptics he was an utter stranger. None were made by his order. The whole was the invention of a vile informer, who found himself destitute of proof, and, to prop his infamous calumny, dared to fabricate a new charge, at once the author and the witness of a lie." This defence was uttered by Scevinus in a tone of firmness, and the intrepidity of his manner gave it strength and credit. He pronounced the informer a notorious profligate, and, by consequence, an incompetent witness. This he urged with such an air of confidence, and with so much energy, that the information would have fallen to the ground, if the wife of Milichus had not observed, in the presence of her husband, that a long and secret interview had taken place between the prisoner and Natalis, both connected in the closest friendship with Caius Piso.

LVI. Natalis was cited to appear. Scevinus and he were examined apart, touching their late meeting. What was their business? and what was the conversation that passed between them? Their answers did not agree. Fresh suspicions arose, and both were loaded with irons. At the sight of the rack, their resolution failed. Natalis was the first to confess the guilt. He knew all the particulars of the conspiracy, and was, by consequence, able to support his information. He named Caius Piso, and proceeded next to Seneca. He had, probably, been employed as a messenger between Seneca and Piso; or knowing the inveterate rancour with which Nero sought the destruction of his tutor, he intended by that charge, however false, to make terms for himself. Scevinus, as soon as he heard that Natalis had made a discovery, saw the inutility of remaining silent. Thinking the whole conspiracy detected, he yielded to his fears; and, following a mean example of pusillanimity, discovered his accomplices. Three of the number, namely, Lucan, Quinctianus, and Senecio, persisted for some time to deny the whole with undaunted firmness, till induced, at length, by a promise of pardon, they thought they could not do enough to atone for their obstinacy. Lucan did not scruple to impeach[1] his own mo-

1 The weakness here imputed to Lucan, cannot be read by any man who has a respect for genius, and the true dignity of the human character, without emotions of pity and regret. But, perhaps, without any studied comment, the case admits a plain and obvious apology. Two eminent men (Natalis and Scevinus) had been taken into custody. *At the sight of the rack their resolution failed*, and they discovered their accomplices. Lucan knew that the same engine of cruelty was ready for himself and his two friends, Quinctianus and Senecio. All three were tempted by a promise of pardon, and they endeavoured to earn it by making discoveries. Lucan might think that his mother, a woman who boasted neither rank nor fortune, would not, among a great number of daring conspirators, be deemed an object worthy of notice; and, besides, the terrors of the rack may conquer the most heroic mind. When the executioner appears with his torturing-engines, it is no longer the moment of courage. He who in the ranks of war is ready to face every danger, may shrink from the pangs prepared for him in a dungeon, where he must suffer under a villain's hand, unseen, unpitied, unapplauded. When Felton, who stabbed the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, was examined before the privy council, the bishop of London said to him, *If you will not confess, you must go to the rack.* The man replied, If it must be so, I know not whom I may accuse; perhaps some Lord at this board. Sound sense, says Judge Foster, in the mouth of an enthusiast and a ruffian! In the same distress, the same hurry and perturbation of spirit, Lucan mentioned his mother. He might think that she was not of consequence to provoke resentment; and the event showed, if he thought so, that his conclusion was right. Nero affected to forget her. She and Seneca's wife were suffered to live. For these reasons, the conduct of Lucan may admit of some extenuation; more especially, when he had before his eyes the example of senators, and men of consular rank. But a late writer thinks he has discovered a better ground of defence. He denies the fact, and says, Tacitus has *adopted a gross calumny* invented by Nero *to*

ther, whose name was Acilia. Quinctianus gave information against Glicius Gallus, his dearest friend; and Senecio, in like manner, betrayed Annius Pollio.

LVII. Nero did not forget that Epicharis was still detained in custody, on the evidence of Volusius Proculus. The weakness of a female frame, he imagined, would not be able to endure the pangs of the rack. He therefore ordered her to be put to the most exquisite torture. But neither stripes, nor fire, nor the brutal rage of the executioners, who were determined not to be baffled by a woman, could subdue a mind like hers, firm, constant, and undaunted to the last. Not a word was extorted from her. Her misery ended for that day. On the next, the same cruelty was prepared. Epicharis had no strength left. Her limbs were rent and dislocated. The executioners provided a chair to convey her to the place of torture. While they were conducting her, she took from her breast the girdle that braced her garment, and, having fastened one end of it to the top of the chair, made a noose for her neck, and, throwing herself from her seat, hung suspended with the whole weight of her body. In her mangled condition the remains of life were soon extinguished.

Such was the fate of this magnanimous woman. She left behind her a glorious example of truth and constancy, the more striking, as this generous part was acted by an enfranchised slave, to save the lives of men, in no degree related to her, and almost unknown. With heroic fortitude she endured the worst that malice could inflict, at a time when men of illustrious birth, when officers, Roman knights and senators, untried by the pangs of torture, betrayed, with a kind of emulation, their friends, their relations, and all that was dear to them. Quinctianus, Senecio, and even Lucan, continued to give in the names of the conspirators. Every new discovery filled Nero with consternation, though he had doubled his guard and taken every precaution to secure his person.

LVIII. Parties of soldiers under arms were stationed in every quarter, on the walls of Rome, on the sea coast, and along the banks of the Tiber. The city presented the appearance of a garrisoned town. The forum and the open squares were filled with cohorts of horse and foot. The neighbouring villages and the country round were invested. Even private houses were secured. The German soldiers, ordered out on duty, mixed with the rest of the army. Being foreigners, Nero depended on their fidelity. The conspirators were led forth in a long procession to the tribunal of the prince. They stood in crowds at his garden-gate, waiting their turn to be summoned before him. In regular succession they were admitted to an audience, and every trifle was magnified into a crime. A smile, a look, a whisper, a casual meeting at a convivial party, or a public show, was evidence of treason. Nor was it sufficient that Nero and Tigellinus were keen and vehement in their inquiries: Fenius Rufus took an active part. Having hitherto escaped detection, he thought that violence against his accomplices would be the best way to screen himself. While he was eagerly pressing them with questions, Subrius Flavius, the prætorian tribune, by signs and tokens, signified to him his intention to cut off the tyrant in the midst of the examination. He had his hand on the hilt of his sword, when Rufus checked the brave design.

LIX. On the first detection of the plot, while Milichus was giving his evidence, and Scevinus still wavering and irresolute, some of the conspirators exhorted Piso to show himself in the camp, or to mount the public rostra, in order to gain the affections of the army and the people. "Let your friends," they said, "assemble in a body; let them stand forth in your cause, and they will be joined by numbers. The fame of an impending revolution would excite a general spirit; and fame in great undertakings has been often known to decide the event. Nero will be taken by surprise; on his part no measures are concerted. In sudden commotions the bravest are often struck with terror; and if courage may be thus overpowered, what will be the case of a theatrical emperor, a scenic performer, a vile comedian, assisted by Tigellinus and his band of harlots? In all great enterprises the attempt appears impracticable to little minds; but the brave and valiant know that to dare is to conquer. In a plot, in which numbers were embarked, the silence of all could not be expected.

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vilify the object of his envious abhorrence. But it may be asked, if Nero framed the story, is it probable that a writer, who wages incessant war against evil men and evil deeds, would have descended to be the accomplice of a tyrant? Tacitus, through the whole of his narrative, has done ample justice to all who died with glory; to Epicharis, the enfranchised slave, who displayed her constancy, in defiance of the keenest torture; to Seneca, who left an example of unshaken virtue; to Subrius Flavius, whose last words to Nero were, "I hated you when you became a coachman, a comedian, and an incendiary;" to Sulpicius Asper, the centurion; and, above all, to Lucan himself, who died with undaunted courage, repeating a passage from his own poem. Let it also be remembered, that when Lucan's father suffered death in the following year, Tacitus says, that the son reflected the highest honour on the father; *grande adjumentum claritudinis.* The writer who has treated Lucan with so much candour, would neither adopt nor invent a calumny, to brand his name in the page of history. But to conclude this long note: It is by no means probable, that Tacitus, who wrote in the reign of Trajan, not much more than thirty years after the death of Lucan, would hazard a glaring falsehood in the face of his contemporaries; and it is less probable, that Mr. Hayley, at the distance of more than 1720 years, should be better informed than the great historian who lived at the very time of the transaction. See Poems, by William Hayley, Esq. vol. iii. p. 206.

The mind will waver, and the body will shrink from pain. There is no secret so deeply laid but bribery will draw it forth, or cruelty can extort it. The guards in a short time might seize Piso himself, and drag him to an ignominious death. How much more glorious to fall bravely in the cause of liberty! to die sword in hand, vindicating the rights of freeborn men, and rousing the army and the people to their own just defence! The soldiers may refuse to join, and the people may be guilty of treachery to themselves; but, even in that case, how noble to close the scene with a spirit worthy of your ancestors, blessed with the wishes of the present age and the applause of all posterity!"

These exhortations made no impression on Piso. He retired to his own house, and there fortified his mind against the worst that could happen. A band of soldiers broke in upon him, all selected from the recruits lately raised, undisciplined, and new to the service, but preferred by Nero to the veterans, whom he suspected of disaffection. Piso ordered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and expired: his will was a disgrace to his memory. It was written in a strain of fulsome flattery to the prince. He was betrayed into that act of meanness by his affection for his wife, a woman destitute of merit, who had great elegance of form, and nothing else to recommend her. Her name was Arria Galla. She had been married to Domitius Silius, and from him seduced by Piso. The passive spirit of the injured husband and the wanton character of the wife conspired to fix an indelible stain on the name of Piso.

LX. Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, was the next victim. He was seized, and dragged to instant death; no time allowed to take the last farewell of his children, nor even the usual liberty of choosing his own mode of dying. He was hurried to the place of execution usually allotted to slaves, and there despatched by the hand of Statius, a military tribune. He met his fate with a noble and determined silence, not so much as condescending to tax the executioner with his share in the conspiracy.

The next exploit of Nero was the death of Seneca. Against that eminent man no proof of guilt appeared; but the emperor thirsted for his blood, and what poison had not accomplished he was determined to finish by the sword. Natalis was the only person who had mentioned his name. The chief head of his accusation was, "That he himself had been sent on a visit to Seneca, then confined by illness, with instructions to mention to him, that Piso often called at his house, but never could gain admittance, though it was the interest of both to live on terms of mutual friendship." To this Seneca made answer, "That private interviews could be of no service to either; but still his happiness was grafted on the safety of Piso." Granius Silvanus, a tribune of the prætorian guards, was despatched to Seneca, with directions to let him know what was alleged against him, and to inquire whether he admitted the conversation stated by Natalis, with the answers given by himself. Seneca, by design or accident, was that very day on his return from Campania. He stopped at a villa of his own[1] about four miles from Rome. Towards the close of day the tribune arrived, and beset the house with a band of soldiers. Seneca was at supper with his wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends, when Silvanus entered the room, and reported the orders of the emperor.

LXI. Seneca did not hesitate to acknowledge that Natalis had been at his house, with a complaint that Piso's visits were not received. His apology, he said, imported no more than want of health, the love of ease, and the necessity of attending to a weak and crazy constitution. "That he should prefer the interest of a private citizen to his own safety, was too absurd to be believed. He had no motives to induce him to pay such a compliment to any man; adulation was no part of his character. This is a truth well known to Nero himself: he can tell you that, on various occasions, he found in Seneca a man, who spoke his mind with freedom, and disdained the arts of servile flattery." Silvanus returned to Rome. He found the prince in company with Poppæa and Tigellinus, who, as often as cruelty was in agitation, formed the cabinet council. In their presence the messenger reported his answer. Nero asked, "Does Seneca prepare to end his days by a voluntary death?" "He showed," said the tribune, "no symptom of fear, no token of sorrow, no dejected passion: his words and looks bespoke a mind serene, erect, and firm." "Return," said Nero, "and tell him, he must resolve to die." Silvanus, according to the account of Fabius Rusticus, chose to go back by a different road. He went through a private way to Fenius Rufus, to advise with that officer, whether he should execute the emperor's orders. Rufus told him that he must obey. Such was the degenerate spirit of the times. A general panic took possession of every mind. This very Silvanus was one of the conspirators, and yet was base enough to be an instrument of the cruelty which he had combined to revenge. He had, however, the decency to avoid the shock of seeing Seneca, and of delivering in person the fatal message. He sent a centurion to perform that office for him.

LXII. Seneca heard the message with calm composure. He called for his will, and being deprived of that right of a Roman citizen by the

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1 This was Seneca's villa, called *Nomentanum*, which he mentions, epist. cx. and also civ. *In Nomentanum meum fugi.*

centurion, he turned to his friends, and "You see," he said, "that I am not at liberty to requite your services with the last marks of my esteem. One thing, however, still remains. I leave you the example of my life, the best and most precious legacy now in my power. Cherish it in your memory, and you will gain at once the applause due to virtue, and the fame of a sincere and generous friendship." All who were present melted into tears. He endeavoured to assuage their sorrows; he offered his advice with mild persuasion; he used the tone of authority. "Where," he said, "are the precepts of philosophy, and where the words of wisdom, which for years have taught us to meet the calamities of life with firmness and a well-prepared spirit? Was the cruelty of Nero unknown to any of us? He murdered his mother; he destroyed his brother; and, after those deeds of horror, what remains to fill the measure of his guilt but the death of his guardian and his tutor?"

LXIII. Having delivered himself in these pathetic terms, he directed his attention to his wife. He clasped her in his arms, and in that fond embrace yielded for a while to the tenderness of his nature. Recovering his resolution, he entreated her to appease her grief, and bear in mind that his life was spent in a constant course of honour and of virtue. That consideration would serve to heal affliction, and sweeten all her sorrows. Paulina was still inconsolable. She was determined to die with her husband; she invoked the aid of the executioners, and begged to end her wretched being. Seneca saw that she was animated by the love of glory, and that generous principle he thought ought not to be restrained. The idea of leaving a beloved object exposed to the insults of the world, and the malice of her enemies, pierced him to the quick. "It has been my care," he said, "to instruct you in that best philosophy, the art of mitigating the ills of life; but you prefer an honourable death. I will not envy you the vast renown that must attend your fall. Since you will have it so, we will die together. We will leave behind us an example of equal constancy; but the glory will be all your own."

These words were no sooner uttered, than the veins of both their arms were opened. At Seneca's time of life the blood was slow and languid. The decay of nature, and the impoverishing diet[2] to which he had used himself, left him in a feeble condition. He ordered the vessels of his legs and joints to be punctured. After that operation, he began to labour with excruciating pains. Lest his sufferings should overpower the constancy of his wife, or the sight of her afflictions prove too much for his own sensibility, he persuaded her to retire into another room. His eloquence still continued to flow with its usual purity. He called for his secretaries, and dictated, while life was ebbing away, that farewell discourse, which has been published, and is in every body's hands. I will not injure his last words by giving the substance in another form.

LXIV. Nero had conceived no antipathy to Paulina. If she perished with her husband, he began to dread the public execration. That he might not multiply the horrors of his present cruelty, he sent orders to exempt Paulina from the stroke of death. The slaves and freedmen, by the direction of the soldiers, bound up her arm, and stopped the effusion of blood. This, it is said, was done without her knowledge, as she lay in a state of languor. The fact, however, cannot be known with certainty. Vulgar malignity, which is ever ready to detract from exalted virtue, spread a report, that, as long as she had reason to think that the rage of Nero was implacable, she had the ambition to share the glory of her husband's fate; but a milder prospect being unexpectedly presented, the charms of life gained admission to her heart, and triumphed over her constancy. She lived a few years longer, in fond regret, to the end of her days, revering the memory of her husband. The weakness of her whole frame, and the sickly languor of her countenance, plainly showed that she had been reduced to the last extremity.

Seneca lingered in pain. The approach of death was slow, and he wished for his dissolution. Fatigued with pain, worn out and exhausted, he requested his friend, Statius Annæus, whose fidelity and medical skill he had often experienced, to administer a draught of that swift-speeding poison,[3] usually given at Athens to the criminals adjudged to death. He swallowed the potion, but without any immediate effect. His limbs were chilled: the vessels of his body were closed, and the ingredients, though keen and subtle, could not arrest the principles of life. He desired to be placed in a warm bath. Being conveyed according to his desire, he sprinkled his slaves with the water, and "Thus," he said, "I MAKE LIBATION TO JUPITER THE DELIVERER." The vapour soon overpowered him, and he breathed his last. His body, without any funeral pomp, was committed to the flames. He had given directions for that purpose in his last will, made at a time when he was in the zenith of power, and even then looked forward to the close of his days.

LXV. A report was at that time current at Rome, that Subrius Flavius and several centurions held a private meeting, with the knowledge

2 For his diet, see in this book, s. 45.

3 This poison was called *cicuta*. Seneca says, it made Socrates a great man: *Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit.* Epist. xiii.

and consent of Seneca, and there resolved to open a new and unexpected scene. The blow for liberty was to be struck in the name of Piso, and as soon as the world was freed from the tyranny of Nero, Piso was to be the next victim, in order to make way for Seneca, who for his virtues, was to be raised to the highest elevation, with an air of innocence, and of a man unconscious of the plot. The very words of Flavius were reported among the people. He is supposed to have said, "What good end will it answer to depose a MINSTREL, if we place a TRAGEDIAN in his room?" The fact was, Nero played on his guitar, and Piso trod the stage in the buskin of tragedy.

LXVI. The part which the military men had taken in the conspiracy, did not long remain a secret. The double game played by Fenius Rufus, at first a confederate in the plot, and then a judge pronouncing sentence on his accomplices, provoked the indignation of all. In the examination of Scevinus that officer pressed his interrogatories with over-acted zeal, and by menaces endeavoured to extort a confession. Scevinus answered with a smile, "No man knows the particulars better than yourself. You now may show your gratitude to so good a prince." Rufus was covered with confusion. To speak was not in his power, and to remain silent was dangerous. He trembled, faltered, and hesitated an answer. His embarrassment betrayed his guilt. The rest of the conspirators, with Cervarius Proculus, a Roman knight, at their head, were eager to depose against him. At length a soldier of the name of Cassius, remarkable for his robust stature, and for that reason ordered to attend, laid hold of Rufus by the emperor's order, and loaded him with irons.

LXVII. The same witnesses gave evidence against Subrius Flavius. In answer to the charge, he relied much on his course of life, and the dissimilitude of manners between himself and his accusers. "Was it probable that a soldier, inured to the profession of arms, would associate with an effeminate set of men, strangers to danger and to manly enterprise!" Finding himself pressed by the weight of evidence, he changed his tone, and with heroic fortitude avowed the part he had acted. Being asked by Nero, what could induce him to forget the solemn obligation of his oath? "Because," he said, "I hated, I detested you. There was a time when no soldier in your army was more devoted to your service, and that was as long as you deserved the esteem of mankind. I began to hate you when you were guilty of parricide; when you murdered your mother and destroyed your wife; when you became a coachman, a comedian, and an incendiary." I have given the very words of this intrepid conspirator, because they were not, like those of Seneca, published to the world; and the rough sentiments of a soldier, in his own plain, but vigorous language, merit the attention of posterity.

In the whole discovery of the plot nothing made so deep an impression on the mind of Nero. Though his heart never knew remorse for the worst of crimes, his ear unaccustomed to the voice of truth, shrunk from the sound of freedom, and startled at reproach. Flavius was ordered for execution. Veianius Niger, one of the tribunes, led him to the next field, and there directed a trench to be opened. The prisoner surveyed the spot, and, finding it neither wide nor deep enough, turned with a smile to the soldiers, and "This," he said, "shows no military skill." Niger desired him to extend his neck with courage: "Strike," said Flavius, "and prove your courage equal to mine." The tribune was seized with a tremor in every joint. He severed the head at two blows, and made a merit of it with Nero, giving the name of cruelty to his want of firmness. He made it his boast, that, by repeating the stroke, he made him die twice.

LXVIII. Sulpicius Asper, the centurion, gave the next example of magnanimity. Being asked by Nero, why he conspired against his life? he answered shortly, "I knew no other relief from your flagitious deeds." He was instantly put to death. The rest of the centurions underwent their fate, and all died worthy of their characters. Fenius Rufus had not equal constancy. He betrayed an abject spirit, and even in his will was weak enough to bewail his unhappy fate. Nero lived in hopes of seeing Vestinus, the consul, charged as a criminal. He knew the character of the man; an intrepid daring spirit, ambitious, and suspected of disaffection. The conspirators, however, had no communication of counsels with that active magistrate. Some declined him on account of former animosities, and others, because they thought him rash and impetuous. Nero's rancour grew out of a close and intimate friendship. In that familiar intercourse Vestinus saw into the very heart of the prince, and despised him for his vices. Nero shrunk from a man, who had the spirit to speak his mind with freedom, and, in his sarcastic vein, had often made the prince the subject of his raillery; and raillery, when seasoned with truth, never fails to leave a sting that festers in the memory. A recent incident gave an edge to Nero's resentment. Vestinus married Statilia Messalina,[1] though he knew that the prince was one of her lovers.

LXIX. No witness appeared against Vestinus; no crime was laid to his charge, and, by consequence, no proceeding could be had in due form of law. But the will of the tyrant still remained. He sent Gerelanus, one of the tribunes,

1 Statilia Messalina had been Nero's third wife. See the Genealogical Table, No. 39.

at the head of a cohort, with orders so to take his measures, that the consul might not be able to stand on the defensive, and, for that purpose, to invest his house, which, like a proud citadel, overlooked the forum, and contained a numerous train of young and hardy slaves, in the nature of a garrison. Vestinus had that very day discharged all the functions of his consular office. He was at table with his friends, free from apprehension, or, it may be, affecting an air of gaiety, when the soldiers entered, and informed him that the tribune had important business with him. He rose and left the room. The scene of death was instantly laid. He was shut up in a chamber; a physician attended; his veins were opened; he was conducted to a warm bath, and being put into the water, expired without a complaint, and without a groan. His guests, in the meantime, remained in the banqueting room, imprisoned by the guards. It was late at night before they were released. Nero heard the account with pleasure. He saw, in the sport of his imagination, a set of men assembled at a convivial party, and every moment expecting their final doom. He laughed at their distress, and said facetiously, "They have paid for their consular supper."

LXX. Lucan, the famous poet, was the next sacrifice to the vengeance of Nero. His blood flowed freely from him, and being soon well nigh exhausted, he perceived that the vital heat had left the extremities of his limbs, his hands and feet were chilled, but, the warmth retiring to his heart, he still retained his senses and the vigour of his mind. The lines in his poem, which describe a soldier dying in the same condition,[2] occurred to his memory. He repeated the passage, and expired. His own verses were the last words he uttered. Senecio, Quinctianus, and Scevinus, suffered in a short time after. The dissolute softness of their lives did not disgrace them in their end. They met their fate with resolution. The rest of the conspirators were led to execution. In their deaths there was nothing that merits particular notice.

LXXI. While the city presented a scene of blood, and funerals darkened all the streets, the altars of the capitol smoked with victims slaughtered on the occasion. One had lost a son; another was deprived of his brother, his friend, or his near relation; and yet, stifling every sentiment of the heart, all concurred in offering thanks to the gods; they adorned the prince's house with[3] laurel; they fell at the tyrant's feet; they clasped his knees, and printed kisses on his hand. Nero received this vile adulation as the token of real joy. In order to make sure of the people, he showed his clemency to Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus, whose merit consisted altogether in their treachery to their friends. To Milichus he granted a rich and ample recompense, and moreover added the honourable appellation of a Greek name, importing the CONSERVATOR. Granius Silvanus, one of the tribunes engaged in the conspiracy, received a free pardon; but, disdaining to enjoy it, he died by his own hand. Statius Proximus had the vanity to follow his example. Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius were all degraded from their tribunitian rank, not as men condemned, but suspected of disaffection. Novius Priscus, Glitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio were ordered into exile; the first on account of his known intimacy with Seneca; and the two last, to disgrace them, though not convicted of any crime. Antonia Flaccilla, the wife of Novius Priscus, followed her husband into banishment. Egnatia Maximilla, at that time possessed of great wealth, had the spirit, in like manner, to adhere to Glitius Gallus. Her fortune was soon after taken from her by the hand of power. Her conduct, both in affluence and poverty, did honour to her character.

Rufus Crispinus was likewise banished: the conspiracy furnished a pretext, but his having been married to Poppæa was the crime that brought on his ruin. Virginius[4] and Musonius Rufus[5] owed their banishment to the celebrity of their names: the former trained the Roman youth to eloquence, and the latter formed their minds by his lectures on wisdom and philosophy. At one sweep, Cluvidienus Quietus, Julius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priscus, and Julius Altinus, like a colony of criminals, were sent to islands in the Ægean

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2 The commentators point out different passages in the Pharsalia, but all depend on mere conjecture. Lipsius thinks the description of Lycidas, at the point of death, most probable.

Ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inserit uncos,
Affixit Lycidam: morsus foret ille profundo,
Sed prohibent socii, suspensaque crura retentant.
Scinditur avulsus; nec sicut vulnere, sanguis
Emicuit lentus: ruptis cadit undique venis,
Discursusque animæ diversa in membra meantis
Interceptus aquis; nullius vita perempti
Est tanta dimissa via; pars ultima trunci
Tradidit in letum vacuos vitalibus artus;
Aut tumidus qua pulmo jacet, qua viscera fervent,
Hæserunt ibi fata diu, luctataque multum
Hac cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.
PHARSAL. lib. iii. ver. 636.

Other critics contend for the following lines:

Sanguis erant lacrymæ; quæcumque foramina novit
Humor, ab his largus manat cruor; ora redundant,
Et patulæ nares; sudor rubet: omnia plenis
Membra fluunt venis: totum est pro vulnere corpus.
PHARSAL. ix. ver. 811.

3 Laurel is called by Pliny the elder, the door-keeper of the Cæsars; *Janitrix Cæsarum*. Lib. xv. s. 30.

4 Virginius was a rhetorician, and the preceptor of Persius the satirist; as may be seen in the Life of Persius.

5 Musonius Rufus was a teacher of philosophy. See Annals, xiv. s. 59.

sea. Cadicia, the wife of Scevinus, and Cæsonius Maximus, were ordered out of Italy, without being heard in their defence. The sentence of condemnation was the first notice of any crime alleged against them. Acilia, the mother of Lucan, was neither pardoned, nor condemned. She was suffered to live in silent obscurity.

LXXII. Having performed these dreadful exploits, Nero called an assembly of the soldiers, and, after a specious harangue, ordered a largess of a thousand sesterces to be paid to each man, and the corn, which they had been used to purchase at the market-price, to be distributed as the bounty of the prince. He then ordered the senate to be convened, with as much importance as if the events of war and splendid victories occasioned the meeting. He granted triumphal ornaments to Petronius Turpilianus,[1] of consular rank, to Cocceius Nerva,[2] prætor elect, and Tigellinus, commander of the prætorian guards. The two last were mentioned by him in strains of the highest commendation. Not content with erecting their statues in the forum, adorned with triumphal decorations, he placed them also in the imperial palace. Nymphidius[3] was honoured with the ensigns of consular dignity. Of this man, who now occurs for the first time, since he is to figure hereafter on the stage of public business, it may be proper in this place to say a few words.

He was the son of an enfranchised female slave, distinguished by her beauty, and the ease with which she granted her favours to the slaves as well as the freedmen about the court. Nymphidius, however, pretended to be of higher origin. He called himself the son of Caligula. His large stature, and the stern cast of his countenance, bore some resemblance to that emperor; and, in fact, as Caligula was never delicate in the choice of his mistresses, but was known to share the embraces of common harlots, it is possible that he might, on some occasion, indulge his passion with the mother of Nymphidius.

LXXIII. The senate being assembled, Nero delivered a speech on the subject of the late transactions, and, for the information of the people, issued a proclamation, with a statement of the evidence against the conspirators, and their own confession. The clamours of the public made this expedient necessary. While the executions were going on, the public voice was loud and violent against Nero, the insatiate tyrant, who was daily sacrificing to his cruelty, or his fears, the lives of innocent and illustrious men. That a plot was actually formed; that it was conducted with resolution, and in the end was totally defeated, no man, who made it his business to investigate the truth, entertained a doubt at the time; and since the death of Nero, the acknowledgment of all, who returned from banishment, established the fact beyond a controversy. Nero was received by the senate with the basest flattery. In that assembly, the men, who had the greatest reason to be overwhelmed with grief, were the most forward to offer incense to the emperor. Junius Gallio,[4] the brother of Seneca, was, by the loss of that excellent man, so struck with terror, that to save his own life he descended to humble supplications. Salienus Clemens rose to oppose him, as a parricide and an enemy to the state. He continued his invective till the fathers checked his violence. It was not now, they said, a time to gratify personal animosity, under an appearance of zeal for the public good; nor would it become any man to open again the wounds which the clemency of the prince had closed for ever.

LXXIV. Oblations and public thanksgivings were decreed to all the gods, and particularly to the Sun, in whose temple, situated in the forum, the murder was to have been perpetrated, if that god had not dispelled the clouds that hung over the machinations of evil minded men, and brought their dark proceedings into open daylight. It was further ordered, that the sports of the circus, in honour of Ceres, should be celebrated with an additional number of chariot-races; that the month of April[5] should be styled after the name of Nero; and that, on the spot, where Scevinus furnished himself with a dagger, a temple should be erected to the GODDESS OF SAFETY. The dagger itself was dedicated in the capitol, with an inscription to the avenging god, called JUPITER VINDEX. The inscription at that time, had no equivocal meaning; but soon after, when JULIUS VINDEX[6] excited a revolt in Gaul, it was considered as an omen of impending vengeance.

In the journals of the senate I find an entry, by which it appears, that Cerealis Anicius, consul elect, moved in his place, that a temple should be raised, at the public expense, to the DEIFIED NERO, who, in his opinion, had risen above the condition of human nature, and was, therefore, entitled to religious worship. This motion was afterwards understood to portend nothing less than the death of Nero; since it was a settled rule, that divine honours should never be paid to the emperor, till he ceased to be mortal.[7]

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1 Petronius Turpilianus was consul, as mentioned book xiv. s. 29.

2 Cocceius Nerva, afterwards emperor.

3 For Nymphidius, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 13; and see History, book i. s. 5.

4 Seneca, the philosopher, had two brothers; namely, Annæus Mela, the father of Lucan, and Annæus Novatus, who was afterwards adopted by Gallio, and took that name. For the death of Mela, see Annals, xvi. s. 17.

5 The month of April was called Neronius, May Claudius, and June Germanicus. Annals, xvi. s. 12.

6 For an account of Vindex, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi. p. 241.

7 Augustus was deified by the poets, and in the provinces; but no altars were erected to him at Rome during his life.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

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These transactions passed, partly in the former consulship, and in the following year.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
818	65	Silius Nerva, Atticus Vestrinus.
819	66	Caius Suetonius Paulinus, Caius Lucius Telesinus.

THE

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XVI.

I. NERO, in consequence of his own credulity, became in a short time afterward the sport of fortune, and a subject of public derision. He believed the visionary schemes of Cesellius Bassus, a native of Carthage, of a crazed imagination, who relied on whatever occurred to him in his distempered dreams. This man arrived at Rome, and, by the influence of money well applied, gained admission to the presence of the emperor. The secret, which he had to communicate, was, that on his own estate he had found a cavern of astonishing depth, in which were contained immense stores of gold not wrought into the form of coin, but in rude and shapeless ingots, such as were in use in the early ages of the world. In one part of the cave were to be seen vast massy heaps, and in other places columns of gold towering to a prodigious height; the whole an immense treasure, reserved in obscurity to add to the splendour of Nero's reign. To give probability to his story, he pretended, that Dido, the Phœnician,[1] when she fled from Tyre, and founded the city of Carthage, deposited her whole stock in the bowels of the earth, that so much wealth might neither prove the bane of a new colony, nor excite the avarice of the Numidian princes,[2] of themselves already hostile to her infant state.

II. Nero neither weighed the character of the man, nor the circumstances of so wild a report. He had not even the precaution to send commissioners to inform themselves on the spot. He helped to spread the report; he began to count his riches, and despatched his agents to transport the treasure to Rome. The light galleys were equipped with expedition, and a chosen band of mariners sent on board. Rome, in the meantime, was distracted with hope and fear, with doubt and expectation. No other subject was talked of. The common people, with their usual facility, believed every thing; while men of reflection argued in a different manner. It happened that the quinquennial games[3] were to close the second lustre of five years. During that festival, the expected treasure was the subject on which the orators expatiated, and the poets exhausted their invention. In their flights of fancy, the earth was no longer content with pouring forth fruit and grain, and producing metals intermixed with veins of precious ore; the present fecundity showed that the gods were working miracles to bless the reign of Nero. These were the bright conceits, which flattery displayed with rapture, and eloquence adorned with her richest colouring. While the passions of Nero stood ready to receive every new device, fiction passed for truth, and nothing was too hyperbolical for the credulity of the prince.

III. With such immoderate riches in view, no wonder that Nero launched out into greater profusion than ever. Deluded by his hopes, and sure of a supply for years to come, he exhausted his treasury,[4] and began to anticipate his imaginary funds. He made assignments on the property, and granted with generosity what was not in his possession. The expectation of enormous wealth made him the bubble of a madman, and impoverished the public. In the meantime Bassus, the grand projector, arrived at Carthage. In the presence of a number of soldiers, and a large body of peasants employed as labourers, he dug up his grounds, and made his experiment in the adjacent fields, disappointed in one place, sure of success in another, still confident, and still miscarrying; till at length, finding no subterraneous cave, and weary of the fruitless search, he abandoned his chimerical hopes, coming gradually to his senses,

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1 The account of Dido's flight from Tyre, with the treasures of her husband Sichæus, to avoid the fury of Pygmalion, who had basely murdered his brother for the sake of his riches, is finely given by Virgil, Æneid i. ver. 347.

2 The kings of Numidia, and the African princes in the neighbourhood of Carthage, were enemies to the infant state founded by Dido.

Hinc Getulæ urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
Et Numidæ infreni cingunt.
VIRGIL, lib. iv. verse 40.

3 The quinquennial festival was established by Nero, A. U. C. 813. Annals, xiv. s. 20.

4 Suetonius relates the whole of this impostor's deception, and the chimerical projects of Nero in consequence of it. In Neron. s. 31.

yet wondering, that, of all his dreams, the last should be the only one that deceived him. Covered with shame, and dreading the resentment of the emperor, he delivered himself from all his troubles by a voluntary death. According to some writers, he was instantly seized, and loaded with irons, till Nero ordered him to be released, but seized his effects, determined to enjoy the fortunes of a wild adventurer, since he could not obtain the wealth of Dido.

IV. The time of contending for the prizes in the quinquennial games being near at hand, the senate, with intent to ward off from the emperor[1] the disgrace of being a candidate, offered to adjudge, in his favour, the victory in song, and the crown of eloquence. The fathers hoped, that honours freely granted would satisfy the prince, and prevent a ridiculous display of theatrical talents. Nero returned for answer, that he stood in no need of favour or protection. He depended on himself alone, and would fairly enter the lists with his competitors. The equity of the judges was to decide, and by that test he was willing to stand or fall. With that spirit he entered the scene, and recited a poem of his own composition. The people, with earnest entreaty, prayed that he would let them taste the supreme delight of hearing and enjoying all his divine accomplishments. Such was the language of the populace. In compliance with their wishes, he mounted the public stage, conforming in all things to the rules of the orchestra, where no performer was to sit down, nor to wipe the sweat from his face with any thing but his own garment, and never to spit or clear his nostrils in sight of the audience. Having exhibited his skill, he went down on his knee, and stretching forth his hands with pretended agitations of hope and fear, waited in that humble posture for the decision of the judges. The populace, accustomed to applaud the notes and gesticulations of the common players, paid their tribute of admiration to the prince, with measured cadence, in one regular chorus of applause. You would have thought their joy sincere, and, perhaps, it was so in fact: the rabble wished to be diverted at any rate, and for the disgrace that befell the state vulgar minds felt no concern.

V. Thinking men were affected in a very different manner. All who came from the municipal towns, or the more remote parts of Italy, where some tincture of ancient manners still remained; and a considerable number, besides, who arrived from the provinces on public business, or their own private affairs, as yet strangers to vice, and undebauched by luxury, beheld the scene with heaviness of heart. A spectacle, in which the prince exposed his frivolous talents, gave them the highest disgust. They thought the applause dishonest, but they were obliged to concur with the rest. They acted their part with warm, but awkward zeal. Their unpractised hands were easily tired; they were not able to keep time in the grand concert, and, exerting themselves without skill, they disturbed the general harmony. For every blunder they were chastised by the soldiers, who were stationed at their posts, with orders to take care, that the applause should be kept up with spirit, without an interval of rest, or silence. It is a certain fact, that several Roman knights, endeavouring to make their way through the crowd, were crushed to death in the narrow passes;[2] and that others, who kept their seats in the theatre day and night, fell dangerously ill. The dread of being absent from such a performance was more alarming than the worst sickness that could happen. Besides the soldiers stationed in the theatre to superintend the audience, it is well known that a number of spies lay in ambush, to take down the names of the spectators, to watch their countenances, and note every symptom of disgust or pleasure. Offenders of mean condition were punished on the spot. Men of distinction were overlooked with an air of calm neglect, but resentment was only smothered for a time, to break out afterwards with deadly hate. We are told, that Vespasian, for the crime of being ready to fall asleep, was obliged to endure the insulting language of one Phœbus, an imperial freedman, and was saved from harsher treatment by the intercession of men of rank and influence. The offence, however, was not entirely forgotten; it remained in store for future vengeance; but Vespasian was reserved, by his superior destiny, for the highest elevation.

VI. The public games were followed by the

1 Nero did not scruple to appear upon the stage amongst other performers, even in the spectacles presented by the magistrates. He sung tragedies masked, the visors of the gods and goddesses being formed into a resemblance of his own face. Among the rest, he acted, *Canace in Labour*, *Orestes the Murderer of his Mother*, *Œdipus blinded*, and *Hercules mad*. In the last tragedy a soldier, at his post in the theatre, seeing the emperor bound with chains as the play required, ran to his assistance. Suet. in Neron. s. 21. See also the same, s. 22, 23, and 24. This ridiculous display of talents, beneath the dignity of a prince, is well described by Racine in his play of Britannicus:

Pour toute ambition, pour vertu singuliere,
Il excelle a conduire un char dans la carriere;
A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains,
A se donner lui-meme en spectacle aux Romains;
A venir prodiguer sa voix sur un theatre,
A reciter des chants qu'il veut qu'on idolatre.
Act iv. scene 4.

Racine's play was performed before Lewis XIV., who had before that time mixed in the dance on the public stage. The picture of Nero's folly made the monarch see himself, and from that time he resolved never to degrade the royal character.

2 See Suetonius in Neron. s. 22.

death of Poppæa.[3] She died of a kick on her womb, which Nero gave her in a sudden passion, though she was then advanced in her pregnancy. Some writers will have it that she was carried off by a dose of poison; but they assert it with more spleen than truth. Nero was desirous of having issue, and he loved his wife with sincere affection. Her body was not, according to the Roman custom,[4] committed to the funeral pile, but after the manner of the eastern kings, embalmed with precious spices,[5] and deposited in the monument of the Julian family. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, and Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He was lavish in praise of her beauty; and the peculiar happiness of being the mother of an infant[6] enrolled among the gods, was a topic on which he dwelt with pleasure. By enlarging on that and other accidental circumstances, he made a panegyric, in which not one virtue could find a place.

VII. The death of Poppæa occasioned a general face of mourning, but no real grief. Men remembered her loose incontinence, and, having felt her cruelty, rejoiced in secret at an event that freed the world from a woman of a detested character. Nero laboured under a load of reproach, and the public resentment rose still higher, when it was known that, by his orders, Cassius did not attend the funeral. That illustrious Roman understood the imperial mandate as the signal of his approaching ruin. In fact, his doom was fixed in a short time after, and Silanus was devoted with him. The crime of Cassius[7] was the splendid fortune which he inherited from his ancestors, and the austerity of his manners. Silanus offended by the nobility of his birth, and his modest merit. Nero sent a letter to the senate, stating in strong terms the necessity of removing them both from all civil offices. To Cassius he objected, that among the images of his ancestors, he preserved, with veneration, the picture of the famous Caius Cassius, with this inscription: THE LEADER OF THE PARTY. That circumstance plainly showed the sullen spirit of a man brooding mischief; a fierce republican, who meditated another civil war, and a revolt from the house of Cæsar. But to revive the name of a daring factious chief was not sufficient for the purposes of a turbulent incendiary; he was charged with seducing Lucius Silanus, a youth descended from an illustrious line, bold, ambitious, enterprising, and, in the hands of ill-designing men, a fit tool to spread the flame of rebellion.

VIII. Silanus[8] was no less an object of Nero's hatred. It was urged against him, as had been formerly done in the case of his uncle Torquatus, that he affected the style of imperial dignity, and had in his household train his mock-treasurers, his auditors of accounts, and his secretaries of state. Nothing could be more destitute of all foundation. Silanus saw the tyranny of those disastrous times, and from the fate of his uncle received a lesson of prudence. Lepida,[9] the wife of Cassius, and aunt of Silanus, was also doomed to fall a sacrifice to the unrelenting fury of the prince. Informers were suborned to accuse her of incest with her nephew; and, to swell the charge, they imputed to her impious sacrifices, magic rites, and horrible incantations. Vulcatius Tullinus, and Marcellus Cornelius,[10] of senatorian rank, with Calpurnius Fabatus, a Roman knight, were involved in the prosecution. They appealed to the tribunal of the emperor, and, by removing the cause, prevented a final sentence. Nero was, at that time, brooding over crimes of the deepest dye, and having nobler game in view, he disdained to stoop to an infe-

3 Suetonius says, he married Poppæa twelve days after his divorce from Octavia, and, notwithstanding the vehemence of his love, killed her with a kick when she was big with child, only because she took the liberty to chide him for returning late from the chariot race. He had by her a daughter, called Claudia Augusta, who died in her infancy. Suet. in Neron. s. 35.

4 The first Romans did not burn their dead, but interred them, according to the custom of other nations. Pliny the elder says, that the practice of committing the dead to the funeral pile, was not introduced till it was known that the bodies of soldiers, who died in foreign wars, were dug up by the enemy, and exposed to public view. And yet Plutarch, in his life of Numa, observes that Numa was buried, pursuant to his own express injunction, directing that his body should not be committed to the flames; which shows that burning was known at Rome in that early period. The custom of burning the dead was held in abhorrence by several nations, and, according to Herodotus, by the Persians as well as the Egyptians. Notwithstanding what Plutarch has said, Pliny assures us, that before Sylla the dictator, the bodies of the deceased were always interred by the Romans, and that the reason for burning that extraordinary man, was because, having dug up the body of Marius, he was afraid of being treated in the same way himself, and therefore ordered his remains to be consumed to ashes. Pliny, lib. vii. s. 54. The custom of burning at Rome ceased under the Antonines.

5 Beside the spices with which the body of Poppæa was embalmed, a prodigious quantity was burnt on the occasion, insomuch that Pliny says, all Arabia did not produce in an entire year, as much as was consumed at the funeral of Poppæa. *Periti rerum asseverant* ARABIAM *non ferre tantum* THURIS ET MYRRHÆ *annuo fœtu, quantum Nero princeps novissimo Poppææ suæ die concremaverit.* Pliny, lib. xii. s. 18.

6 For the apotheosis of Nero's daughter by Poppæa, see Annals, xv. s. 23.

7 The name of this person was Cassius Longinus, a lawyer far advanced in years, and blind. His crime, according to Suetonius, was, that among the busts of his ancestors, he kept that of the famous Cassius, who stabbed Julius Cæsar. Suet. in Neron. s. 37.

8 Lucius Silanus was son to Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandson to Augustus. See the Genealogical Table, No. 59. For his uncle Silanus Torquatus, see Annals, xv. s. 35.

9 For Lepida, see the Genealogical Table, No. 64.

10 Marcellus Cornelius was afterwards put to death by Galba. Hist. lib. i. s. 37.

rior quarry. The three last were saved by their want of importance.

IX. Cassius and Silanus were banished by a decree of the senate. The case of Lepida was referred to the prince. Cassius, in a short time after, was transported to the island of Sardinia, where Nero was content to leave him to old age and the decay of nature. Silanus was conveyed to Ostia, there, as was pretended, to embark for the isle of Naxos. He never reached that place. Barium,[1] a municipal city of Apulia, was the last stage of his journey. He there supported life with a temper that gave dignity to undeserved misfortune, till a centurion, employed to commit the murder, rushed upon him abruptly. That officer advised him to open his veins. "Death," said Silanus, "has been familiar to my thoughts, but the honour of prescribing to me I shall not allow to a ruffian and a murderer." The centurion, seeing that he had to do with a man, unarmed indeed, but robust and vigorous, not a symptom of fear in his countenance, but, on the contrary, an eye that sparkled with indignation, gave orders to his soldiers to seize their prisoner. Silanus stood on the defensive: what man could do without a weapon he bravely dared, struggling, and dealing his blows about him, till he fell by the sword of the centurion, like a gallant officer, receiving honourable wounds, and facing his enemy to the last.

X. Lucius Vetus, and Sextia his mother-in-law, with Pollutia his daughter, died with equal fortitude. Nero thought them a living reproach to himself for the murder of Rubellius Plautus,[2] the son-in-law of Lucius Vetus. The root of bitterness rankled in Nero's heart, till Fortunatus, one of the manumitted slaves of Vetus, gave him an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the whole family. The freedman had been employed by Vetus in the management of his affairs, and having defrauded his master, he thought it time to add treachery to peculation, and give evidence against his patron. In this black design he associated with himself one Claudius Demianus, a fellow of an abandoned character, who had been charged in Asia, while Vetus was proconsul of the province, with various crimes, and sent to Rome in fetters. To forward the prosecution, Nero set him at liberty.

Vetus heard, with indignation, that the evidence of a freedman was received against the life of his patron, and retired to his country-seat in the neighbourhood of Formiæ. A band of soldiers followed him, and beset his house. His daughter was then with him. A sense of former injuries was still fresh in her mind. She had seen her husband, Rubellius Plautus, massacred by a band of ruffians. Upon that occasion she opposed her person to the assassin's stroke: she clung to her husband's bleeding neck, and preserved the garment stained with his blood. From that time nothing could assuage her sorrows: she remained a widow, a prey to grief, inconsolable, loathing all food, except what was necessary for the support of nature. In the present distress, by her father's advice, she set off for Naples, where Nero then resided. Not being admitted to his presence, she watched the palace-gates, and, as soon as he came forth, she cried aloud, "Hear my father, hear an innocent man; he was your colleague[3] in the consulship; extend your mercy, nor let him fall a sacrifice to the pernicious arts of a vile abandoned slave." She persisted, as often as Nero passed, to renew her application, sometimes in tears and misery of heart; often in a tone of vehemence, roused by her sufferings above the weakness of her sex. But neither tears nor reproaches had any effect on the cruelty of Nero: insensible to both, and heedless of the popular hatred, he remained obdurate and implacable.

XI. Pollutia returned to her father, and, since not a ray of hope was left, exhorted him to meet his fate with a becoming spirit. Intelligence arrived at the same time, that preparations for the trial were going on with rapidity, and that the senate showed a disposition to pronounce the severest sentence. Among the friends of Cassius some were of opinion, that the surest way to secure part of his fortune for his grandchildren, would be by making the emperor heir in chief. He rejected that advice as unworthy of his character. Having lived his days with a spirit of independence, he resolved to die with honour. He distributed the money then in his possession among his slaves, and ordered them to remove for their own use all the effects that could be carried off, with an exception of three couches, to serve as funeral beds for himself and his family.

They retired to die together. In the same chamber, and with the same instrument, the father, the mother-in-law, and the daughter, opened their veins, and, without any other covering than such as decency required, were conducted to a warm bath; the father with his eyes fixed upon his daughter; the grandmother gazing on the same object; and she, in return, looking with tender affection on both her parents; each of them wishing to avoid the pain of seeing the others in the pangs of death, and praying to be released. Nature pursued her own course. They died in the order of their respective ages, the oldest first. After their decease, a prosecution was carried on in due form of law, and all

1 Barium, a city in Apulia, now *Bari*.

2 For the death of Rubellius Plautus, see Annals, xiv. s. 58 and 59.

3 Nero and Antistius Vetus were joint consuls, A. U. C. 808. See Annals, xiii. s. 11.

three were adjudged to capital punishment. Nero so far opposed the sentence, as to give them the liberty of choosing their mode of dying. When the tragedy was already performed, such was the farce that followed.

XII. Publius Gallus, a Roman knight, for no other crime than his intimacy with Fenius Rufus,[4] and some connection with Vetus, was interdicted from fire and water. The freedman of Vetus, who betrayed his master, and the accuser, who undertook the conduct of the prosecution, obtained, to reward their villany, a seat in the theatre among the officers who follow in the train of the tribunes. The month of April was already styled by the name of Nero,[5] and, in like manner, May was changed to that of Claudius, and June to Germanicus. Cornelius Orfitus was the author of this innovation. His reason for the last was, because the two Torquati[6] suffered in the month of June, and that inauspicious name ought, therefore, to be abolished from the calendar.

XIII. To the blood and horror, that made this year for ever memorable, we may add the vengeance of Heaven, declared in storms and tempests, and epidemic disorders. A violent hurricane made the country of Campania a scene of desolation; whole villages were overthrown; plantations were torn up by the roots, and the hopes of the year destroyed. The fury of the storm was felt in the neighbourhood of Rome, where, without any apparent cause in the atmosphere, a contagious distemper broke out, and swept away a vast number of the inhabitants. The houses were filled with dead bodies, and the streets with funeral processions. Neither sex nor age escaped. Slaves and men of ingenuous birth were carried off, without distinction, amidst the shrieks and lamentations of their wives and children. Numbers, while they assisted their expiring friends, or bewailed their loss, were suddenly seized, and burnt on the same funeral pile. The Roman knights and senators suffered the common lot of mortality; but death delivered them from the power of the tyrant, and, for that reason, they were not regretted.

In the course of the year new levies were made in Narbon Gaul, and likewise in Asia and Africa, in order to recruit the legions in Illyricum, at that time much reduced by the discharge of such as by age or infirmity were rendered unfit for service. The city of Lyons having before this time suffered a dreadful disaster,[7] Nero, to relieve the inhabitants, ordered a remittance of forty thousand sesterces, being the amount of what that city granted[8] to the treasury of Rome in a period of distraction and public distress.

XIV. Caius Suetonius and Lucius Telesinus entered on the consulship. [A. U. C. 819. A. D. 66.] During their administration, Antistius Sosianus, formerly banished,[9] as has been mentioned, for a satirical poem against Nero, began to think of regaining his liberty. He heard of the high estimation in which the informers were held at Rome, and the bias of Nero's nature to acts of cruelty. A bold and restless spirit like his was ready for any project, and he possessed a promptitude of mind that quickly saw how to seize his opportunity. There was, at that time, an exile in the same place, famous for his skill in the arts of Chaldean astrology, and, on that account, intimate with several families. His name was Pammenes. Antistius entered into a league of friendship with him. Their mutual sufferings endeared them to each other. The astrologer had frequent consultations, and messengers were every day crowding to his house. Antistius judged that such a concourse could not be without reasons of important consequence. He found that Pammenes received an annual pension from Anteius; a man, on account of his attachment to Agrippina, obnoxious to the emperor, and by his riches likely to tempt the avarice of a prince, who had already cut off some of the most opulent and illustrious men in Rome.

Antistius kept a watchful eye upon his new friend. He intercepted letters from Anteius, and gained access to other secret papers, in which was contained a calculation of the nativity of Anteius, with many particulars relating to the birth and future fortune of Ostorius Scapula.[10] Armed with these materials, he represented, by letters to Nero, that he had discoveries of the first importance, involving even the safety of the prince, and, if he might revisit Rome for a few days, the whole should be brought to light, with all the machinations of Anteius and Ostorius Scapula, who, beyond all doubt, were engaged in a treasonable design, and had been prying into their own destiny, and that of the imperial house. In consequence of these letters, a light galley was despatched, and Antistius was conveyed to Rome. His arrival, and the business on which he came, were no sooner known, than Anteius and Ostorius were considered as devoted victims, insomuch that the former could not find a friend bold enough to be a witness to

4 For Fenius Rufus, see Annals, xv. s. 66 and 68.

5 See Annals, xv. s. 74.

6 The two Torquati were, Silanus Torquatus, Annals, xv. s 35; and Lucius Torquatus, this book, s. 9.

7 This was a dreadful fire, by which in one night Lugdunum (now the city of Lyons) was reduced to ashes. Seneca says, *Una nox fuit inter urbem maximam et nullam.* See his reflections on this misfortune, epist. 91.

8 The time when the people of Lyons granted a supply to the Romans cannot be ascertained. It was probably in the reign of Caligula.

9 Antistius Sosianus was banished on account of his satirical verses, A. U. C. 815. Annals, xiv. s. 48, 49.

10 For Ostorius Scapula, see Annals, xii. s. 31; Annals, xiv. s. 48. He had commanded in Britain with great reputation.

his will,[1] till Tigellinus advised him to settle his affairs without loss of time. Anteius swallowed a dose of poison; but finding the operation slow and tedious, he opened his veins, and put a period to his existence.

XV. Ostorius, at this time, was at a distance from Rome, amusing himself on his own estate near the confines of Liguria. A centurion was sent with orders to despatch him. Nero had his reasons for desiring this business to be done with expedition. He knew the military character of Ostorius, and the high reputation with which he had gained the civic crown in Britain.[2] He dreaded a man renowned in arms, remarkable for his bodily vigour, and a thorough master of the art of war. From a general of his experience he lived in fear of a sudden attack, and the late conspiracy kept him in a constant alarm. The centurion obeyed his orders, and having first secured all the avenues round the house, communicated the emperor's orders. Ostorius turned against himself that courage which had often made the enemy fly before him. He opened his veins, but, though the incision was large, the blood flowed with languor. He called a slave to his assistance, and having directed him to hold a poniard with a firm and steady hand, he laid hold of the man's arm, and applying his throat to the point, rushed on certain death.

XVI. If the narrative, in which I am engaged, presented a detail of foreign wars, and a register of men, who died with honour in the service of their country, even in that case, a continued train of disasters, crowding fast upon one another, would fatigue the writer, and make the reader turn, with disgust, from so many tragic issues, honourable indeed, but dark, melancholy, and too much of a colour. How much more must the uniformity of the present subject be found irksome, and even repulsive. We have nothing before us but tame servility, and a deluge of blood spilt by a tyrant in the hour of peace. The heart recoils from the dismal story. But let it be remembered by those, who may hereafter think these events worthy of their notice, that I have discharged the duty of an historian, and if, in relating the fate of so many eminent citizens, who resigned their lives to the will of one man, I mingle tears with indignation, let me be allowed to feel for the unhappy. The truth is, the wrath of Heaven was bent against the Roman state. The calamities that followed cannot, like the slaughter of an army, or the sacking of a city, be painted forth in one general draught. Repeated murders must be given in succession; and, if the remains of illustrious men are distinguished by their funeral obsequies from the mass of the people, may it not be considered as a tribute due to their memory, that, in like manner, their deaths should be snatched from oblivion, and that history, in describing the last act of their lives, should give to each his distinct and proper character, for the information of posterity?

XVII. I proceed to add to the list of murdered citizens, Annæus Mela, Cerealis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Petronius. In the compass of a few days they were all cut off, as it were at one blow. Mela and Crispinus were no higher than Roman knights; but in fame and dignity of character equal to the most distinguished senators. Crispinus, at one time, commanded the prætorian bands; he was afterwards invested with the consular ornaments, but lately charged as an accomplice in the conspiracy, and banished to the island of Sardinia.[3] At that place he received the emperor's mandate, and died by his own hand. Mela[4] was brother to Seneca and Gallio. He abstained through life from the pursuit of civil honours, vainly flattering himself that a simple knight could rise to the highest splendour, and tower above the consular dignity. By remaining in his rank, he was qualified to act in the administration of the imperial revenue, and that employment he thought the shortest road to immoderate riches. He was the father of Lucan, the poet, and from such a son[5] derived additional lustre. When Lucan was no more, Mela endeavoured to recover the whole of his property;[6] but proceeding with too much eagerness, he provoked the enmity of Fabius Romanus, one of the poet's intimate friends. This man framed a charge against the father. He accused him of being engaged with his son in the late conspiracy, and, for that purpose, forged several letters in the name of Lucan.

Nero was eager to seize his prey: he panted for his riches, and with that view sent the letters as evidence of his guilt. Mela had recourse

1 To give validity to a will, seven witnesses were necessary. Digest. lib. xxxvii. tit. De Bonorum Possessione.

2 Annals, xii. s. 31.

3 Crispinus commanded the prætorians, Annals, xi. s. 1. He was banished to Sardinia, Annals, xv. s. 71.

4 For Gallio, the brother of Seneca, see Annals, xv. s. 72.

5 Brotier exclaims in this place, Let the detractors from the merit of Lucan hear what Tacitus says of him, and let them blush for their malignity. That a young poet, who ended his career in the 27th year of his age, should aim in many passages of his work at ambitious ornaments, and the false glitter which the example of his uncle Seneca and the taste of the age encouraged, cannot be matter of wonder; but, to atone for his faults, his poem is a treasure of sentiments worthy of a Roman. Lucan taught Corneille to think, and to express his thoughts with force and dignity.

6 Juvenal gives us to understand that Lucan was possessed of great riches, and might therefore seek no reward but fame;

Contentus fama jaceat Lucanus in hortis
Marmoreis. SAT. vii. ver. 79.

to the mode of death, at that time deemed the easiest, and, for that reason, most in vogue. He opened his veins, and expired. By his will he bequeathed a large sum to Tigellinus, and to his son-in-law, Cossutianus Capito, hoping by that bequest to secure the remainder for his family. A clause, it has been said, was added to the will, asserting the innocence of the deceased, and the flagrant injustice of cutting him off, while such men as Rufius Crispinus and Anicius Cerealis were suffered to live in security, though they were both envenomed enemies of the prince. The clause, however, was thought to be fabricated, with a view to justify the murder of Crispinus, which was already perpetrated, and to hasten the sentence then in agitation against Cerealis, who, in a few days afterwards, despatched himself. He fell unlamented. The public remembered that he formerly discovered a conspiracy[7] to Caligula, and, for that reason, no man regretted him in his end.

XVIII. With regard to Caius Petronius,[8] his character, his course of life, and the singularity of his manners, seem to merit particular attention. He passed his days in sleep, and his nights in business, or in joy and revelry. Indolence was at once his passion, and his road to fame. What others did by vigour and industry, he accomplished by his love of pleasure and luxurious ease. Unlike the men who profess to understand social enjoyment, and ruin their fortunes, he led a life of expense, without profusion; an epicure, yet not a prodigal; addicted to his appetites, but with taste and judgment; a refined and elegant voluptuary. Gay and airy in his conversation, he charmed by a certain graceful negligence, the more engaging as it flowed from the natural frankness of his disposition. With all this delicacy, and careless ease, he showed, when he was governor of Bithynia, and, afterwards, in the year of his consulship, that vigour of mind and softness of manners may well unite in the same person. With his love of sensuality he possessed talents for business. From his public station he returned to his usual gratifications, fond of vice, or of pleasures that bordered upon it. His gaiety recommended him to the notice of the prince. Being in favour at court, and cherished as the companion of Nero in all his select parties, he was allowed to be the arbiter of taste and elegance. Without the sanction of Petronius nothing was exquisite, nothing rare or delicious.

Hence the jealousy of Tigellinus, who dreaded a rival in the good graces of the emperor almost his equal; in the science of luxury his superior. Tigellinus determined to work his downfall; and, accordingly, addressed himself to the cruelty of the prince; that master-passion, to which all other affections and every motive were sure to give way. He charged Petronius with having lived in close intimacy with Scevinus,[9] the conspirator; and, to give colour to that assertion, he bribed a slave to turn informer against his master. The rest of the domestics were loaded with irons. Nor was Petronius suffered to make his defence.

XIX. Nero, at that time, happened to be on one of his excursions into Campania. Petronius had followed him as far as Cuma, but was not allowed to proceed further than that place. He scorned to linger in doubt and fear, and yet was not in a hurry to leave a world which he loved. He opened his veins, and closed them again, at intervals losing a small quantity of blood, then binding up the orifice as his own inclination prompted. He conversed during the whole time with his usual gaiety, never changing his habitual manner, nor talking sentences to show his contempt of death. He listened to his friends, who endeavoured to entertain him, not with grave discourses on the immortality of the soul, or the moral wisdom of philosophers, but with strains of poetry, and verses of a gay and natural turn. He distributed presents to some of his servants, and ordered others to be chastised. He walked out for his amusement, and even lay down to sleep. In this last scene of his life he acted with such calm tranquillity, that his death, though an act of necessity, seemed no more than the decline of nature. In his will he scorned to follow the example of others, who, like himself, died under the tyrant's stroke; he neither flattered the emperor, nor Tigellinus, nor any of the creatures of the court; but having written, under the fictitious names of profligate men and women, a narrative of Nero's debauchery, and his new modes of vice,[10] he had

7 The plot to which Tacitus refers, is not related with perspicuity by any historian. All that is now known is, that Cerealis was the informer, and that Sextus Passienus, the chief of the conspiracy, with several men of rank, was put to death by order of Caligula.

8 This is the writer whom Pope has celebrated in the Essay on Criticism:

Fancy and art in gay Petronius please,
The scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease.

The account here given of him by Tacitus, is elegant and interesting. See Plutarch, on the difference between a friend and a sycophant; and see Pliny, lib. xxxvii. s. 7.

9 This was Scevinus the conspirator, for whom see Annals, xv. s. 49, 54, and 56.

10 This description of Nero and his flagitious court has been supposed by some critics to be the work called *Petronii Arbitri Satyricon*; but this, it is evident, must be a gross mistake. The *Satyricon* is a long work, and must have been written at leisure. It contains nothing that relates to the new modes of vice, or the secret practices of Nero's court. It glances often at the imbecility of Claudius, and presents a variety of miscellaneous matter, palpably the composition of a mind at ease. What was sent to Nero must have been a short perform.

the spirit to send to the emperor that satirical romance, sealed with his own seal, which he took care to break, that, after his death, it might not be used for the destruction of any person whatever.

XX. Nero saw, with surprise, his clandestine passions, and the secrets of his midnight revels, laid open to the world. To whom the discovery was to be imputed still remained a doubt. Amidst his conjectures, Silia, who by her marriage with a senator had risen into notice, occurred to his memory. This woman had often procured for the libidinous pleasures of the prince, and lived, besides, in close intimacy with Petronius. Nero concluded that she had betrayed him, and for that offence ordered her into banishment. Having made that sacrifice to his own resentment, he gave another victim to glut the rage of Tigellinus, namely, Numicius Thermus, a man of prætorian rank. An accusation preferred against the favourite, by a slave enfranchised by Thurmus, was the cause that provoked the vengeance of Tigellinus. For that daring attempt against a man in power the informer suffered on the rack, and his patron, who had no concern in the business, was put to death.

XXI. Nero had not yet satiated his vindictive fury. He had spilt the best blood in Rome, and now, in the persons of Pætus Thrasea and Bareas Soranus, he hoped to destroy virtue itself. His rancour to those two illustrious citizens had been long working in his heart. Thrasea, in particular, was the devoted object, and various motives conspired against him. When the business of Agrippina[1] was brought before the senate, it will be in the memory of the reader, that Thrasea withdrew from the debate. Afterwards, in the youthful sports, called JUVENALES, he seldom attended, and never with the alacrity which was expected. This cold indifference was the more grating to the prince, as Thrasea, at Padua, his native city, not only assisted at the games of the CESTUS, originally instituted by Antenor, the fugitive from Troy, but also performed in the habit of a tragedian. It was further remembered, that, when Antistius, the prætor, was in danger of being capitally condemned for his verses levelled at Nero, Thrasea was the author of a milder sentence.[2] There was still another circumstance: when divine honours were decreed to Poppæa, he wilfully absented himself, nor did he afterwards attend her funeral. These offences were not suffered to sink into oblivion. The whole was treasured up by Cossutianus Capito,[3] a man, who to a bad heart and talents for every species of iniquity united motives of personal ill-will to Thrasea, which he nourished in secret, ever since the victory obtained over him in a charge of extortion conducted by the deputies from Cilicia, and supported with all the credit and eloquence of Thrasea.

XXII. The fertile genius of the prosecutor was not at a loss for new allegations. The heads of his charge were, "that Thrasea made it a point to avoid renewing the oath of fidelity usual at the beginning of the year,[4] and, though a member of the quindecemviral college, he never assisted at the ceremony of offering vows for the safety of the prince, and the preservation of that melodious voice. A magistrate formerly of unremitting assiduity, he took a part in every debate, supporting or opposing the most trifling motions; and now what is his conduct? For three years together he has not so much as entered the senate.[5] Even on a late occasion, when the business relating to Silanus and Vetus drew the fathers to a crowded meeting, Thrasea was not at leisure; the affairs of his clients engrossed his attention, and the patriot was detained from the senate by his own petty concerns. What is this but a public secession? He is at the head of a faction, and if his partisans take fire from his example, a civil war must be the consequence. Cæsar and Cato were the names that formerly kept the world awake; at present, in a city ever rent by discord, Nero and Thrasea engage the public mind.

"The popular demagogue has his secretaries and his followers; a set of men not yet, like their master, ambitiously sententious, but, in imitation of his mien and manners, sullen, gloomy, and discontented. By the formalities of their rigid discipline they hope to throw disgrace on the gay and elegant manners of their sovereign. Your preservation, Nero, is of no moment to Thrasea: he disregards your safety: he despises your accomplishments. Are your affairs in a train of prosperity, he is still dejected. Has any untoward event disturbed your peace of mind, he enjoys your distress, and in secret pampers

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ance, such as a man of genius might despatch in a few hours. How should the passages, which have entitled Petronius to be ranked with the critics of antiquity, find a place in the narrative of a dying man?

1 When the death of Agrippina, Nero's mother, was announced to the senate, and the fathers, with their usual spirit of adulation, were preparing their decrees on that occasion, Thrasea rose from his seat and left the house. Annals, xiv. s. 12.

2 See Annals, xiv. s. 48.

3 For Cossutianus Capito, a man of infamous character, see Annals, xiii. s. 33.

4 The oath of fidelity was changed at different times. At first it was a solemn obligation to preserve the laws. Dio relates, that on the kalends of January, A. U. C. 712, the magistrates swore on the acts of Julius Cæsar. In process of time, to swear on the Acts of the Emperors grew into use; though we have seen Tiberius refusing to admit that form of oath.

5 Thrasea was forbid the presence of the emperor, A. U. C. 816. See book xv. s. 25. From that time it does not appear that he entered the senate.

himself with your affliction. The same spirit that refused to swear on the acts of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, denies the divinity of Poppæa. He turns religion to a jest, and sets the laws at defiance. The journals of the Roman people[6] were never read by the provinces and the armies with so much avidity, as in the present juncture; and the reason is, the history of the times is the history of Thrasea's contumacy.

"If the system of this wise philosopher and profound politician merits attention, let us at once embrace his doctrine; if otherwise, let us take from the friends of innovation their leader and their oracle. The sect whose precepts he affects to admire, has ever been proud and dogmatical, busy, bold, and turbulent. It was that stoic school that formed the Tuberos[7] and the Favonii; names detested even by the old republic. And what is now the principle of the whole faction? To subvert the fabric of a great empire, they hold forth the name of liberty; if they succeed, they will destroy even liberty itself. Of what use can it be to Nero, that he has banished a Cassius, if the followers of Brutus are still allowed to flourish, and multiply their numbers? Upon the whole, you have no occasion, Cæsar, to write to the senate; you need not mention Thrasea to that assembly: leave him to our management, and the judgment of the fathers." Nero praised the zeal of Cossutianus, and added fury to a mind already bent on mischief. To forward his villany he gave him for a coadjutor Eprius Marcellus, an orator of a turbulent spirit and overbearing eloquence.

XXIII. The prosecution against Bareas Soranus was already in the hands of Ostorius Sabinus, a Roman knight. Soranus was returned from his proconsular government of Asia. His conduct in the province stood distinguished by justice and the rectitude of his measures; but by the jealousy of Nero the virtues of the minister were converted into crimes. He had opened the port of Ephesus, and left unpunished the obstinate resistance of the people of Pergamus, who refused to let Acratus,[8] one of the emperor's freedmen, carry off the statues and pictures that adorned their city. This meritorious conduct was an offence not be forgiven; but constructive crimes were to be held forth to the public. The heads of the accusation were, that Soranus had contracted a close and intimate friendship with Plautus,[9] and had endeavoured by popular arts to incite the eastern provinces to a revolt. To decide the fate of two upright citizens, Nero chose a juncture favourable to his dark design. Tiridates was on his way to Rome, to receive the diadem of Armenia from the hands of the emperor. He thought it probable, that, in the splendour of that magnificent scene, the horrors of domestic cruelty would be lost; perhaps, it seemed a fair opportunity to display to a foreign prince the grandeur of a Roman emperor, and convince him, by the murder of two eminent citizens, that the imperial power was nothing short of oriental despotism.

XXIV. The city went forth in crowds to meet the emperor,[10] and gaze at the eastern monarch. Thrasea received orders not to appear on the occasion. A mind like his was not to be disconcerted. With his usual fortitude he sent a memorial to the prince, requesting to know by what act of his life he had deserved

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6 The Journals of the Roman people, called in the original *Diurna Populi Romani*. These were the Roman newspapers. It is to be regretted that no collection of those fugitive pieces has come down to us. We should have the pleasure of seeing minutely and distinctly *the private life of the Romans*, and the opportunity would be fair to make a comparison between a Roman journalist and the *doer* of a modern newspaper.

7 Cicero, in the Oration for Murena, gives a sketch of Tubero's character: "He was a man of illustrious birth, a scholar, and a professor of the stoic philosophy. Being desired, at the funeral of Scipio Africanus, to lay out the couches for the farewell supper, he chose the vilest sort, such as were used at Carthage, and, having covered them with goat-skins, arranged in proper order a number of Samian vases, which were earthenware; as if he were preparing for the funeral of Diogenes the cynic, and not for that of the divine Africanus, to whose honour Quintus Maximus, in a panegyric from the rostrum, said, he thanked the immortal gods that such a man was born a Roman citizen; for wherever Scipio lived, there by consequence would be fixed the empire of the world." Cicero adds, that Tubero, a good and upright citizen, the grandson of Paulus Æmilius, and nephew to the deceased Scipio, gave umbrage to the people by his perverse wisdom, and for his goat-skins lost his election when candidate for the prætorship. *Atque ille, homo eruditissimus, ac Stoicus, stravit pellículis hædinis lectulos punicanos, et exposuit vasa Samia; quasi vero esset Diogenes cynicus mortuus, et non divini hominis Africani mors honestaretur; quem cum supremo ejus die Quintus Maximus laudaret, gratias egit Diis immortalibus, quod ille vir in hac republica potissimum natus esset: necesse enim fuisse, ibi esse terrarum imperium, ubi ille esset. Hujus in morte celebranda graviter tulit populus Romanus hanc* PERVERSAM SAPIENTIAM *Tuberonis; itaque homo integerrimus, civis optimus, cum esset Lucii Pauli nepos, Africani sororis filius, his* HEDINIS PELLICULIS *prætura dejectus est.* Tully pro Murena, vol. ii. p. 266, Delph. edit. Seneca, who was a professed stoic, says of that school, that there was no sect more benevolent, none more affectionate, and none more zealous to promote the good of society. *Nulla secta benignior, leniorque est; nulla amantior hominum, et communibus bonis attentior.* De Clementia, lib. ii. cap. 5. But the same Seneca teaches the impious doctrine of suicide. *In eum introvimus mundum, in quo his legibus vivitur: Placet? Pare. Non placet? Quacumque vis, exi.* Epist. 91

8 Acratus has been mentioned as a person sent into Asia, to plunder the cities of their statues. Annals, xv. s. 45.

9 Rubellius Plautus, for whom see Annals, xiv. s. 57, and 59.

10 Nero was on his return from Campania.

such a mark of displeasure. He pledged himself, if a fair hearing were granted, to confute his enemies, and place his innocence in the clearest light. Nero received the memorial with eager curiosity, expecting to find that Thrasea, under the operation of fear, had descended to the language of flattery, and tarnished his own honour by magnifying the glory of the prince. Stung by disappointment, he refused to grant an audience. The sight of that illustrious citizen, the countenance, the spirit, and the virtue of the man, were too much to encounter. He ordered the senate to be convened. Thrasea, in the mean time, consulted with his friends, which would be most advisable, to enter at large into his defence, or to behave with silent indignation. They were divided in their opinions.

XXV. Some advised him to enter the senate, and confront his enemies in the presence of that assembly. "Of his constancy no doubt could be entertained; they knew that nothing could fall from him unworthy of himself. Every word from his lips would tend to augment his glory. When danger threatened, to take shelter in the shade of obscurity, were the act of a degenerate spirit. For him, he ought to have the people round him to behold the scene; a great man advancing bravely to meet his fate, would be a spectacle worthy of their applause. The senate would hear with astonishment the energy of truth, and the sublime of virtue. Every sentiment from the mouth of Thrasea would rise superior to humanity, and sound to the fathers as if some god addressed them. Even the heart of Nero might for once relent. Should it happen otherwise; should his obdurate nature still persist; posterity would crown with immortal glory the undaunted citizen, who distinguished himself from those unhappy victims, who bowed their necks to the tyrant's stroke, and crept in silence to their graves."

XXVI. Others were of a different opinion, convinced that his best plan would be to wait the issue at his own house. They spoke of Thrasea himself and the dignity of his character in the highest terms, but they dreaded that his adversaries would pour forth a torrent of insolence and opprobrious language. "They desired that he would not suffer his ear to be wounded with scurrility and vile abuse. Cossutianus and Eprius Marcellus were not the only enemies of virtue: there were others, whose brutal rage might incite them to outrage, and even violence to his person. The cruelty of Nero left none at liberty. In a general panic, good men might follow the worst example. It would become the character of Thrasea, to rescue from infamy that august assembly, which his presence had so long adorned. If he did not attend the meeting, the part, which, after hearing Thrasea in his own defence, the fathers might have acted, will remain problematical; and by that uncertainty the honour of the senate may be saved. To hope that Nero would blush for his crimes, were to misunderstand his character. His unrelenting cruelty would most probably fall on Thrasea's wife, on his whole family, and all that were dear to him. For these reasons, an eminent citizen, who had ever supported the honour of his name, and still flourished with unblemished integrity, would do well to remember who were the teachers of wisdom, that furnished the principles and the model of his conduct. Since he had crowded into his life all their virtues, it would become him to emulate their glory in his fall."

Arulenus Rusticus[1] assisted at this consultation. He was, at that time, a tribune of the people; a young man of sentiment, eager to be in action, and warm with the love of glory. He offered to interpose, by his tribunitian authority, to prevent a decree of the senate. "Forbear," said Thrasea; "and learn, young man, to restrain this impetuous ardour. By a rash opposition you cannot save your friend, and you may bring down ruin on yourself. For me, I have my days; my course is well nigh finished; it now remains, that I reach the goal with undiminished honour. As to you, my friend, you have but lately entered the career of civil dignities. Life is before you, and you have not as yet pledged yourself to the public. Ere you take a decided part, it will behove you to consider well the times upon which you are fallen, and the principles which you mean to avow." Having thus declared his sentiments, he gave no opinion concerning the propriety of appearing in the senate, but reserved the question for his own private meditation.

XXVII. On the following day two prætorian cohorts, under arms, surrounded the temple of Venus. A body of citizens, with swords ill concealed beneath their gowns, invested all the avenues. In the forum, the open squares, and round the adjoining temples, bands of soldiers took their station, and through that military array the senators were obliged to pass, surrounded by soldiers and prætorian guards. The assembly was opened by Nero's quæstor,[2] with a speech in the name of the prince, complaining, "that the fathers" (no particular name was mentioned) "deserted the public interest, and by their example taught the Roman knights to

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1 Arulenus Rusticus lived to establish a great and virtuous character. He was put to death by Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. See Life of Agricola, s. 11, and note.

2 The emperors had their own special quæstors for the conduct of their affairs. Augustus was the first that established such an office. Suetonius says, he acquainted the senate with the scandalous behaviour of his daughter Julia by a narrative in writing, which was read to the fathers by the quæstor. Suet. in Aug. s. 65.

loiter away their time in sloth, and inattention to the welfare of the state. Nor could it be matter of wonder, that the senators from the distant provinces no longer attended their duty, when men of consular rank, and even of sacerdotal dignity, thought of nothing but the embellishment of their villas, and the beauty of their gardens and pleasure-grounds." This message was intended to be a weapon in the hands of the accusers, and their malice knew how to use it.

XXVIII. Cossutianus took the lead. Eprius Marcellus followed him, with more force and acrimony. "The commonwealth," he said "is on the brink of ruin. Certain turbulent spirits rear their crest so high that no room is left for the milder virtues of the prince. The senate for some time past has been negligent, tame, and passive. Your lenity, conscript fathers, your lenity has given encouragement to sedition. It is in consequence of your indulgence that Thrasea presumes to trample on the laws; that his son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus,[3] adopts the same pernicious principles; that Paconius Agrippinus,[4] with the inveterate hatred towards the house of Cæsar, which he inherits from his father, declares open hostility; and that Curtius Montanus[5] in seditious verses spreads abroad the venom of his pen. Where is Thrasea now? I want to see the man of consular rank in his place; I want to see the sacerdotal dignitary offering up vows for the emperor; I want to see the citizen taking the oaths of fidelity. Perhaps that haughty spirit towers above the laws and the religion of our ancestors; perhaps he means to throw off the mask, and own himself a traitor and an enemy to his country. Let him appear in this assembly; let the patriot come; let the leader of faction show himself; the man who so often played the orator in this assembly, and took under his patronage the inveterate enemies of the prince. Let us hear his plan of government. What does he wish to change? What abuse does he mean to reform? If he came every day with objections, the cavilling spirit of the man might tease, perplex, and embarrass us; but now his sullen silence is worse; it condemns every thing in the gross. And why all this discontent? A settled peace prevails in every quarter of the empire: does that afflict him? Our armies, without the effusion of Roman blood, have been victorious: is that the cause of his disaffection? He sickens in the midst of prosperity; he repines at the flourishing state of his country: he deserts the forum; he avoids the theatre, and the temples of the city; he threatens to abjure his country, and retire into voluntary banishment; he acknowledges none of your laws; your decrees are to him no better than mockery; he owns no magistrates, and Rome to him is no longer Rome. Let him therefore be cut off at once from a city, where he has long lived an alien; the love of his country banished from his heart, and the people odious to his sight."

XXIX. Marcellus delivered this invective in a strain of vehemence, that gave additional terror to the natural ferocity of a stern and savage countenance. His voice grew louder, his features more enlarged, and his eyes flashed with fire. The senate heard him, but with emotions unfelt before; the settled melancholy, which that black period made habitual, gave way to stronger feelings. They saw a band of soldiers round them, and they debated in the midst of swords and javelins. Thrasea was absent, but the venerable figure of the man presented itself to every imagination. They felt for Helvidius Priscus, who was doomed to suffer, not for imputed guilt, but because he was allied to an innocent and virtuous citizen. What was the crime of Agrippinus? The misfortunes of his father, cut off by the cruelty of Tiberius, rose in judgment against the son. The case of Montanus[6] was thought hard and oppressive. His poetry was a proof of genius, not of malice; and yet, for a pretended libel on the prince, a youth of expectation was to be driven from his country.

XXX. Amidst the tumult and distraction which this business excited, Ostorius Sabinus, the accuser of Bareas Soranus, entered the senate. He opened at once, and charged as a crime, the friendship that subsisted between Soranus and Rubellius Plautus. He added, that the whole tenor of his administration in Asia was directed, not for the public good, but to promote his own popularity, and to spread a spirit of sedition through the provinces. These accusations had been long since fabricated, and were then grown threadbare; but the prosecutor was ready with a new allegation, which involved Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, in her father's danger. The charge against her was, that she had distributed sums of money among men skilled in judicial astrology. The fact was, Servilia, with no other motives

3 For more of Helvidius Priscus, see History, book iv. s. 5; and see Life of Agricola, s. 2, and note.

4 Marcus Paconius, the father of Paconius Agrippinus, was cruelly put to death by Tiberius. See Suet. in Tib. s. 61.

5 For more of Curtius Montanus, See History, iv. s. 40 and 42.

6 It is supposed by some of the commentators, that the Montanus mentioned in this place is the person introduced by Juvenal in the deep consultation held by Domitian, about the manner of dressing a fish of enormous size:

Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur? absit ab illo
Dedecus hoc, Montanus ait, &c.

Sat. iv. ver. 130.

than those of filial piety, had the imprudence, natural at her time of life, to apply to a set of fortune-tellers in order to satisfy her mind about the fate of her family, and to learn whether Nero's resentment was by any possibility to be appeased, and what would be the issue of the business in the senate.

She was cited to appear in the senate before the tribunal of the consuls. On one side stood the aged father; on the other his daughter, in the bloom of life, not having yet completed her twentieth year, but even then in a state of destitution, still lamenting the fate of her husband, Annius Pollio, lately torn from her, and condemned to banishment. She stood in silent sorrow, not daring to lift her eyes to her father, whom by her imprudent zeal she had involved in new misfortunes.

XXXI. The accuser pressed her with questions. He desired to know, whether she had not sold her bridal ornaments, her jewels and her necklace, to supply herself with money for magic sacrifices? She fell prostrate on the ground, and wept in bitterness of heart. Her sorrows were too big for utterance. She embraced the altars, and rising suddenly, exclaimed with vehemence, "I have invoked no infernal gods; I have used no unhallowed rites, no magic, no incantations. My unhappy prayers asked no more than that you, Cæsar, and you, conscript fathers, would extend your protection to this best of men, this most affectionate parent. For him I sold my jewels; for him I disposed of my bridal ornaments, and for him I gave up the garments suited to my rank. In the same cause I was willing to sacrifice my life; the blood in my veins was at his service. The men whom I consulted were all strangers to me; I had no knowledge of them. They best can tell who they are, and what they profess. The name of the prince was never mentioned by me but with that respect, which I pay to the gods. What I did was my own act: that miserable man, my unhappy father, knew nothing of it. If any crime has been committed, he is innocent: I, and I alone, am guilty."

XXXII. Soranus could no longer restrain himself. He interrupted his daughter, crying aloud, "She was not with me in Asia; she is too young to have any knowledge of Rubellius Plautus. In the accusation against her husband she was not involved; her filial piety is her only crime. Distinguish her case from mine; respect the cause of innocence, and on my head let your worst vengeance fall. I am ready to meet my fate." With these words, he rushed to embrace his child: she advanced to meet him, but the lictors interposed to prevent the pathetic scene. The witnesses were called in. The fathers had hitherto listened to all that passed with emotions of pity; but pity was soon converted into a stronger passion. The appearance of Publius Egnatius,[1] the client of Soranus, hired to give evidence against his patron and his friend, kindled a general indignation. This man professed himself a follower of the stoic sect. He had learned in that school to retail the maxims of virtue, and could teach his features to assume an air of simplicity, while fraud, and perfidy, and avarice, lay lurking at his heart. The temptation of money drew forth his hidden character, and the hypocrite stood detected. His treachery gave a standing lesson to mankind, that, in the commerce of the world, it is not sufficient to guard against open and avowed iniquity, since the professors of friendship can, under a counterfeit resemblance of virtue, nourish the worst of vices, and prove in the end, the most pernicious enemies.

XXXIII. The same day produced a splendid example of truth and honour in the person of Cassius Asclepiodotus: a man distinguished by his wealth, and ranked with the most eminent inhabitants of Bithynia. Having loved and followed Soranus in his prosperity, he did not desert him in the hour of distress. He still adhered to him with unaltered friendship, and for his constancy was deprived of his all, and sent into banishment; the gods, in their just dispensations, permitting an example of virtue, even in ruin, to stand in contrast to successful villany. Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia, were allowed to choose their mode of dying. Helvidius Priscus and Paconius Agrippinus were banished out of Italy. Montanus owed his pardon to the influence of his father, but was declared incapable of holding any public office. The prosecutors were amply rewarded. Eprius Marcellus and Cossutianus received each of them fifty thousand sesterces. Ostorius Sabinus obtained a grant of twelve thousand, with the ornaments of the quæstorship.

XXXIV. Towards the close of the day the consular quæstor[2] was sent to Thrasea, who was then amusing himself in his garden, attended by a number of friends, the most illustrious of both sexes. Demetrius,[3] a philosopher of the cynic school, was the person who chiefly engaged

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1 Egnatius, the professor of the stoic philosophy, who appears as a witness against Bareas Soranus, is mentioned by Juvenal:

Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum,
Discipulumque senex. Sat. iii. ver. 116.

See the History, book iv. s. 10.

2 Notice has been taken, s. 27, note, of the imperial quæstors. The consuls also had their quæstors, as we read in Dio, lib. xlviii. where it is said that Appius Claudius and Caius Norbanus, consuls A. U. C. 716, had each of them two quæstors under their own immediate direction.

3 Demetrius is praised by Seneca, not merely as a philosopher, but as a man of consummate virtue. De Beneficiis, lib. vii. cap. 8. In another place he calls him emphatically, not the teacher, but the witness of truth. *Non præceptor veri, sed testis.* Epist. xx.

his attention. Their conversation, as was inferred from looks of earnest meaning, and from some expressions distinctly heard, turned upon the immortality of the soul, and its separation from the body. Thrasea had not heard of the decree that passed the senate, when his intimate friend, Domitius Cæcilianus, arrived with the unhappy tidings. The company melted into tears. Thrasea saw their generous sympathy; he heard their lamentations: but fearing that the interest, which they took in the lot of a man doomed to destruction, might involve them in future danger, he conjured them to retire. Arria,[4] his wife, inspired by the memorable example of her mother, resolved to share her husband's fate. Thrasea entreated her to continue longer in life, and not deprive their daughter of the only comfort and support of her tender years.

4 Arria, his wife, was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, who, in the reign of Claudius, A. U. C. 795, plunged a dagger in her own breast, to give her husband Cæcina Pætus an example of undaunted courage. See the Life of Agricola, s. 2, notes.

XXXV. He then walked his portico, and there received the consular quæstor. An air of satisfaction was visible in his countenance. He had been informed that Helvidius, his son-in-law, had met with nothing harsher than a sentence of banishment out of Italy. The decree of the senate, drawn up in form, being delivered to him, he withdrew to his chamber, attended by Helvidius and Demetrius. He there presented both his arms; and the veins being opened, as soon as the blood began to flow, he desired the quæster to draw nearer, and sprinkling the floor with his vital drops, "Thus," he said, "let us make libation to JUPITER THE DELIVERER! Behold, young man, a mind undaunted and resigned; and may the gods avert from you so severe a trial of your virtue! But you are fallen on evil times, in which you will find it expedient to fortify your soul by examples of unshaken constancy." The approach of death was slow and lingering. As his pains increased, he raised his eyes, and turning to Demetrius * * * * *

The rest of this Book is lost.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS.

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These transactions passed in three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
819	66	Suetonius Paulinus, Lucius Telesinus.
820	67	Fonteius Capito, Julius Rufus.
821	68	Silius Italicus, Galerius Trachalus.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANNALS.

It is not without regret that we lose the words of a great man at the point of death. All we know is, that Thrasea fixed his eyes on his friend Demetrius, and there Tacitus fails us. What the philosopher said, cannot now be collected from any contemporary historian. It is probable that he expired in a short time after. Seeing the vices of the age, and the savage cruelty of the reigning prince, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a man of virtue, fortified by the doctrines of the stoic school, did not think it awful to die. He was often heard to say, that he had rather lay down his life to-day, than be to-morrow banished to an island. That sentiment was applauded by the philosophers[1] of the age. With the same spirit he was used to declare his mind in conversation with his friends. If, he said, Nero intended to destroy no one but me, I could excuse his flatterers; but flattery will not save their lives. Since death is a debt that all must pay, it is better to die in freedom, than live an ignominious slave. All that Nero can do, is to shorten my days: my memory will subsist, and men will continue to talk of me. But for the tribe of abject sycophants, they will perish, and be mentioned no more. Thrasea was not more distinguished by his unshaken fortitude, than by the virtues of humanity. Pliny, the consul, celebrates him for an apophthegm, which shows, in the fairest light, the amiable tenderness of his nature. An unforgiving disposition was in his eyes not only ungenerous, but immoral; it was, therefore, his maxim,[2] that he who suffers himself to hate vice, will hate mankind. It were superfluous to add any further particulars of a man so truly eminent. Tacitus says that, by destroying him, Nero intended, by the same blow, to destroy virtue itself. All praise is summed up in that short encomium.

Soranus, and his daughter Servilia, died with equal virtue, and equal glory. Helvidius Priscus,[3] as already mentioned, was condemned to exile. Paconius Agrippinus[4] met with the same severity. Like his friend Helvidius, he was a man of distinguished virtue, and undaunted resolution. Being informed that his trial, though he was not cited to appear, was actually depending before the senate, May the gods grant me their protection! said he; but it is now the fifth hour, and that is the time when I usually bathe. His cause was not long in suspense. Being informed that judgment was pronounced against him, he calmly asked, What was the sentence—death or banishment? Being told that it was the latter, And what have they done with my effects? You are left in possession of them.

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1 Epictetus, as we are told by Arrian, recorded the Apophthegms of Thrasea, and in particular the sentiment here ascribed to him.

2 Pliny, the consul, observes, that many, who are themselves slaves to every vice, are, notwithstanding, malicious declaimers against the errors of others; yet, surely, a lenity of disposition is, of all other virtues, the most becoming. The rule which ought to be most religiously observed is, Let us be inexorable to our own failings, while we treat those of the rest of the world with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves, remembering always what the humane, and therefore the great, Thrasea used to say, "He who hates vice, hates mankind." *Nostine hos, qui omnium libidinum servi, sic aliorum vitiis irascuntur, quasi invideant, et gravissime puniunt, quos maxime imitantur? Cum eos etiam, qui non indigent clementia ullius, nihil magis quam lenitas deceat. Atque ego optimum et emendatissimum existimo, qui ceteris ita ignoscit, tanquam ipse quotidie peccet; ita peccatis abstinet, tanquam nemini ignoscat. Proinde hoc domi, hoc foris, hoc in omni vita genere teneamus, ut nobis implacabiles simus, exorabiles istis etiam, qui dare veniam nisi sibi nesciunt; mandemusque memoriæ, quod vir mitissimus, et ob hoc quoque maximus Thrasea dicere crebro solebat:* QUI VITIA ODIT, HOMINES ODIT. Plin. lib. viii. epist. 22. Mr. Melmoth, the elegant translator of Pliny, says, The meaning of this maxim seems to be, that as it is difficult to separate the action from the man, we should not suffer the errors of the world to raise in us that acrimony of indignation, which, if well examined, will, perhaps, be oftener found to proceed from some secret principle of malice, than a just abhorrence of vice. And, therefore, as Seneca observes, *Satius est publicos mores et humana vitia placide accipere.* See Melmoth's Pliny, book viii. epist. 22.

3 Helvidius Priscus was recalled from exile, and afterwards put to death in the reign of Vespasian. See Appendix to book v. of the History; and see Life of Agricola, s. 2, and note.

4 Paconius Agrippinus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. s. 28.

Well then, said he, I can dine at Aricia.[1] He accepted his life, and, by his calm indifference, gained as much glory as others by the fortitude with which they met their fate. Demetrius, the friend of Thrasea, did not escape the notice of Nero. The tyrant threatened instant execution. You may command it, said Demetrius; you threaten me with death, and nature threatens you.[2] The intrepid firmness of a poor philosopher, or perhaps the meanness of his condition, saved his life.

II. Cornutus, another philosopher, who professed the doctrines of the Platonic school, had the misfortune to be consulted on the subject of a poem, which Nero had projected.[3] He spoke his mind with honest freedom, and for that offence was immediately banished. Nor was the cruelty of the prince appeased by the number that fell a sacrifice; he still thirsted for blood; but happily a scene of splendour, then ready to be displayed, engaged his attention, and gave the people some respite from the rage of an insatiate tyrant. Tiridates, who, with the consent of his brother Vologeses, the Parthian king, had agreed with Corbulo to undertake a journey to Rome,[4] in order there to receive the regal diadem from the hand of the emperor, was arrived in Italy. Nero was then at Naples, and, in that city, the eastern prince was admitted to his presence. The spectacle was magnificent. It served at once to gratify the pride of a Roman emperor, and for a time to soothe the afflictions of the people. Tiridates was attended by a long procession of officers, and a military band appointed by Corbulo. He had, besides, not less than three thousand of the Parthian nobility in his train, with his wife, and the sons[5] of Vologeses, of Pacorus, and Monobazus. His march through the provinces had no appearance of a prince subdued, and forced to submit to the will of a conqueror. Till he entered the city of Naples, all was grandeur and royal magnificence. The act of humiliation still remained. He was to pay homage to the emperor on his knees. Mortifying as that circumstance was to an oriental king, Tiridates submitted to prostrate himself at Nero's feet. Vologeses had stipulated with Corbulo, that his brother should not be compelled to deliver up his sword;[6] and Tiridates called it an ignominious act, beneath the dignity of the Arsacidæ. Nothing could extort his sword. He is said to have nailed it to the scabbard. The magnanimity with which he refused to comply, obtained the applause of all who beheld a scene so new and magnificent.

The court set out for Rome. Nero thought proper to make some stay at Puteoli,[7] in order to entertain his royal visitor with a show of gladiators. The spectacle was exhibited by Patrobius,[8] one of the emperor's freedmen, with great expense and prodigious pomp. The genius of Nero could not lie still on such an occasion. In his opinion, it was fit that a foreign prince, and his Parthian courtiers, should know how well the emperor of Rome could sing. Tiridates beheld the whole with mixed emotions of wonder, admiration, and contempt. The example of Nero did not tempt him to exhibit his person as a show to the people. He scorned to descend into the arena, but did not think it beneath his dignity to call for his bow and arrow, and from the throne, where he was seated, to give a specimen of his dexterity. He aimed at the wild beasts, and the spectators admired his address, and the vigour of his arm. Historians relate as a fact,[9] that two bulls were transfixed by one arrow, and died on the spot.

III. Nero proceeded, with a grand cavalcade, on his way to Rome, where the most splendid preparations were made for his reception. The whole city was illuminated, and the houses decorated with garlands and laurel-wreaths. The people crowded together from all quarters, and rent the air with shouts and acclamations, while the emperor, with Tiridates and the Parthian nobility in his train, made his triumphal entry. A day was fixed for Tiridates to receive the diadem from the hands of Nero. Nothing could equal the pomp and splendour, with which that ceremony was performed.[10] On the preceding evening, the city was again illuminated, and the streets adorned with flowers. At the

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1 These particulars are related by Arrian, in Epicteto, 1.

2 Arrian has recorded this fact. Seneca has mentioned Demetrius with the highest applause, and chiefly for the following sentiment: Nothing can be more unfortunate than the man who has never felt the stroke of adversity; he has had no experience of himself. *Nihil mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil unquam evenit adversi: non licuit enim illi se experire.* Seneca de Providentia, cap. iii.

3 Cornutus was the friend and preceptor of Persius the poet.

——— Teneros tu suscipis annos
Socratico, Cornute, sinu.

SAT. v. ver. 36.

Crevier, in the Lives of the Emperors, tells us, that Nero intended to write the Roman History in verse, and in four hundred books. That will be too many, said Cornutus; nobody will read them. In answer, he was told, that Chrysippus had written a great many more. Yes, replied Cornutus, but the difference between the authors is very great. He escaped with his life, but was banished. Crevier's Roman Emperors, vol. iv. p. 295.

4 See Annals, xv. s. 29 and 30.

5 Vologeses, king of Parthia, and Pacorus, king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates. Monobazus was king of the Adiabenians.

6 See Annals, xv. s. 31.

7 See the Geographical Table.

8 For Patrobius, see Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 13.

9 The skill in archery, which Tiridates displayed on the occasion, is related by Dio.

10 The appearance of Tiridates before the Roman people, and the prodigious magnificence of that public spectacle, are described by Suetonius, in Neron. s. 13.

dawn of day, an incredible multitude repaired to the forum; the tops of houses were crowded with spectators, and a splendid but theatrical pomp was exhibited with lavish expense. The people dressed in white robes, crowned with laurels, and ranked in their several tribes, walked in procession to their respective seats. The prætorian guards, with their standards ranged in order, and their colours flying, displayed their glittering arms. Nero entered the forum in his triumphal habit. The whole body of the senate followed in his train. He took his seat on a curule chair, amidst the standards and the eagles. In a short time after, Tiridates made his appearance. The soldiers opened their lines; he advanced through the ranks, with his eastern nobility in his train. He approached the rostrum, and, on his knees, offered homage to Nero. The people were not able to contain their joy. They saw the pride of an oriental king humbled at the feet of the emperor. The majesty of Rome filled every imagination. A shout burst from the enraptured multitude. Tiridates was astonished at the sound: he stood at gaze, and his heart shrunk within him. Nero raised him from the ground, and, having clasped him in his arms, placed the diadem on his head,[11] amidst the repeated shouts and acclamations of the people.

IV. The Parthian prince, not yet recovered from his surprise, in the hurry and agitation of his spirits, addressed himself to Nero, in substance as follows:—"You see before you a prince descended from the line of the Arsacidæ. You behold the brother of two kings, Vologeses and Pacorus; and yet I own myself your slave. You, no less than[12] *Mithra*, are to me a god. I pay you the same veneration as I do the sun. Without your protection I have no kingdom; my rights must flow from you. You are the author of my fortune; and your will is fate." An ancient prætor undertook to be interpreter on the occasion. The people, well convinced that Nero, by his vices, had forfeited all kind of claim to such respectful language, received it as the homage of a king to the majesty of the Roman name. The speech was sufficiently mean and abject, but the arrogance and ferocity of Nero's answer[13] exceeded every thing. "I congratulate you on the wisdom that brought you thus far to enjoy the sunshine of my presence, and my protection. The diadem, which your father could not leave you, nor your brothers confirm in your hand, is the gift which I bestow. The kingdom of Armenia is yours: I place you on the vacant throne. From this day you and your brothers may learn, that it is mine to raise or depose the monarchs of the earth, as my wisdom shall direct."

Such was the haughty style in which Nero spoke of himself; but he did not long support his grandeur. The coronation being over, he adjourned to Pompey's theatre, where the scene was prepared, at an enormous expense, with the most superb decorations. The stage, and the whole inside of that noble structure, were cased[14] with gold. Such a profusion of wealth and magnificence had never been displayed to view. To screen the spectators from the rays of the sun, a purple canopy, inlaid with golden stars, was spread over their heads. In the centre was seen, richly embroidered, the figure of Nero in the act of driving a curricle. To the exhibitions of the theatre the pleasures of the table succeeded. The banquet[15] was the most sumptuous that taste and luxury could contrive. When the appetite of the guests was satisfied, the public diversions were once more resumed. Nero seized the opportunity to display his talents; and he, who a little before was master of the universe, appeared in the character of charioteer, comedian, singer, and buffoon. He sung on the stage, and drove round the circus in his green livery.[16] The king of Armenia saw the prince, who talked of dealing out crowns and sceptres, warbling a tune, and managing the reins for the entertainment of his subjects. Such despicable talents, he knew, could neither form a warrior nor a legislator. His glory, it was now evident, depended on the virtue and genius of men very different from himself. How he found a people tame enough to obey, and general officers willing to command his armies was matter of wonder to the Parthian prince. Struck with that idea, he could not refrain from saying to Nero, in the simplicity of his heart,[17] "You have in Corbulo a most valuable slave." The drift and good sense of the observation made no impression on a frivolous mind like that of Nero. An emperor, who placed his glory in being a scenic performer, paid no attention to the merit of Corbulo. If he understood the reflection of the eastern prince, he showed afterwards that the only use he made of it was, to nourish a secret jealousy, and plan

11 Suetonius, s. 13. See also Dio, lib. lxiii.

12 The Sun, under the name of MITHRA, was worshipped by the Persians, and almost all the eastern nations. See Hyde, History of the Persian Religion.

13 The speech of Tiridates, and Nero's answer, are recorded by Dio Cassius, lib. lxiii.

14 Pliny mentions the decorations of the theatre, and the vast display of gold for the reception of Tiridates. *Nero Pompeii theatrum operuit auro in unum diem, quod Tiridati regi Armeniæ ostenderet.* Lib. xxxiii. s. 3. See also Dio Cassius, lib. lxiii.

15 Dio says, this feast was given in Nero's golden palace; for which, see Pliny, lib. xxxiii. s. 3.

16 Rome under the emperors, was often disturbed by the violent spirit of theatrical factions, the leaders of which were distinguished by the colour of their dress, such as *white*, *blue*, *green*, and *yellow*. This is what Tacitus, in another place, has called HISTRIONALIS FAVOR. Montesquieu has considered it as one of the causes of the declension of the Roman empire. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 29, note.

17 Dio relates this remark by Tiridates.

the ruin of an officer, whose fame in arms was too great for a tyrant to endure.

As soon as the diversions of the theatre and the circus ended, Nero thought fit to open a more important scene. He proceeded with a grand retinue to the capitol, where he entered with a branch of laurel in his hand; and, as if he had subdued Armenia, the charioteer and player of interludes was saluted IMPERATOR. His vanity was now amply gratified; but vanity was not the only spring of his actions. To be an adept in magic arts had been for some time his predominant passion; and, as Tiridates brought with him in his train a number of the Parthian magi, he thought the opportunity fair to learn all the secrets of an occult science, which he believed was not the mere illusion of mathematicians and pretended philosophers. Tiridates studied to ingratiate himself, and was proud to have the emperor of Rome for his pupil.[1] By his desire, the MAGI opened all their stores of knowledge, and Nero, with the anxiety of a guilty mind, was eager to pry into futurity. He was master of the Roman world, and, with the assistance of his oriental teachers, flattered himself that he should soon be able to control the ways of Providence, and give the law to the gods. With this view he passed his time in close conference with a set of Chaldean impostors; but Tiridates was not able, in return for the kingdom of Armenia, to teach his benefactor the art of holding commerce with evil spirits. Nero found the whole to be a system of fraud. Instead of being enabled to hold a council with infernal powers, he was left to the suggestions of his own heart, and the advice of a pernicious crew of abandoned men and women, who were the emperor's confidential ministers, and the instruments of every villany.

V. It is certain that Nero's passion for the guitar, and stage-music, was not greater than his ambition to excel in magic incantations; but though his hopes were frustrated, he did not cease to entertain Tiridates with the most lavish profusion. An enormous sum[2] was issued every day to the Arminian king, for the support of his own grandeur, and the courtiers in his train. At his departure a still larger sum was ordered, as a present from the emperor; and that he might rebuild the city of Artaxata,[3] which had been levelled to the ground, a number of artificers were added, at a vast expense, to the retinue of the Parthian prince, who also engaged a number of others to attend him, for stipulated wages, to his own country. The consequence of Nero's generosity was, that the fixing of a king on the throne of Armenia, was a heavier burden to the Romans than any of their most expensive wars.

There is reason to think, that the want of success in the attempt to make Nero believe in the religion of the MAGI, served, in some degree, to open the eyes of Tiridates, and remove the errors of eastern superstition. In order to visit Rome, he had taken a wide compass over an immense tract of country, and travelled all the way by land. The cause of this circuitous and laborious journey must be referred to the superstition of his native country. In the creed of the Parthian magi, the sea was said to be a sacred element; [4] and to spit in it, or defile the purity of the waters by the superfluities of the human body, was held to be profane and impious. The design, probably, was by that doctrine to prevent migration, and what at first was policy received in time the sanction of religion. But Tiridates, during his stay at Rome, so far weeded out the prejudices of education, that he made no scruple to return by sea. He embarked at Brundusium,[5] and, having crossed the Adriatic, arrived at the port of Dyrrachium.[6] From that place he pursued his voyage along the coast of Asia, and, being safely landed, visited the Roman provinces, and the most splendid cities on the continent. Before he entered the confines of Armenia, Corbulo advanced to a meeting. In his interview with the Armenian monarch, he still maintained that superior character, which he had fairly earned by his talents and his virtues. Finding an extraordinary number of artificers in the prince's train, he resolved to act with due attention to the interest as well as the dignity of the Roman name; and with that view, having separated such as were hired, he suffered none but those who were a donation from Nero, to migrate to a foreign country. This behaviour gave no offence to Tiridates. He took leave of Corbulo with the highest esteem for his many virtues; and, though he entertained no kind of personal respect for Nero, he thought the regal diadem claimed a return of gratitude; and, upon that principle, as soon as the capital of Armenia was rebuilt, instead of calling it *Artaxata*, he gave it the flattering name of *Neronia*.

VI. Rome having no war upon her hands, Nero, with airs of self-congratulation, as if his valour had subdued the nations, thought fit to

1 Pliny the elder has given an account of Nero's passion for the occult sciences, lib. xxx. s. 2.

2 Suetonius says, Nero spent, in treating Tiridates with unparalleled magnificence, eight hundred thousand sesterces a day; a sum almost incredible; and at his departure presented him with above a million. Sueton. in Nero, s. 30.

3 The destruction of Artaxata has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. s. 41.

4 The superstitious veneration with which the Parthians considered the sea, has been already mentioned. Pliny says, *Tiridates navigare voluerat, quoniam expuere in maria, aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant.* Lib. xxx. s. 2.

5 See the Geographical Table.

6 For Dyrrachium, see the Geographical Table.

shut the temple of JANUS.[7] But that pacific disposition did not last long. Intoxicated by the homage which he had received from Tiridates, he wanted to renew the same scene of splendour and vain-glory, by the humiliation of Vologeses, the Parthian king. For that purpose he endeavoured, by pressing invitations, to induce that prince to undertake a journey to Rome. At length the eastern monarch gave a decisive answer: "You can cross the sea, which I hold to be a forbidden element; come to Asia, and we will then settle the ceremony of our meeting." Fired with indignation by that peremptory refusal, and the tone of grandeur with which it was delivered, Nero was upon the point of declaring war, if other projects had not dazzled his imagination. He concerted his measures, and laid plans of vast ambition; but the caprice that dictated them yielded to the first novelty that occurred. He intended to open the temple of Janus for four wars at once.[8] The first, against the Jews, who felt themselves oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of Gessius Florus, the governor of the province, and were, at that time, in open revolt. The second enterprise was intended against the Æthiopians; the third, against the Albanians on the borders of the Caspian sea; the fourth, to revenge the insult offered to him by the haughty spirit of Vologeses. The love of fame, whatever he did, was the inspiring motive: whether he sent forth his armies or drove a chariot, or sung a song, praise was still the ultimate end. If by his victorious arms the Æthiopians and Albanians could be reduced to subjection, the glory of enlarging the boundaries of the empire, was to be the bright reward. His exertions were, therefore, made against the two last-mentioned states. He sent detachments forward to survey the country; he formed flying camps in those distant regions; he began to collect the forces of the empire; and, not content with drawing from Britain, from Germany, and Illyricum, the flower of his armies, he formed a new legion, composed of men six feet high, and this he called the phalanx[9] of Alexander the Great.

Amidst this din of arms, and all this mighty tumult of warlike preparations, an incident occurred of more moment to Nero than the glory of the Roman name. A deputation arrived at Rome from the cities of Greece, where the theatre, and poetry, and music, flourished, with orders to present to the emperor, from the several places, the victor's crown[10] for minstrelsy and song. An opportunity so bright and unexpected was not to be neglected. Nero was transported with joy: he towered above himself and all competition. The deputies were admitted to his presence; they were caressed, invited to his table, and all other business, however important, gave way to the elegant arts. The Greeks were skilled in the trade of adulation. They beseeched the prince to honour them with a specimen of his talents. Nero sung to his guests; they heard, they applauded, they were thrown into ecstacies. He in his turn admired their taste; they were the only people who had music in their souls; they, and they only, had an ear for finer sound; the true masters of harmony; the judges who deserved to hear his exquisite powers. From that moment all his warlike projects vanished from his mind. He thought no more of humbling the Parthian king; the Æthiopians and Albanians might enjoy their independent state, and Vespasian might take the field against the Jews. The fame of a coachman, a minstrel, and a singer, was of greater moment. He resolved, without delay, to set out for Greece. How the administration was to be conducted during his absence, was the first consideration. That did not embarrass him long. The whole authority and all the functions of the prince were committed to Helius, one of his freedmen. That upstart minister, with Polycletus, his associate, had already enriched himself with the plunder of the public, and was now, with the whole power in his hands, to give a full display of his character. That point being settled, a weightier care still remained. An imperial charioteer, and a comedian of illustrious rank, who was to be nobly covered with Olympic dust, and to bring back laurel crowns for his victories in song and pantomime, could not undertake such an expedition without the greatest pomp. Preparations were accordingly made. The emperor seemed to be going to an important war.[11] Tigellinus put himself at the head of the companions of the Augustan order, in number not less than five thousand. To these were added an incredible multitude of abandoned harlots, and the most debauched young men of the time. The whole train went forth, not in warlike array, with swords, and pikes, and javelins, but with softer instruments; with the sock and buskin; with music, lutes and guitars. The retinue was suited to the dignity of the enterprise. An idea of the splendour and magnificence displayed on this occasion may be easily formed, when we are told that Nero never travelled with less than a thousand baggage-wagons;[12] the mules all shod with silver, and the drivers

7 Suetonius says, Nero, having placed his laurel crown in the capitol, and being complimented with the title of Imperator, closed the temple of Janus. In Nero, s. 13.

8 Suetonius mentions his intended expedition to the Caspian Sea, s. 19.

9 These levies of men six feet high, to be called the Alexandrian phalanx, are stated by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 19.

10 See Suetonius, in Nero, s. 22.

11 Suetonius, in Nero, s. 10.

12 Suetonius, in the place last cited.

dressed in scarlet; his African slaves adorned with bracelets on their arms, and the horses decorated with the richest trappings.

VII. The consuls for this year [A. U. C. 820. A. D. 67] were Fonteius Capito and Julius Rufus; but their authority was superseded by Helius, the freedman,[1] who exercised all the powers of the imperial prerogative. This man broke loose at once, and was soon felt as a public calamity. Pride and insolence, avarice and cruelty, the never-failing vices of those detestable miscreants, who from the dregs of the people rise above their fellow-citizens, marked the conduct of this favourite freedman, and debased the people, who submitted to so vile a master. All degrees and ranks of men, the senate, and the Roman knights, groaned under the iron rod of an ignoble tyrant, who confiscated their estates, sent them into banishment, or took away their lives, at his will and pleasure. The people, who shuddered at the presence of the emperor, were obliged, in misery of heart, to lament his absence.

Nero, in the meantime, arrived at Cassiopœa[2] in the isle of Corcyra, and there, in the temple of Jupiter Cassius,[3] he tuned his harp, and sung in the presence of the people. From that place he set sail for Greece. Being safely landed, his first care was, like a great officer, before he marched further into the country, to settle the plan of his operations, in order not only to gain, but to secure, his victory. With this view, he issued his public orders, requiring that all the games,[4] which were celebrated throughout Greece at stated periods, and in different years, should be performed at their respective places, during his stay in the country; and not only so, but that each city should wait for his arrival. Nor was this all: the fame of such as had proved victorious, and were then no more, was to be obliterated from the memory of man, that all preceding merit might be eclipsed by the lustre of a new performer. The statues of the deceased were all demolished.[5] The living artists were treated with less rigour. They were required to enter the lists with their imperial rival, and, upon that condition, their statues were exempted from the general destruction. Nero's love of fame was not a generous emulation; it was an impatience of a rival, that turned to envy, rancour, and malice. To be pronounced the first musician, and the best tragedian, was not enough for his vast ambition; he was likewise to be the most skilful driver of a curricle. With that bright object in view, he had for some years before meditated an expedition into Greece; and finding that the Olympic games were, in their regular course, to be celebrated in the summer, in the year of Rome eight hundred and sixteen, he even then had the precaution, by a positive command, to defer the exhibition of that great national spectacle till his arrival in Greece. The law, or, which was equivalent, his will and pleasure, being announced, the people prepared for his reception. He began his tour through the country; he visited the several cities, and gave himself a spectacle on the public stage. Greece had been reduced to subjection by Flaminius, Mummius, Agrippa, and Augustus Cæsar: and now in her turn she triumphed over the conqueror. She saw the emperor of Rome running from place to place in the character of a strolling player, a travelling musician, and a famous coachman. He did not, however, depend altogether on his merit, but practised the underhand arts by which success is often ensured. He hired a numerous party to applaud, and distributed bribes among the judges who were to decide. Wherever he performed, a legion of Roman knights was stationed in the theatre, by their own example to excite and animate the admiration of the multitude, and teach the Greeks what was excellent in the arts, which they themselves had invented, and carried to perfection. By these and such like preconcerted measures, Nero secured his triumph in all quarters. Competition was invited, and at the same time intimidated. In one of the cities, a man well skilled in music, but a bad politician, experienced the danger of contending with a powerful rival. Zealous for the honour of his art, and proud of his own talent, he persisted to dispute the prize, till the lictors drove him to the wall, and there despatched him in the sight of the audience. Vespasian had found it necessary to pass from Syria into Greece, in order to appear among the band of courtiers, and pay his homage to the emperor. But, unfortunately, he either had no ear for music, or he did not reckon it among the accomplishments of a prince. He heard that divine voice in a sullen mood, or, as happened to him at Rome upon a former occasion, he fell asleep.[6] For this offence, he was ordered to appear no more in the presence of the emperor. He retired to a small village, and there, in an obscure lurking-place, hoped to find a shelter from resentment. He remained for some time in that state of anxious suspense, when the Fates called him forth to scenes of future glory. The Jews were

1 Helius, the freedman, is mentioned by Dio Cassius in the character of a prime minister during Nero's absence from Rome. Corneille has decribed a slave rising to preferment, with the sententious brevity of Tacitus:

Jamais un affranchi n'est qu'un esclave infâme;
Bien qu'il change d'etat, il ne change point d'ame.

CINNA, act iv. scene 6.

2 See the Geographical Table.

3 The city of Cassiope, and the temple of Jupiter Cassius, are both mentioned by Pliny, lib. iv. s. 12.

4 See Suetonius, in Nero, s. 21.

5 The destruction of the statues erected to the various conquerors in the public games of Greece is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 21.

6 See Annals, book xvi. s. 5.

in the field with a powerful army; they had defeated Cestius Gallus with great slaughter, and taken an eagle from one of the legions. The crisis was big with danger, and called for vigorous measures. But Nero did not think that Judæa was the field of glory. He gave the command to Vespasian, apprehending no danger from a man of obscure descent, and austere manners, whom he was no longer willing to retain near his person. Vespasian departed to take upon him the command in Syria, and Nero continued his progress through Greece. He was received every where with public demonstrations of respect; but the people could scarce refrain from laughter, when they heard the sound of a voice neither loud nor clear, and saw the singer rising on his toes in a vain endeavour to expand the notes, and straining his organs, till a face, naturally red, was so inflamed as to vie with the deepest scarlet. Not content with the fame of an enchanting singer, he resolved to prove himself a great tragedian. The parts, in which he chose to distinguish himself,[7] were HERCULES FURENS; ŒDIPUS, who murdered his father, and tore out his own eyes; ORESTES, poniarding his mother; and sometimes a RAVISHED SABINE, or a MATRON IN LABOUR, on the point of being delivered. When he arrived at Olympia, he found, that the celebrated games of that place consisted altogether of chariot-races, and athletic exercises, and by consequence that no theatre had been erected. Was his darling music to be excluded? Rather than suffer such an indignity, he ordered preparations to be made for interludes, and other dramatic performances. Not content with being blinded on the stage; with raving like a madman, and being brought to bed like a woman; he was still to figure on the race-ground, and astonish the multitude with his dexterity in whirling round the course. Determined to perform wonders, and surpass all ancient fame, he mounted a car drawn by six horses, but had the misfortune, in the heat of his career, to be thrown from his seat. He mounted again; but either hurt by his fall, or not able to bear the velocity of the motion, he was obliged to descend before he reached the goal. He was, notwithstanding, declared conqueror. He contended afterwards for the prizes at the Pythian, the Nemean, and all the other games of Greece, with equal success at every place. He was proclaimed victor in all trials of skill, and gained no less than eighteen hundred different crowns. The honour so obtained was always understood to reflect a lustre on the conqueror's native country. With a view to that custom, the form of the proclamation[8] in favour of Nero was as follows: "NERO CÆSAR IS VICTOR IN THE COMBAT (naming it), AND HAS WON THE CROWN FOR THE ROMAN PEOPLE, AND THE UNIVERSE, OF WHICH HE IS MASTER." Care was taken to transmit to Rome a regular account of all his victories. Such a career of rapid success made the people stand at gaze. The senate passed a vote of thanks to the gods for such signal events, and, by their decrees, so loaded the calendar, that the year could scarce find room for so many rejoicing days.

VIII. Nero now conceived that he had triumphed over the arts, and, in the pride of his heart, resolved to make a progress through the conquered country. He took care, however, not to visit Athens or Lacedæmon. In the former, he dreaded to approach the temple of the Eumenides. A mind lashed and goaded by the whips and stings of a guilty conscience wished to avoid those avenging deities.[9] He was deterred from Lacedæmon by the form of government, and the sanctity of the laws established by Lycurgus. The place where the Eleusinian mysteries[10] were celebrated, was also forbidden ground. Murderers and parricides were excluded from those religious ceremonies. Nero was seized with a fit of remorse. Busy reflection brought to light the iniquities of his conduct; in the agitation of his spirits he reviewed those deeds of horror, which forbore to goad him, while his mind was becalmed by vanity and pleasure. Conscience may grant a truce to the guilty, but never makes a lasting peace. Distracted by his fears, and sunk in the gloom of superstition,[11] he resolved to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Pythian priestess warned him to beware of seventy-three years.[12] He received the admonition as a certain promise of long life, not then thinking of Galba, who had reached his seventy-third year, and in a short time after succeeded to the imperial dignity. The oracle pleased him at first by agreeable bodings, but did not continue long in his good graces. The parricide, he was told, which he had committed,

7 Dio Cassius tells us, that when Nero performed the part of *Canace*, one of the spectators asked, What is he doing now? A man answered, *He is in labour*. For a list of the characters acted by Nero, see Suetonius, in Nero, s. 21.

8 See Crevier's Roman Emperors, Life of Nero, vol. iv. p. 304.

9 Suetonius says, Nero, after the murder of his mother, was not able to bear the reproaches of his own conscience, though he had received the congratulatory addresses of the army, the senate and the people; he frequently confessed that he was haunted by his mother's ghost following him with the whips and burning torches of the Furies. *Exagitari se materna specie, verberibus furiarum ac tædis ardentibus.* In Nero, s. 34.

10 When Nero made the tour of Greece, he did not dare to attend the Eleusinian mysteries, having heard the crier warning all impious and nefarious villains not to approach the place. Sueton. in Nero, s. 34.

11 Suetonius says, he attempted to call up his mother's ghost, in order to appease and mollify her wrath. In Nero, s. 34.

12 See this related by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 34.

placed him in the same rank with Alcmeon and Orestes, who had murdered their mothers. Nero kindled with indignation. He resolved that the god should feel his resentment, and, in his fury, disfranchised the territory of Cirrha,[1] which had been appropriated to the temple, and was held to be consecrated ground. Nor did his phrensy end here. The oracle was to be silenced, or so profaned as to lose its credit. With this intent, he ordered a number of men to be massacred on the spot; and having poured libations of their blood into the opening of the ground, from which the exhalations issued, that were supposed to inspire the priestess with enthusiastic fury, he closed the orifice, and with pride and insolence left a place which had been revered for ages. After this exploit, he returned to his former luxury, and in the gratifications of vice hoped to find some respite from his anxious thoughts. But even vice required variety. Repetition might pall the sated appetite, and, if he did not show an inventive genius, the flattery of the Greeks was in danger of being exhausted. He had made himself at Rome the wife of Pythagoras,[2] but that was become an obsolete story, and no longer excited wonder. He was determined, therefore, to resume his sex, and marry Sporus, the eunuch. The ceremony was performed[3] with great pomp and splendour. Calvia Crispinilla[4] was appointed mistress of the wardrobe to the emperor's wife. She adorned the bride with all the decorations of female elegance; and Tigellinus, amidst the applause of the astonished Greeks, who, with arch sneers of ridicule, had still the address to pay their adulation, gave away Sporus in marriage to the emperor of Rome. It was said upon the occasion, that it would have been well for mankind, if Nero's father had been married to such a wife.

IX. Nero could not, in this unbounded manner, riot in vice and folly without vast expense, and a prodigious waste of the public treasure. To supply his prodigality, Helius the freedman, who conducted the administration at Rome, laboured hard, by every iniquitous measure, by extortion, and cruelty, to raise enormous sums of money. A tame and complying senate was easily induced by the arts of the prime minister, to vote an immense annual sum to be remitted to the emperor, during his absence from the capital. The rapacity of Helius was not to be appeased. The companions of the Augustan society[5] had bound themselves by a vow to erect a statue to Nero, not less than a thousand pound weight. By that voluntary obligation they were said to have incurred a debt, and were compelled to advance an equivalent sum of money. No rank or station was safe from plunder and oppression. Roman knights and senators fell a sacrifice, and their estates were confiscated. Sulpicius Camerinus,[6] a man descended from an illustrious family, was put to death for an extraordinary reason. The surname of Pythicus had been for ages annexed to his ancestors, and was, consequently, an hereditary honour. By the fertile invention of Helius this was construed into a crime. The name might imply a victor in the Pythian games; and when Nero, with the consenting voice of Greece, was declared universal conqueror, to usurp that title was a crime of violated majesty, and an impious sacrilege. Sulpicius and his son were put to death, and their effects were forfeited to the state. Wealth, in whatever rank, was sure to provoke the hand of rapacity, and Rome, under the government of a presuming and arrogant freedman, was a scene of plunder, blood, and cruelty. And yet all that could be amassed by those iniquitous means, was not sufficient for the prodigality of Nero. The Greeks had flattered his vanity, and, in return, were doomed to feel the hand of oppression. The cities, which had revered him as a god, had reason in the end to execrate him as a tyrant. They saw their best and most distinguished citizens put to death, or sent into banishment, that the emperor might enjoy the spoils of their plundered property.[7]

X. The fame of a divine voice, and an exquisite hand on the guitar, was not sufficient for the ambition of Nero. He wished to distinguish himself by some unheard of enterprise. The grand, the vast, and almost impossible, fired his imagination. He arrived at Corinth, and was there surprised to see by what a narrow isthmus the two seas were separated. Like the hero of Statius the poet, he heard the murmur of the billows, on the Ionian and the Ægean shores; *in meditis audit duo litora campis.* The project of piercing through the land, and forming a navigable canal to communicate the two seas, and

1 The territory of Cirrha was for many years annexed to the temple of Delphi; hence Lucan says in his address to Nero:

Sed mihi jam numen; nec si te pectore vates
Accipiam, Cirrhæa velim secreta moventem
Solicitare Deum.

PHARSAL. lib. i. ver. 63.

2 He became the wife of Pythagoras. Annals, xv. s. 37.

3 Chrysostomus says, Oration xxi. Nero offered a great reward to the person, who should change Sporus into a woman; and there were not wanting empirics, who promised to accomplish that metamorphosis.

4 For more of her, see History, i. s. 73; and see Dio, lib. lxiii.

5 See Crevier, Life of Nero.

6 For Sulpicius Camerinus, see Annals, xiii. s. 52; and see Crevier, vol. iv. p. 310.

7 Nero's dislike of every great man at Rome, joined to his rapacity, induced him, by means of his satellites, to kill, or force to despatch themselves, the richest and most illustrious of those, who till then had escaped his cruelty. Crevier, vol. iv. p. 311.

render it unnecessary for mariners to sail round the Peloponnesus, struck his fancy, and fired him with ideas of immortal fame.[8] The Greeks opposed the design, and endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking it. The language of superstition was, that to attempt to join what had been severed for ages, would be an impious violation of the laws of nature. Nero was not to be deterred from his purpose; religious principles were urged in vain; to conquer nature were an imperial work, and what the gods ordained, might be new-modelled by his superior judgment. He knew, besides, that the attempt had been made by Demetrius Policrates, an eastern king, by Julius Cæsar and Caligula,[9] and to accomplish an arduous work, which those three princes had undertaken without effect, appeared to him the height of human glory. He resolved, therefore, to begin the work without delay. Having harangued the prætorian soldiers, and urged every topic that could inflame their ardour, he provided himself with a golden pick-axe (for such hands were not to be sullied by baser metal), and, advancing on the shore, sung in melodious strains a hymn to Neptune, Amphitrite, and all the inferior gods and goddesses, who allay or heave the waters of the deep. After this ceremony, he struck the first stroke into the ground, and with a basket of sand on his shoulder, marched away in triumph, proud of his Herculean labour. The natives of the country saw the frantic enterprise with mixed emotions of fear, astonishment, and religious horror. They observed to Nero, that of the three princes, who had conceived the same design, not one died a natural death. They told him further, that, in some places, as soon as the axe pierced the ground, a stream of blood gushed from the wound; hollow groans were heard from subterraneous caverns; and various spectres, emitting a feeble murmur, were seen to glide along the coast. These remonstrances made no impression. Nero ordered his soldiers to exert their utmost vigour; money was levied in every quarter; cruelty and extortion went hand in hand. In order to procure a sufficient number of workmen, the jails in all parts of the empire were ransacked, and the armies in Syria and Palestine had it in command to send to Corinth all the prisoners taken in battle.

The conduct of the war against the Jewish nation had been, as mentioned above, committed to Vespasian, who had already carried his victorious arms through the province of Galilee. The enemy, as soon as they had intelligence that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army, endeavoured to surprise a Roman garrison in the city of Ascalon,[10] but were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. Not less than eighteen thousand were put to the sword by the legions, who had orders to give no quarter. Vespasian found it necessary, against a fierce and obstinate race, at that time for their manifold crimes devoted to destruction, to forget the maxims of Roman clemency. It is certain that those merciful conquerors never spilled so much hostile blood in any of their wars from the first foundation of Rome. The city of Gadara[11] was taken by storm, and reduced to ashes. The garrison and the whole body of the inhabitants perished in the flames. In the meantime, Trajan, whose son was afterwards emperor of Rome, was sent, at the head of the tenth legion, to spread terror and destruction through the country. He laid siege to the city of Japha,[12] and, meeting with an obstinate resistance, carried the works by assault. All who were capable of bearing arms, in number not less than fifteen thousand, were put to the sword. The Samaritans, who had collected their forces on Mount Garizim,[13] were treated with the same severity. Cerealis, who afterwards commanded against Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, and also in Britain, had orders to march with three thousand foot and six hundred horse to attack the fastnesses on the hills, and dislodge the enemy. He formed lines of circumvallation round the hill, and by close blockade cut off all communication with the adjacent country. The Samaritans were reduced by famine to the last distress; yet, even in that condition, held out to the last with determined obstinacy. Cerealis ordered his men to advance up the hill. The soldiers forced their way up the steep ascent, and with resistless valour soon gained the summit. A dreadful carnage followed. Twelve thousand of the Samaritans perished on the spot. The city of Gamala[14] was taken by assault, and the garrison, with all the inhabitants, put to the sword.

Vespasian, during these operations, carried on the siege of Jotapata,[15] the strongest place in Galilee. Josephus,[16] the historian, had been appointed governor of the province, and he now commanded the garrison, determined to make a vigorous defence, and hold out to the last extremity. The particulars of the siege are related by himself, and therefore need not to be here

8 For this attempt to penetrate the isthmus of Corinth, see Suetonius, in Nero, s. 19; and Dio, lib. lxiii.

9 Pliny relates this fact: *Perfodere aliquo navigabili angustias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, dictator Cæsar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero, infausto (ut omnium patuit exitu) incœpto.*

10 For Ascalon, see the Geographical Table.

11 See the Geographical Table.

12 For Japha, see the Geographical Table.

13 See the Geographical Table.

14 For Gamala, see the Geographical Table.

15 For the city of Jotapata, see the Geographical Table.

16 The works of Josephus are well known. They contain a mixture of good sense and credulity, of truth and fable.

repeated. It will be sufficient to say, that he discharged all the duties of an able officer, by his own example, no less than by his spirited exhortations, animating the soldiers, and in every part of the works exciting them to deeds of valour. The siege lasted seven and forty days. In one of the approaches to the walls, Vespasian was wounded by a lance aimed at him from the works; but he bore the pain with such silent fortitude, that no ill consequence followed. On the forty-seventh day of the siege, the inhabitants still refusing to capitulate, the signal was given for a general assault. Titus, at the head of a chosen band, scaled the walls, and was the first that entered the town. In that dreadful crisis it does not appear that Josephus either faced the danger, or discharged the functions of a general officer. Except the women and children, and about twelve hundred prisoners, all who were found in the town died in one general carnage. Josephus was afterwards found concealed in a cave. Vespasian spared his life, and the historian survived to write an account of the siege, intermixed, indeed, with some romantic circumstances, but containing various matter for the information of posterity. The city of Tarichæa,[1] which had been the receptacle of a turbulent and seditious rabble from all sides of the country, was compelled, after an obstinate resistance, to open her gates to Titus. Vespasian ordered twelve hundred of the most fierce incendiaries to be put to death, as a public example, and, in compliance with Nero's letter, sent six thousand prisoners[2] to work at the isthmus of Corinth.

XI. While Vespasian pursued his conquests, and, in one campaign, overran the province of Galilee, Rome was a scene of tumult and distraction. Helius reigned like a second emperor: the people called him the worst of the two. Each day produced new proofs of avarice, cruelty, and all the vices of an upstart slave. The senators began to wake from their lethargy; the clamours of the populace were loud and fierce; rage and indignation glowed in every breast; and the flame was ready to mount into a blaze. The freedman saw his danger. He despatched letters to inform the emperor that the urgency of his affairs required his presence at Rome.[3] But Nero's vast designs were of too much importance. His answer to the favourite was, "You advise me to return to Rome, but whatever your reasons are, you ought rather to recommend a longer absence; that I may finish my grand undertaking, and then revisit the capital, crowned with immortal glory." He saw the number of labourers sent by Vespasian, and, in consideration of that timely succour, forgave the merit of that victorious general. Corbulo[4] had not the good fortune to be remembered with equal moderation. Tiridates had mentioned him with the praise due to his virtue, and his fame in arms. That commendation was sufficient to provoke the ingratitude of a tyrant, who beheld distinguished talents with a jealous eye, and suffered no man to be great and virtuous with impunity. Being at length determined to execute the bloody purpose, which he had for some time harboured in secret, he wrote to Corbulo in terms of great esteem and kindness, calling him his friend and benefactor, and expressing his ardent wish to have an interview with a general who had rendered such signal services to the empire. Having sent that insidious invitation, he held a private correspondence with Arrius Varus, who served in Asia; a young man of a daring spirit, in haste to rise by his crimes. To fabricate a charge against his commanding officer, he knew would be the way to ingratiate himself with Nero. He sent a formal accusation, loaded with every crime that calumny could suggest. Corbulo fell into the snare. A mind like his, impregnated with honour and heroic fortitude, could admit no suspicion of intended treachery. He embarked without any retinue, and landed at Cenchreæ, a Corinthian harbour in the Ægean sea. Nero was there at the time, dressed in his pantomime garb, and ready to mount the stage, when the arrival of his general officer was announced. He felt the indecency of giving an audience in his comedian's dress to a man, whom he respected, while he hated him. To free himself from all embarrassment, he took the shortest way, and sent a death warrant. Corbulo saw too late that honesty is too often the dupe of the ignoble mind. He scorned to expostulate. "I have deserved this," he said, and fell upon his sword.[5]

The blood of one great man could not appease the cruelty of Nero. Whoever was eminent for talents, riches, or nobility of birth, was considered as a state criminal. In that number were the two Scribonii, Rufus and Proculus, who had lived in perfect harmony, with mutual esteem, and true brotherly affection. Their fortunes were a joint stock. They assisted each other in the road to honours, and both together rose to stations of high authority; one on the Upper, and the other on the Lower Rhine. While they discharged their respective duties with integrity, and unwearied zeal for the public service, Pactius Africanus[6] was their secret enemy. This man had the ear of Nero, and knew how to

1 For the city of Tarichæa, see Suetonius, in Tito, s. 4; and see the Geographical Table.

2 Josephus says, Vespasian supplied Nero with six thousand Jews, all strong young men, chosen out of a vast number of prisoners.

3 Suetonius, in Nero, s. 23.

4 For the fate of Corbulo, see Dio, lib. lxiii.

5 The tame submission with which so many brave and eminent men received orders to die, fills the mind with astonishment and indignation.

6 For Pactius Africanus, see History, iv. s. 41.

transfuse his own malignity into the heart of a prince too fatally prone to evil deeds. The virtues of the Scribonii were, by his artful misrepresentation, converted into crimes; the happy concord, in which they lived, was a conspiracy against the state; and their fame and credit in the German armies were the means of two ambitious politicians, not the end of their actions. By conciliating the good will of the soldiers, they hoped to overturn the government. Nero took the alarm, and, under a specious pretence of doing honour to the two brothers, invited them to his court. They obeyed his orders. As soon as they arrived in Greece, a new scene was opened. An audience was refused; they were forbid to appear in the emperor's presence; subborned accusations were presented in form: and the unhappy brothers found themselves in the sad condition of state-criminals. They desired to be heard in their defence. The act of justice was denied. They knew, that, under a despotic prince, the interval between the opening of an accusation and the catastrophe is always short. They resolved not to wait the tyrant's pleasure, but to deliver themselves with Roman fortitude from an ignominious death. They opened their veins, and expired together.

The fate of Crassus,[7] who derived an illustrious lineage from Pompey the Great, and Crassus the triumvir, may be mentioned in this place. Historians have not fixed the time of his death with precision; but it is certain that he fell a victim to the cruelty of Nero. Crassus, his father, with Scribonia, his mother, and a brother, who was named Cneius Pompeius Magnus, had been cut off by the emperor Claudius.[8] But the family, in the opinion of Aquileius Regulus,[9] had not shed blood enough. That pernicious informer knew that to be accused, was to be condemed. He invented a charge of an atrocious nature, and Crassus shared the fate of his murdered family. He left two brothers; the eldest, Crassus Scribonianus; the youngest, the unfortunate Piso, at that time a banished man, but afterwards adopted by Galba,[10] too soon to fall from that dangerous eminence.

During these bloody tragedies, the great business of piercing the isthmus was not neglected. The work began at a place called Lechæum,[11] a sea-port on the Ionian sea. It went on with strenuous exertion for a number of days. A trench was dug four stadia in length, which was computed to be a tenth part of the isthmus. But the flame of discord was lighted up at Rome. A storm was gathering in Gaul, and commotions shook every part of the empire. In that alarming conjuncture, Helius thought fit to leave his associate Polycletus, as his vicegerent at Rome, and he himself passed over into Greece. He met Nero at Corinth, and, by giving him, in striking colours, a dreadful picture of the state of affairs, enforced the necessity of returning to the capital. The grand enterprise was abandoned, and the Ionian and Ægean seas were left to flow in the direction which nature had appointed. But still there was an object that attracted Nero's fond regard. The time of celebrating the Isthmian games was near at hand. His favourite passion hurried him to the place. The pugilist and the charioteer banished from his mind all fear of plots and insurrections. He thought of the crowns of victory which he had obtained in every quarter. His heart expanded with joy, with self-congratulation, and gratitude towards a people, who had declared him matchless, and unrivalled in all the games and exercises throughout the country. It behoved so great a conqueror to leave a lasting monument of munificence, and imperial grandeur. Elate with pride, and touched with generous sentiments, he resolved to give Greece her liberty. With that design he repaired to the forum. Nor did he suffer his gracious intention to be uttered by the public crier. Such a gift required the accents of his own heavenly voice. He ascended the tribunal of harangues, and, having declared Greece a free country,[12] set sail for Italy.

XII. The consuls next in office were Galerius Trachalus and Silius Italicus. [A. U. C. 821. A. D. 68.] They were both men of genius; both addicted to study, and distinguished by their extensive literature. Trachalus[13] was an orator in great celebrity, always copious, and often sublime. Silius Italicus[14] had also distinguished

7 For the fate of Crassus, see Crevier, vol. iv. p. 313.

8 See the History, book iv. s. 42.

9 For Regulus, see Pliny the Younger, lib. i. epist. 5; and Life of Agricola, s. 2, note.

10 For Piso, adopted by Galba, see History, i. s. 15 and 16.

11 See the Geographical Table.

12 Suetonius in Nero, s. 24.

13 Trachalus was an orator of eminence, commended by Quintilian, lib. x. cap. i. He is also mentioned by Tacitus, History, i. s. 90.

14 In the list of Roman poets, whom Quintilian has criticised, no mention is made of Silius Italicus. It is therefore probable, that his work had not appeared, when Quintilian published his Institutes, in the reign of Domitian. Silius (like Lucan before him) undertook to make a great historical event the subject of an epic poem; but departing from the precedent left by Lucan, he has interwoven with the truth too much of fable, and what the critics call machinery. The poem, however, has many beautiful passages. The author raised a considerable fortune, and was possessed of two villas: one that had been the property of Cicero, and the other of Virgil. He lived to the age of seventy-five, and then put an end to his days by abstinence; being instructed in the stoic school, and by the practice of the age, that suicide was not against the law of nature. Seneca, the admired philosopher, has, among many others, the following maxim: "Live so as to welcome death; and even, if you think fit, to seek it. Whether it comes to you, or you go to it, is immaterial." *Exerce te, ut mortem et excipias, et, si ita res suadebit, arcessas. Interest nihil, an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos.* Epist.

himself at the bar, but not with unblemished reputation. He knew that, under Nero, to be the accuser of innocence was the road to preferment; but he returned to the paths of virtue, and by his poetry, which he published afterwards, transmitted his name to posterity. During his consulship, Nero returned from Greece, to close the scene of vice and folly. After a tempestuous voyage, he arrived at Naples, where the first displays of his genius had been seen in their dawn.[1] His fame was now in its meridian lustre. The conqueror in the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Isthmian games, was to enter the city in triumph; and for this purpose the usual avenues were not sufficient. The occasion required something new and extraordinary. The custom in Greece was, to throw down part of the city wall,[2] that the conqueror in the sacred games might enter through the breach. Nero ordered an opening to be made for himself, and entered the city in a triumphal car, drawn by six milk-white horses. The splendour of the day exceeded the triumph of Flaminius[3] or Mummius. They had obtained victories, and subdued a nation: but what Roman triumphed over the arts of Greece? Who, before Nero, was declared the best charioteer, and the finest player on the guitar? From Naples he went to Antium,[4] his native city, and there displayed the same pomp and ceremony. But Rome was the place where his pride was to appear in all its grandeur. A long procession led the way. His crowns of victory in the various games glittered to the eye, and inscriptions, in glaring letters, blazoned forth the fame of Nero, the first Roman who gained the prize of theatrical talents. Festive songs, and thanksgiving hymns, were sung, not to Jupiter,[5] the guardian god of Rome, but to Apollo, the deity of singers and harpers. The triumphal car, in which Augustus had been seen, was brought forth on the occasion. That emperor, after all his victories, entered the city in triumph: Nero sat in the same carriage, a coachman and a player. Augustus was attended by Agrippa: Nero had by his side Diodorus, the musician. The streets resounded with acclamations: "Io! Victory! Victory! in the Olympic, the Parthian, and the Isthmian games! Io! the conqueror of Greece! Happy the people who heard that melodious voice!" Victims were slain, incense rose to heaven, and flowers[6] covered all the way.

Nero returned to his palace. Pomp and splendour were at an end; the scenes of vanity passed away, and he was left at leisure to think and to be wretched. Helius had told him that the conjuncture was big with danger. Plots, insurrections, and conspiracies, filled his mind with dreadful apprehensions. A conspiracy,[7] beyond all question, was actually formed, and ready to break out, had it not been discovered by a trifling accident. It happened that one of the conspirators,[8] towards the close of the day, passed by the theatre. He saw in one of the porticos, a man loaded with fetters, and in bitterness of heart bewailing his unhappy lot. Upon inquiry, it was found that he was to be led into the presence of Nero, which he considered as sure destruction. The conspirator was touched with compassion. He drew nearer to the prisoner, and, to assuage his fears, whispered in his ear, "Have a good heart; live till to-morrow, and you will have reason to thank me as your deliverer." These were words of comfort to a wretch who expected instant death. His hopes revived; such welcome tidings filled him with delight and wonder; but wonder was the strongest emotion. The novelty of an incident so unexpected fixed his attention. By what means he was to be delivered from impending ruin? Nothing but a dark conspiracy could bring about such an event. He resolved to reveal all he knew. The merit of a discovery, made in time, would not only secure his life, but lead on to fortune. He desired to be conducted to the prince. The conspirator was immediately seized and put to the torture. His courage was for some time undaunted, unsubdued. He denied the whole of the charge. But protracted misery was too much to bear. His resolution failed. The names of his accomplices were

lxix. It was not understood by Seneca, nor was the light of nature strong enough to inform the stoic school, that the life into which we are called, ought to be preserved during the pleasure of the Supreme Being that gave it. Pliny the consul gives an account of the death of Silius Italicus. Towards the end of a long life, he had contracted an incurable disease, and therefore resolved to close the scene. He had practised at the bar in the beginning of life, and, in Nero's time, incurred the disgrace of being a voluntary accuser. *Laserat famam suam sub Nerone, credebatur sponte accusasse.* But he afterwards, in a more retired life, retrieved his reputation. *Maculam veteris industriæ laudabili otio abluerat.* He was a poet, but he wrote with more care than genius. *Scribebat carmina majore cura, quam ingenio.* He possessed a number of villas, and had a large collection of books, statues, and pictures. He celebrated Virgil's birth-day, and visited his tomb near Naples, as if it were a temple. It was his glory, that Nero perished in his consulship, and by that event the world was delivered from a monster. Pliny, book iii. epist. 7. Martial has left several epigrams, in praise of Silius Italicus, whom, as it seems, he esteemed and loved.

1 Suetonius in Nero, s. 25.

2 This custom is recorded by Vitruvius, book ix. and Suetonius, s. 25.

3 Flaminius triumphed over the last Philip of Macedon, and Mummius conquered Corinth.

4 For Antium, see the Geographical Table.

5 Suetonius mentions the car of Augustus, and the procession to the temple of Apollo, s. 25.

6 Suetonius, s. 25.

7 This was, probably, the conspiracy formed by Vinicius. See Sueton. in Nero, s. 36.

8 The particulars here related, are told by Plutarch, in his Essay on Garrulity.

extorted by the violence of pain, and all were condemned to suffer. A scene of blood was laid, and Nero's superstition ascribed the discovery of the plot to the miraculous interposition of the gods.

Having conquered his enemies, and secured the future tranquillity of his reign, he thought it time to give a loose to his libidinous passions, and pursue his theatrical amusements. For this purpose he removed to Naples, the place of perfect security, and the seat of pleasure. His halcyon days were soon interrupted. A storm had been for some time gathering in Gaul, and threatened at length to shake the empire to its foundation. There was in that part of the empire a native of the country, descended from the kings of Aquitain, by name[9] Julius Vindex. His father had been raised by Claudius to the dignity of senator, and the son was made governor of a province with the rank and powers of a Roman proprætor. This man, without an army under his command, and without any resources, except what he found in his own personal courage, and the generous ardour of an independent spirit, undertook to free the world from bondage. He knew that an enterprise so bold and daring required the co-operation of the provinces of Gaul and the Roman legions. With that view, he sent despatches to Galba,[10] at that time governor of the nethermost Spain, and made him a tender of the imperial dignity. Galba deduced his pedigree from the ancient family of the Sulpicii: his mother, by her paternal line, was descended from Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth, and by her mother's side, from Quintus Catulus, the pride and ornament of the old republic. He was consul under Tiberius, in the year of Rome seven hundred and eighty. He commanded in Germany in the reign of Caligula, and, afterwards, under Claudius was proconsul of Africa. His illustrious birth, his military fame, and high credit with the legions in every army, pointed him out as the proper person to depose a prince, whose cruelty made him detestable, and whose folly rendered even tyranny itself ridiculous. Galba received the despatches sent by Vindex with the frigid caution of a man far advanced in life. He was more than seventy years old, and that age is not the season of ambition. To slide in quiet through the remainder of his days, seemed to be all that he desired from fortune; but, under that outward calm, the sparks of a dying passion were rekindled. And yet the enterprise proposed to him was big with danger, and the issue doubtful. Prudence conspired with indolence, and he remained silent and inactive. The governors of all the other provinces had been, in like manner, solicited to enter into the Gallic league: they hated Nero; but instead of declaring open hostility, they thought it more advisable to provide for their own safety, by sending to Rome the letters which they had received from Vindex. Galba suppressed his in silence. Nero received the news with joy and exultation. His finances, he said, were well nigh exhausted, and the forfeited estates of the insurgents would be the ways and means, by which he intended to fill his treasury. He considered Galba's silence as a proof of guilt. Without further inquiry, he confiscated all his property at Rome, and despatched assassins, with orders to put him to death.

Vindex, in the mean time, exerted himself with unremitting vigour to rouse the people of Gaul. He went to the various cities, and lighted up the flame of war in every quarter. He called a public convention of the states, and harangued the assembly, in substance as follows:[11] "We live," he said, "not under laws and civil government, but under the will of a single tyrant. Vice and cruelty lord it over mankind. The provinces groan under the yoke of oppression: our houses are pillaged; our wives and daughters are violated, and our relations basely murdered. Of all our misery Nero is the author. What crime so great that he has not dared to perpetrate? His mother died by his murderous hand. That horrible parricide makes the heart recoil; but Agrippina deserved her fate. She brought a monster into the world. At length the measure of his guilt is full. The east is up in arms; Britain in commotion; and the legions in Spain and Germany are on the eve of a revolt; and shall the nations of Gaul stand lingering in suspense? What consideration is there to restrain your ardour? Shall the titles of Cæsar, of Augustus, of Prince, and Imperator, throw a false lustre round a man, who has disgraced his rank, and made majesty ridiculous? These eyes, my friends, these eyes have seen him a fiddler, a mountebank, and a pantomime actor. Instead of his imperial titles, call him Thyestes, Œdipus, Alcmæon, and Orestes. Those names are suited to his crimes. How long are we to submit to such a master? Our forefathers took the city of Rome by storm: and what was their motive? In those days the love of plunder was sufficient to provoke a war. We have a nobler cause; the cause of public liberty. It is that, my friends, it is that glorious cause that now invites us. Let us obey the call, and draw the avenging sword. The nations round us, fired with indignation, are ready to assert their rights. Let them not be the first

9 See Suetonius in Nero, s. 40.

10 The Hither Spain was called *Hispania Tarraconensis* In that province, Galba received letters from Vindex, requesting him to put himself at the head of mankind, the assertor of public liberty. Sueton. in Galba, s. 9.

11 This speech of Vindex is recorded by Dio, lib. lxiii.

to prove themselves men. The enterprise has in it all that is dear to man, all that is great in human nature; and shall we not be the first to seize the glorious opportunity? Let us go forth at once, and be the deliverers of the world."

This speech was received with shouts of applause. The deputies, inflamed with ardour in the cause of liberty, returned to their respective cities; a warlike spirit was kindled in the mass of the people; a league was formed, and the din of arms was heard in every part of the country. Galba was informed of all that passed. He also knew that he was proscribed by Nero, and that his effects were sold by public auction. The tide of affairs rushed on with a swell that overpowered a mind by nature indolent, and enfeebled by age. In the number of Galba's friends Titus Vinius was the only person that endeavoured to rouse his drooping spirit. To hesitate in such a juncture, appeared to him a privation of mind nothing short of madness. The only question, he said, was, which was most eligible, to act in conjunction with Vindex, or to wage war against him; against a man who wished to depose a tyrant, and call to the succession a prince who possessed the virtues of humanity? Galba saw the necessity of taking a decided part, but his natural irresolution was not easily conquered. He wished to sound the inclinations of the people, and, for that purpose, summoned a grand council to meet at New Carthage[1] in order, as he pretended, to settle the manumission of slaves. His friends knew that greater matters were in agitation, and accordingly, spread a general alarm. On the day appointed, an incredible multitude assembled from all parts of the country. Galba ascended the tribunal, prepared by a well-imagined artifice to speak at once to the eye and the ear. The images of the most illustrious of both sexes,[2] who had fallen a sacrifice to Nero's cruelty, were ranged in regular order round the council-chamber. The silent eloquence of that pathetic scene he knew would assist the orator, and inflame the passions of his audience. He began his harangue without the usual approaches of a studied introduction. The business was of the first importance, and he rushed into it at once, with warmth and vehemence. He painted forth the horrors of Nero's reign, the acts of oppression that laid waste the provinces, and the murders that thinned the noblest families. If proofs were necessary, he looked round the hall, and "behold," he said, "behold there in glaring colours the evidence of the worst iniquity. Judge not of Nero by my words: view him with your own eyes. Those images inform against him. Lo! there the ghastly features of the murdered Cæsars! You see Nero's mother, brother, and sister! his wife, his aunt, his nearest relations! his wretched friends! all butchered, all destroyed, by the sword, by famine, by poison, by every villany! Direct your eyes to yonder wall; you there behold Burrhus, Lateranus, Vestinus, Cassius, and Lucius Vetus, with a long train of the first men in Rome! They suffered for their talents and their virtues. Nor is this all: think of your own native genius; call to mind the men born in Spain, who were the ornaments of Roman literature, and an honour to their country. There lies Seneca,[3] the enlightened philosopher: he bleeds in a bath, and with his last breath teaches the precepts of wisdom! Your great poet, Lucan, whose bosom glowed with the love of freedom, repeats his own immortal verses, and expires; his father, Annæus Mela, falls a victim, because he was the brother of your great philosopher, and the father of such a son. Survey that group; you have there Pætus Thrasea, and Bareas Soranus, who were virtue itself. See that train of illustrious women: Sextia, Pollutia, and Servilia, all led to execution. That boy is Rufinus Crispinus,[4] the son of Poppæa by her first husband; and notwithstanding his tender age and innocence, they dash him from a rock into the sea. Behold this youth,[5] whom I have brought before you from one of the Balearic islands, where he was condemned to live in exile. He is too young to know the nature of a crime, or his own wretched lot. Not yet a citizen, and, behold! he is banished from his country. These are the exploits of Nero. Vindex has undertaken to be the deliverer of his country. For you, and all Spain, I am willing to brave every danger. My commission is from the senate, and the Roman people. I disclaim the authority of Nero: to me he is no longer emperor. I know that by him I am adjudged to death; but, if you resolve to assert your rights, if you make a common cause with me in that glorious struggle, I am willing to close my days in your service." This speech inflamed the multitude with uncommon ardour. The place resounded with acclamations,

1 Now *Carthagena*, in Spain.

2 See Suetonius, in Galba, s. 10.

3 Seneca, and his brother Annæus Mela, were born at Corduba, in Spain. Lucan, the poet, was a native of the same country.

4 Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Poppæa, by her first husband. He was used, among his play-fellows, to act the part of a general, or an emperor, and for that boyish amusement was ordered to be drowned in the sea. Sueton. in Nero, s. 35.

5 Suetonius says, Galba, holding a general convention at New Carthage, in Spain, under pretence of presiding at the manumission of slaves, placed around the court the statues or images of several who had fallen victims to Nero's cruelty; and in the midst of his harangue, presented to the assembly a noble youth, who had been banished to the next Balearic island (now Majorca), and was brought from his place of exile to be exhibited as an object of compassion. Sueton. in Galba, s. 10.

and Galba was saluted Emperor of Rome. His modesty, or his prudence, made him decline that title. He desired to be called the general of the senate and the Roman people.

During these transactions, Nero remained at Naples, still addicted to his favourite amusements, enchanting himself and the public with his harp, and chiefly intent on bringing to perfection an hydraulic organ,[6] on a new construction, which he promised to produce on the stage. But that gay serenity was soon overcast. Advices arrived from Spain and Gaul. In the former, Galba had thrown off the mask; in the latter, Vindex was at the head of a powerful army. Nero shuddered at the news; indignation soon succeeded; he threatened to punish the rebels with death; his frivolous passions took their turn; he went to see the athletic exercises, and tuned his guitar. In that manner he passed eight or ten days; no orders given; no letter to the senate; not a word escaped from him; he smothered all in sullen silence. Fresh tidings arrived from Gaul; the proclamations, which Vindex published in every quarter, were delivered to him; he found himself called, in a style of contempt, *Ænobarbus,*[7] *and a vile comedian.* Enraged at the indignity offered to his talents, he started up in a sudden fury, overturned the banqueting-table, wrote to the senate to exert the strength of the empire, and to fire them with indignation, added in pathetic terms, "Judge yourselves, conscript fathers, judge of the insolence of Vindex; in his own words see the malignity of that audacious rebel. He has dared impiously to say that I have a bad voice, and play ill on the guitar." A complaint of that importance could not fail to make an impression on the fathers. They passed a decree, declaring Galba a public enemy, and promising a reward of ten millions of sesterces for the head of Vindex. The Gaul, with superior magnanimity, offered his own head[8] to whoever should bring him that of Nero. If he freed the world from a monster, he set no value on his own life; he then would die content.

Virginius Rufus, who, at that time, commanded on the Upper Rhine, had received orders to take the field against the rebels in Gaul. Whether that officer aspired to the imperial dignity, seems to be a problem not solved by any of the historians. It is certain that the legions, seeing the miseries occasioned by Nero's tyranny, and at length disgusted by the contemptible frolics of an emperor, who rendered it ridiculous to obey him, made a tender of the empire to their own general, whom they respected for his military talents, and the virtues of moderation. Virginius declined the offer. If he nourished ambition in his heart, he thought it best to suppress it in that juncture, and wait for future events. It belonged, he said, to the senate, and the senate only, not to the legions, to dispose of the sovereignty. Whatever were his views, he still retained a true Roman spirit, and, with indignation, saw a rebel chieftain and his conquered countrymen joined in a league to give an emperor to the mistress of the world. He resolved to collect his forces, and march in quest of the enemy. Gaul was far from acting with a spirit of union. Internal dissensions divided the states into contending factions. The Sequani,[9] the Ædui, and Arverni, followed the banners of Vindex. The Lingones, and the people of Rheims, accustomed to slavery, and hating the opposite party, declared for Nero. The cities of Vienne and Lyons, which lay contiguous, renewed their ancient animosity; the former listing on the side of Vindex; the latter, with a pretended regard for their oath of fidelity, espousing the cause of Nero. In that disposition of the public mind, Virginius entered Gaul at the head of his legions, with a strong reinforcement of Belgic auxiliaries, and the Batavian cohorts. He proceeded by rapid marches to Vesontium,[10] a city in league with Vindex. The inhabitants refused to open their gates. Virginius pitched his camp, determined to lay siege to the place. Vindex advanced to the relief of his confederates. The two armies were in sight of each other. The Gallic chieftain, little doubting that the Roman general's opinion of Nero coincided with his own, thought it prudent, before he tried the issue of a battle, to negotiate by his deputies. He accordingly made his overtures. Various messengers passed between the two commanders, and an interview at last took place. The result was an agreement of some kind, but what were the terms it is fruitless now to inquire. History has left us in the dark. All that can be related with certainty is, that Virginius began to withdraw his forces, and Vindex with his army made his approach to the walls of the town. The legions saw the motions of the enemy, and imagining that they meant to offer battle, resolved to begin the

6 Nero called a council of his favourites, and, after a short conference on the state of affairs, passed the rest of the day in showing some musical instruments, which, on a new construction, were kept in play by the operation of water. He explained the principles of that ingenious piece of mechanism, declaring his resolution to exhibit it on the stage, if Vindex would give him leave. Sueton. in Nero, s. 41. Dio, lib. lxiii.

7 Nero was the son of Domitius Ænobarbus. See the Genealogical Table. He thought it a disparagement to be called by his paternal name; but nothing enraged him so much, as to find himself railed at as a comedian and harper. Sueton. in Nero, s. 41.

8 See Crevier, vol. iv. All that follows concerning Virginius Rufus, and the defeat of Vindex, is there related at large.

9 For the Sequani, the Ædui, Arverni, and Lingones, see the Geographical Table.

10 For Vesontium, see the Geographical Table.

attack. The armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine were not inured to discipline. Fierce, and disdaining all control, they wanted no orders from their general. A desperate engagement followed. The Gauls were unprepared, but their courage braved every danger. Both sides fought with impetuous fury; the Gauls resenting the treachery of their enemies, the Romans stimulated by their inveterate animosity. Blood and carnage covered all the plain. The legions cut their way with dreadful slaughter, till the Gauls, having lost no less than twenty thousand of their bravest troops, and seeing inevitable destruction on every side, betook themselves to flight. Vindex exerted himself in every quarter of the field to prevent the massacre: but his efforts were in vain. He saw the slaughter of his people, and concluded that Virginius had betrayed him, and the cause of liberty. His enterprise defeated, and no hopes of conquest left, he resolved not to survive a calamity so unexpected. He fell upon his sword, and died on the field of battle.

Meanwhile, all Spain was in commotion. Galba was employed in schemes of future grandeur. He raised a new legion, mustered forces in all quarters, and with his utmost art and industry allured the different states to his interest. Cornelius Fuscus, a young man of illustrious birth, went over to Galba, and drew with him the province of which he was governor. But the great accession of strength was from Lusitania. Otho, who had been the favourite of Nero, and his constant companion in all his scenes of riot and debauchery, had been for some years at the head of that province. He was appointed to that station, as the reader may remember,[1] under colour of doing him honour; but, in fact, to remove a rival, whom Nero dreaded, and to leave him at a distance from Rome, in a state of honourable banishment. Otho considered himself as no better than a state prisoner, in a remote part of the empire. Resentment prompted him to revenge; and ambition like his was eager to come forth from obscurity, and act a principal part on the great stage of public business. He melted down all his massy gold and silver; and, having converted it into coin, went with his whole treasure, and the forces of his province, to support the enterprise of an old man, who he knew, in the course of nature, could not long enjoy the supreme authority. The other governors and prætors followed his example. The Roman empire seemed to be transferred to Spain. Nero was at last sensible of his danger. He ordered the legions in Illyricum to advance by rapid marches into Italy; he recalled the troops that had been sent against the Albanians to the borders of the Caspian sea; and he expected the fourteenth legion, then in Britain, to come without loss of time to his assistance. Distracted by the news that filled all Italy, he forgot his hydraulic organ, and returned to Rome, covered with consternation. His fears were soon dispersed. Letters from Virginius Rufus arrived at Rome. The death of Vindex, and the total overthrow of his army, transported Nero beyond all bounds of joy. He called for his musical instruments; he tuned his harp, and warbled songs of triumph.

In Spain, the minds of men were affected in a very different manner. Galba saw an unexpected reverse of fortune. He blamed his own imprudence, and accused the folly of an old man, who, at the close of life, was weak enough to listen to the call of ambition. To try, if possible, to retrieve his affairs, he sent despatches to Virginius Rufus, inviting him to a participation of counsels and of future grandeur. The offer was rejected. It was a maxim with Rufus, that the senate and people had the sole right of creating an emperor. The civil power, he said, in every well-constituted government, ought to be supreme: to obey is the virtue of a soldier. Galba had no resource left. Half his cavalry showed themselves alienated from his service, and were retained with difficulty. Dejected, hopeless, and expecting certain destruction from the assassins employed by Nero, he retired to the city of Clunia[2] and there relapsed into his former indolence.

XIII. Nero was now at the summit of his wishes. He triumphed in the pride of his imagination over all his enemies. He had seen on his way from Naples a monumental sculpture, representing a Gaul[3] overcome by a Roman soldier, and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head. The gods, he said, presented that object to him as an omen of victory, and their decree was happily fulfilled. Amidst all his frantic joy, his worst enemies were in his own breast. His vices were undermining him with the army as well as the people. He raised immoderate supplies of money, and squandered the whole with wild profusion. An occurrence happened, by which the city was thrown into a violent ferment. A ship arrived from Alexandria, supposed to be loaded with corn, and, therefore, matter of joy to the populace, who dreaded a dearth of provisions. It may be easily imagined what a turn their passions took, when it was known that the vessel brought a freight of sand[4] from the banks of the Nile, to smooth the arena for wrestlers and gladiators. The disap-

1 Otho, afterwards emperor, was appointed governor of Lusitania, that Nero might secure Poppæa to himself. Annals, xiii. s. 46. Plutarch's Life of Galba.

2 For Clunia, see the Geographical Table.

3 This incident is told by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 41.

4 This cargo of sand, with the popular discontents that followed, is stated by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 45. See Pliny, lib. xxxv. s. 13.

pointment excited, at first, a laugh of scorn and indignation; vulgar wit and scurrilous jests made Nero an object of contempt: and from contempt the transition to hatred, rage, and fury, is always sure, and often instantaneous. The public clamour was loud and violent: the people, with one voice, wished to be delivered from a monster; they lamented the loss of Vindex; and the prætorian guards, who had been the support of a pernicious reign, began to murmur discontent, and to show manifest symptoms of disaffection.

Nymphidius and Tigellinus,[5] who had often figured in scenes of public iniquity, were joint præfects of the prætorian camp. The former, as has been mentioned, was the son of a woman who prostituted her person to the slaves and freedmen of the emperor Claudius. Having recommended himself by his vices to the favour of Nero, he had the ambition to be thought the issue of an intrigue between his mother Nymphidia and Caligula. Nymphidius and his colleague Tigellinus acted in concert, and jointly exerted their pernicious talents. They saw the disposition of the soldiers, and, with the ingratitude of men who had raised themselves by their crimes, thought the opportunity fair to strike a stroke of perfidy. They began by bribes to insinuate themselves into the affections of the prætorian guards, and, when they had sufficiently prepared them for a revolt, whispered to the senate, that Nero was deserted on every side; that he had not a friend left; and that, by consequence, the whole legislative authority was in the hands of the fathers. That assembly remained for some time in suspense; timid, wavering, and irresolute. The conjuncture was dark and gloomy. Nero was alarmed; he paused from his pleasures, and saw that some deep design was in agitation. To prevent it by one bold effort, he formed a resolution to massacre the senate, and, after setting fire to the city a second time, to let loose his whole collection of wild beasts, to devour the people in the general consternation, and save himself by flying into Egypt. This horrible scheme was no sooner conceived than brought to light by one of his favourite eunuchs. This miscreant had been, for some time, subservient to the vices of his master, and lived with him in the dearest intimacy. From a person so beloved nothing was concealed. He was the confidential friend of the emperor, not only in scenes of riot, but also in the most important counsels. But the jealousy of an upstart, raised above his base condition, is easily alarmed. The favourite[6] thought himself slighted. His pride was roused, and, to revenge the injury, he discovered the particulars of the intended massacre.

A design so black and horrible raised the general indignation. The fathers trembled for themselves, but the habit of slavery had debased their faculties. They saw that no time was to be lost, and yet could not resolve to act with vigour. Nymphidius tried by every means to inspire them with zeal and courage. He had seduced the prætorian guards, and, to secure their affections, promised in Galba's name, but without his authority, a reward of thirty thousand sesterces to each prætorian, and five thousand to each legionary soldier throughout the armies of the empire; a sum so prodigious, that, as Plutarch observes, it could not be raised without worse tyranny, and more violent rapine, than had been felt during the whole reign of Nero. The promise proved, afterwards, fatal to Galba, but served the purposes of a man who was bent on the ruin of Nero, and, by raising the military above the civil authority, intended to introduce into the political system, two pernicious maxims; the first, that emperors were to be created in the camp, not in the senate; and, secondly, that the imperial dignity was venal, to be, for the future, set up to sale, and disposed of by the soldiers to the highest bidder.

Having settled his measures, and laid the plan of a revolution, he did not as yet think it time to throw off the mask, but, to complete his work, chose to proceed by fraud and dissimulation. He went with Tigellinus to the palace, and, with an air of deep affliction, informed Nero of his danger. "All," he said, "is lost; the people, assembled in seditious tumults, call aloud for vengeance; the prætorian guards abandon your cause; and the senate is ready to pronounce a dreadful judgment. You have only one expedient left, and that is, to make your escape, and seek a retreat in Egypt." In this manner the two men, who had been raised from the dregs of the people, left their benefactor. In all his scenes of vice and cruelty they had been his chief abettors, and they now abandoned him at his utmost need.

Nero saw the sad reverse of his affairs. From his armies he could expect no support. The troops on their march towards the Caspian sea had been recalled, but a long repose was necessary to revive the spirits of men well nigh exhausted by incessant fatigue. The legions from Illyricum returned with alienated minds. Scorning to disguise their sentiments, they sent a deputation to Virginius on the Upper Rhine, expressing their ardent desire, that he would yield to the request of the legions under his command, and accept the imperial dignity. Eight Batavian cohorts had shown a spirit of disaffection, and the prætorian guards were under the influence of Nymphidius. In this desperate situation, Nero looked round for assistance, but he looked

5 For Nymphidius, see Annals, xv. s. 72. For Tigellinus, see Annals, xiv. s. 57; and xv. s. 37.

6 The wild and desperate projects conceived by Nero, in his frantic moments, and brought to light by a favourite eunuch, are recorded by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 42.

in vain. He wandered through the apartments of his palace, and all was solitude. He, who but a few days before was the god of the senate and the people, was now in dread of being their victim. Conscience began to exercise her rights. Her voice was heard; Nero reviewed his crimes, and shuddered with horror and remorse. He repeated in despair and anguish of heart, a line, which, when personating Œdipus, he had often declaimed on the public stage;[1] "My wife, my father, and my mother, doom me dead." Of all his courtier-fry, and all his instruments of guilt, not one adhered to him in the hour of distress, except Sporus, the eunuch; Phaon,[2] an enfranchised slave; and Epaphroditus, his secretary. He gave orders to the soldiers on duty, to proceed with all expedition to Ostia, and prepare a ship, that he might embark for Egypt. The men were not willing to obey. One of them asked him in half a line[3] from Virgil, "Is it then so wretched a thing to die?" He went to the Servilian gardens, carrying with him a vial of swift-speeding poison, which had been prepared by the well-known[4] Locusta; but his resolution failed. He returned to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed. The agitations of his mind allowed no rest. He started up, and called for some friendly hand to end his wretched being. That office, no one was willing to perform, and he himself wanted fortitude. Driven to the last despair, and frantic with remorse and fear, he cried out in doleful accents, "My friends desert me, and I cannot find an enemy." He rushed forth from his palace, as if with intent to throw himself into the Tiber. He changed his mind, and thought of flying into Spain, there to surrender at discretion to the mercy of Galba. But no ship was ready at Ostia. Various projects presented themselves to his mind, in quick succession, increasing the tumult of his passions, and serving only to distract him more. To try his powers of eloquence, was another expedient that occurred to him. For that purpose he proposed to go forth in a mourning garb to the forum, and there, by a pathetic speech, obtain his pardon from the people. Should their obdurate hearts remain impenetrable to the soft influence of persuasive oratory, and refuse to reinstate their emperor in the full enjoyment of his prerogative, he had no doubt but he could, at the worst, wring from them the government of Egypt, where, in the character of præfect, he might give free scope to his inordinate passions. This project seemed to promise success; but a ray of reflection struck him with sudden horror. The populace without waiting to hear the divine accents of that harmonious voice, might break out into open sedition, and in their fury tear their prince limb from limb. What course could he pursue? Where could he hide himself? He looked round in wild despair, and asked his remaining companions, Is there no lurking-place? no safe recesss, where I may have time to consider what is to be done? Phaon, his freedman, proposed to conduct him to an obscure villa,[5] which he held in his possession, at the distance of about four miles from Rome.

Nero embraced the offer. There was no time to be lost. He went forth in all his wretchedness; without a shoe to his feet; nothing on him but his close tunic; no outside garment; and no imperial robe. In order to disguise himself, he snatched an old rusty cloak, and, throwing it over his shoulders, covered his head, and held a handkerchief before his face. In that condition he mounted his horse, submitting with a dastard spirit to an ignominious flight, without any attendants except Phaon, the freedman; Epaphroditus, the secretary; and Sporus, the eunuch, with another, whose name Aurelius Victor says was Neophytus. In this manner Nero passed the last of his nights. At the dawn of day, the prætorian guards deserted their station at the palace, and joined their comrades in the camp, where, by the influence and direction of Nymphidius, Galba was proclaimed emperor. The senate met, and, after a short debate, confirmed the nomination of the prætorian guards. The time was at length arrived, when that assembly could act with authority. They resolved to mark the day by a decree worthy of a Roman senate. With one voice they declared the tyrant, who had trampled on all laws human and divine, a public enemy,[6] and by their sentence, condemned him to suffer death, according to

1 The line in the Œpidus of Sophocles is,

Θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος, πατήρ, πατήρ.

2 Phaon's fidelity is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 48.

3 The passage in Virgil,

Usque adeone mori miserum est?

Æneid xii. ver. 646.

4 Locusta has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. s. 15. Suetonius says, that Nero received a dose of poison from Locusta, which he carried with him into the Servilian gardens. Not having courage to use it, he endeavoured to find Spicillus, the gladiator, or some person, to kill him. In that distress he cried out, *Nec amicum habeo, nec inimicum.* Sueton. in Nero, s. 47.

5 Suetonius relates this fact, s. 48. Brotier says, Phaon's villa is now called, *La Serpentara.*

6 See Suetonius in Nero, s. 49. *Hostem a senatu judicatum, et quæri ut puniatur more majorum.* It is impossible to read this passage without feeling a thousand mixed emotions. We acknowledge the justice of the sentence; we know that vengeance was due to the perpetrator of so many horrible crimes; and we rejoice to find that the senate could resume its long-forgotten dignity, and act even for a day with a becoming spirit. The interests of humanity required that the world should be delivered from such a monster.

The case is very different when Louis XVI. is cited

the rigour of ancient laws, and the practice of the old republic.

XIV. Nero, in the meantime, made the best of his way towards the freedman's villa. He heard the prætorian camp ring with acclamations, and the name of Galba sounded in his ear. A man at work in a field adjoining to the road, started up at the sound of horsemen pressing forward with expedition, and "Behold!" he said, "those people are hot in pursuit of Nero." Another asked, "What do they say of Nero in the city?" As they drew near to Phaon's house, Nero was alarmed by a sudden accident. His horse started at a dead carcass that lay on the side of the road; and the veil, in consequence of the violent motion, falling from his face, a veteran, who had been dismissed from the service, knew his master, and saluted him by his name. The fear of being detected made the fugitive prince and his followers push forward with their utmost speed. Being arrived at a small distance from the house, they did not think it safe to enter it in a public manner. Nero dismounted, and crossed a field overgrown with reeds.[7] Phaon advised him to lie concealed in a sand-pit, till he prepared a subterraneous passage into the house. "That," said Nero, "were to bury myself alive." He scooped up some water out of a muddy ditch, and, having allayed his thirst, asked in a doleful tone, "Is that the beverage to which Nero has been used?" An opening was made in the wall on one side of the mansion, and Nero crept through it. He was conducted to a chamber, where he saw nothing but wretchedness. In that mean room he threw himself on a meaner bed,[9] and asked for some nourishment. They offered him bread; but it was so black, that his stomach sickened at the sight. The water was foul, but thirst obliged him to swallow the nauseous draught. His friends saw that no hope was left; they dreaded his impending ruin, and advised him to rescue himself by one manly deed from an ignominious death. Nero signified his assent; but he studied delay, fond to linger still in life. Preparations for his funeral were necessary. He ordered a trench to be dug, suited to the dimensions of his body;[8] a quantity of wood to be collected for the funeral pile; and pieces of marble to be brought to form a decent covering for his grave. He bewailed his unhappy lot; tears gushed at intervals; he heaved a piteous sigh, and said to his friends,[10] "What a musician the world will lose!"

During this scene of delay and cowardice, a messenger, according to Phaon's orders, arrived with papers from Rome. Nero seized the packet. He read with eagerness, and found himself, not only declared a public enemy, but condemned to suffer death, with the rigour of ancient usage. He asked, What kind of death is that? and what is ancient usage? He was told, that, by the law of the old republic, every traitor, with his head fastened between two stakes, and his body entirely naked, suffered the pains of a slow death under the lictor's rod. The fear of that ignominious punishment inspired Nero with a short-lived passion, which for the moment had the appearance of courage. He drew two daggers, which he had brought with him, as if meditating some prodigious deed, tried the points of both; then calmly replaced them in their scabbards, saying, "The fatal moment is not yet come." He turned to Sporus, and requested him to begin the funeral lamentation. "Sing the melancholy dirge; and offer the last obsequies to your friend." He cast his eyes around him: "And why," he said, "why will not some one despatch himself, and teach me how to die?" He paused for a moment, and shed a flood of tears. He started up, and cried out, in a tone of wild despair, "Nero, this is

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to appear before a French Convention. We see the most benevolent of men tried by an assembly of *assassins, plunderers, levellers*, and ATHEISTS; by the scum and dregs of France, mixed with the refuse of other nations. When a good and virtuous, an upright and blameless monarch is sentenced, contrary to every principle of truth and justice, to suffer as a criminal; indignation is, for the moment, lost in astonishment, at the daring guilt of men, who have emerged from obscurity to be the tyrants of their country; a PANDEMONIUM of regicides! France is now left without CHURCH OR KING; without law or morals; without a constitution, and without humanity. The nations of Europe shudder with horror at the bloody tragedy that has been acted. The virtues, which the MURDERED KING displayed, with wonderful meekness, on the throne, in prison, and on the scaffold, are now known to the world. They will be transmitted to the latest posterity, and

> Will plead, like angels trumpet-tongued, against
> The DEEP DAMNATION of his taking off.

But the DEMAGOGUES of France will perhaps not allow that Shakspeare is a great moral teacher: let them hear their own Boileau:

> Quoi! ce peuple aveugle en son crime,
> Qui prenant son roi pour victime,
> Fit du trone un theatre affreux;
> Pense-t-il que le Ciel, complice
> D'un si funeste sacrifice,
> N'a pour lui ni foudre ni feux?

7 The particulars of Nero's flight, above related, and those that follow, are told by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 48.

8 He took some water out of a ditch and drank it, saying, *Hæc est Neronis decocta*. Being taken into the house, creeping on his hands and knees through a hole that was made for him, he lay on a mean bed, with a tattered coverlet thrown over it, and being both hungry and thirsty, he refused some coarse bread that was brought to him, but drank a little water. *Quadrupes per angustiæ effossæ caverna receptus in proximam cellam, decubuit super lectum modicella culcita et vetere pallio strato instructum. Fumeque interim et siti interpellante, panem quidem sordidum oblatum aspernatus est, aquæ autem tepidæ aliquantulum bibit.* Suet. in Neron. s. 48.

9 Suetonius, s. 49.

10 *Qualis artifex pereo!* Suet. s. 49, where the following circumstances are related.

infamy; you linger in disgrace; this is no time for dejected passions; the moment calls for manly fortitude."

These words were no sooner uttered, than he heard the sound of horses advancing with speed towards the house. This he signified by repeating a line from Homer.[1] The fact was, the senate had given orders, that he should be brought back to Rome to undergo the judgment which they had pronounced, and the officers, charged with that commission, were near at hand. Nero seized his dagger, and stabbed himself in the throat. The stroke was too feeble. Epaphroditus lent his assistance, and the next blow was a mortal wound. A centurion entered the room, and, seeing Nero in a mangled condition, ran immediately to his assistance, pretending that he came with a friendly hand to bind the wound, and save the emperor's life. Nero had not breathed his last. He raised his languid eyes, and faintly said, "You come too late: is this your fidelity?"[2] He spoke and expired. The ferocity of his nature was still visible in his countenance. His eyes fixed and glaring, and every feature swelled with warring passions, he looked more stern, more grim and terrible, than ever.

Nero died in the thirty-second year of his age, on the eleventh day of June, after a reign of thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days.[3] The news was received at Rome with all demonstrations of joy. The populace ran wild about the streets, with the cap of liberty on their heads.[4] The forum sounded with acclamations. Icelus, a freedman, who managed Galba's affairs at Rome, had been thrown into prison by Nero; but, on the sudden accession of his master, he was now become a man in power and high authority. He consented that Nero's body should be committed to the flames at the place where he died. The funeral rites were performed without delay, and without pomp. His remains were conveyed to the monumental vault of the Domitian family, his paternal ancestors. The urn was carried by two female servants, and Acté,[5] the famous concubine. The secrecy, with which the obsequies were performed, was the cause of some untoward consequences, that afterwards disturbed the commonwealth. A doubt remained in the minds of many, whether Nero had not made his escape into Asia or Egypt. The men who, under a corrupt and profligate reign, had led a life of pleasure, and were, by consequence, enamoured of Nero's vices, paid every mark of respect to his memory, willing, at the same time, to believe that he still survived. They raised a tomb, and, for several years,[6] dressed it with the flowers of spring and summer. The Parthians honoured his memory, and, being afterwards deluded by an impostor who assumed the name of Nero, were ready, with the strength of their nation,[7] to espouse his cause. The race of Cæsars ended with Nero: he was the last, and perhaps the worst, of that illustrious house.

XV. In that age, when the public mind was overcast with gloomy apprehensions and religious fear, superstition saw portents and prodigies[8] in the most common accidents, and no great event was suffered to pass without a train of awful prognostics. Rivers were said to have changed their course, and to have flowed in a new direction to their fountain head; a tree, that had stood for ages, coeval with the foundation of Rome, fell suddenly to the ground; the laurel, planted by Livia, which had spread with such prodigious increase, that in every triumph it supplied the Cæsars with their victorious wreaths, withered at the root; the temple of the Cæsars being struck with lightning, the heads of all the statues tumbled down at once; and the marble sceptre fell from the hands of Augustus. By these and such like denunciations the will of the gods was supposed to be revealed, and the populace with frantic joy hailed the auspicious era of returning liberty. But no public spirit remained; every virtue was extinguished. A people who had been taught to crouch under the yoke of bondage, thought no more of a free constitution. With the usual inconstancy of a fickle multitude, they relapsed into their habitual servitude, and in a strain of frantic rapture began to roar for a new master. The name of Galba echoed through the streets of Rome, and filled the prætorian camp with shouts of joy, and the warmest expressions of zeal and ardour for his service. The prætorian guards thought of nothing but the donative promised in his name; and Nymphidius, the author of that measure, had no doubt but the soldiers, in due time, would show themselves devoted to the man who filled their minds with the dazzling prospect of reward so truly great and magnificent. The liberality was his, and

1 The line in Homer is,

Ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος ὀβριμα βάλλει.

2 He said to the centurion, *Sero: et hæc est fides?* Those were his last words. See the description of his ghastly figure, Suet. s. 49.

3 Suetonius gives the same account of his age, *Obiit secundo et trigesimo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat.* In Neron. s. 57.

4 The public joy was so great, that the people ran to and fro, with caps upon their heads. *Tantumque gaudium publice præbuit, ut plebs pileata tota urbe discurrerat.* Suet. in Neron. s. 57.

5 See Suetonius, s. 50.

6 Suetonius says, *Non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis æstivisque floribus tumulum ejus ornarent*, s. 57.

7 The readiness of the Parthians to assist a pretended Nero, is mentioned by Suetonius, in Nero, s. 57; and also by Tacitus, History, i. s. 2.

8 A number of prodigies mentioned by Suetonius, in Galba, s. 1. Dio, lxiii. Pliny, ii. s. 83 and 103.

the difficulty of carrying it into execution would fall on Galba.

Icelus, the favourite freedman of Galba, made it his business to see Nero's dead body, and, having enabled himself to be an eye-witness of the fact, set out for Clunia in Spain,[9] to inform his master, that he was raised to the imperial seat by the voice of the prætorians, and the concurrent decree of the senate. Nymphidius seized the opportunity to figure as the principal actor on the theatre of public business. He had accomplished a great and sudden revolution, and, being high in favour with the prætorian guards, found it easy to overawe the senate, and make that tame and pliant assembly bend to his will and pleasure. The consuls, without consulting the arrogant minister, sent their despatches to Galba, with the decree by which he was declared emperor. This was considered by this new man as a mark of disrespect,[10] and it was with difficulty that the magistrates appeased his indignation. Flushed with success, and proud of his exploits, he began to enlarge his views, and preposterously to form schemes of vast ambition. Under an emperor of the age of seventy-three,[11] worn out with cares, and weary of public business, he flattered himself that he should be able, under the appearance of being the second in the state, to wrest into his own hands the supreme authority; and, should Galba's infirmities sink under the fatigue of a long journey, he had the hardiness to aspire to the succession. Having conceived this mad project, he resolved to remove every obstacle, and, with that view, compelled Tigellinus to resign his commission [12] of prætorian præfect. A colleague, acting with himself in joint authority, might retard the execution of his designs. Men of consular rank, who had commanded armies and governed provinces, did not blush to pay their court to him. The senate[13] acted with the same servile adulation. They crowded to his levee, and suffered him to prescribe the form and substance of every decree that passed. The populace broke out with licentious fury, and Nymphidius, effectually to seduce the vulgar mind, encouraged the madness of the times. The images and statues of Nero were dragged through the streets, and dashed to pieces. A crew of vile incendiaries spread consternation through the city; a scene of blood and massacre followed,[14] and the innocent fell in one promiscuous carnage with the guilty. Mauricus beheld the frenzy of the multitude with such inward horror, that he could not help saying in the senate, "Let us take care that we have not reason to regret the loss of Nero."[15]

Nymphidius soon perceived that his hopes of being the only statesman in power, and of governing the Roman world in the emperor's name, could not be entertained with any prospect of success. He knew by certain intelligence that Vinius, Laco, and Icelus, were the men [16] who stood highest in the esteem of Galba. The scheme of supplanting them was, therefore, abandoned; but it made way for a project of the most daring ambition. He was resolved to depose the emperor whom he himself had created, and, by another revolution, to seize the imperial dignity. To forward this design, he sent despatches to Galba,[17] stating the danger of entering the city at a time when the whole empire was in convulsions. Rome, he said, was in a ferment; Clodius Macer excited a rebellion in Africa; the German armies were disaffected, and the legions in Syria and Judæa prepared to dispute with the prætorian guards the right of creating an emperor. In the mean time a dark conspiracy was formed. Nymphidius planned his measures with despatch and vigour, determined to seize the supreme power. He drew into his league a number of both sexes, all of great consideration and extensive influence. Claudius Celsus was his intimate friend; but he saw the folly of the enterprise, and with freedom and sincerity advised Nymphidius to desist from a wild attempt, in which he could not expect the support of the people or the senate. There is not, he said, a single family in Rome, willing to give the name of Cæsar [18] to the son of Nymphidia. That remonstrance had no effect on a mind inflamed with the fever of wild ambition. Nymphidius called a meeting of his party. All agreed that no time was to be lost. They resolved to strike the blow that very night, and to conduct Nymphidius to the prætorian camp, where they had no doubt but with one voice he would be declared emperor of Rome.

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9 Plutarch says he arrived in Spain on the seventh day after Nero's death. See the Life of Galba.

10 Plutarch, Life of Galba.

11 Galba was born in the consulship of Valerius Messalinus and Cneius Lentulus, A. U. C. 751, on the ninth of the kalends of January, in a villa near Terracina. Suet. in Galba, s. 4.

12 See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

13 Plutarch, in Galba, gives the same account.

14 See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

15 Plutarch relates this saying of Mauricus: for more of whom see History, iv. s. 40: and Life of Agricola, s. 45.

16 We read in Suetonius, that Galba was governed by three favourites; Titus Vinius, his lieutenant in Spain; Cornelius Laco, who was advanced to the command of the prætorian guards; and his freedman Icelus, who was dignified with the privilege of wearing a ring, and the name of Martianus. To these men Galba resigned himself with such implicit confidence, that his conduct was never consistent; at one time frugal and rigorous; at another remiss, complying, and more lavish, than became a prince of his advanced age, who had been raised to the imperial dignity by the voice of the people. Suet. in Galba, s. 14. For more of the three favourites, see the History, i. s. 6 and 13.

17 Plutarch, Life of Galba.

18 For the origin of Nymphidius, see Annals, xv. s. 72.

On such an occasion it was necessary that the person raised to that elevation should be prepared to address the soldiers in a suitable style. Cingonius Varro,[1] a corrupt and venal orator, composed a speech for that purpose, and the illiterate emperor was to grace himself with borrowed eloquence.

The design of the conspirators was not so well concealed, but it reached the ear of Antonius Honoratus,[2] a tribune in the camp, who had acquired a great military character, and was, besides, respected for his unblemished honour, and unshaken fidelity. Towards the close of day he called a meeting of the prætorians, and, after laying open, in detail, all the circumstances of the plot, delivered a speech in substance as follows:[3] "How long, my fellow-soldiers, shall our folly, our madness, or our evil genius, hurry us on from one treason to another? A few days only have elapsed, since you deposed Nero. In that business you behaved like men who felt for the public good. You had every provocation, and the crimes of that flagitious tyrant justified the act. You are recent from that revolution, and wherefore do you want another? You declared for Galba, and why now abandon him? Why, with unheard of treachery, betray the emperor whom you yourselves created? Has he been guilty of parricide? Has he murdered his mother and destroyed his wife? Has he exposed the imperial dignity to contempt and ridicule? Has he tuned his harp on the stage, or driven the curricle in the race? And yet, notwithstanding all the flagitious deeds of that hardened monster, in spite of all his vices, we supported him, blushing indeed for his follies, and smarting under his tyranny. We adhered to him with fidelity; and if, in the end, we thought fit to create another emperor, Nymphidius was the author of that measure. By his artifices we were taught to believe that Nero deserted us first, and fled to Egypt. We concluded that he had abdicated, and, by consequence, what he did was an act of necessity. And what is our design at present? What do we wish? What do we aim at? Must Galba fall a sacrifice to appease the manes of Nero? Shall a descendant from the family of the Servii; a relation of Quintus Catulus, and by ties of affinity connected with Livia,[4] the wife of Augustus; say, my fellow-soldiers, shall such a man be deposed and murdered, to make way for the son of Nymphidia? It was his treachery, his base ingratitude, that occasioned the death of Nero: let him suffer the justice due to his crime; and let us give proof of our fidelity. Let us deserve the esteem of Galba, by delivering him from a traitor."

This speech made an impression on the soldiers. One mind, one sentiment, pervaded the whole camp. Galba was their emperor, and they would acknowledge no other. This was followed by a general shout. Nymphidius heard the sound, and proceeded to the camp.[5] Whether he thought that the acclamations of the men were in his favour, or that his presence was necessary to quell an insurrection, cannot now be known. He went attended by a numerous train, and a blaze of torches, with the speech composed for him by Cingonius Varro, ready in his hand to be read aloud to the soldiers. The gates of the camp were shut, and guards were stationed on the ramparts. Nymphidius desired to know, by whose order they were under arms? The men answered with one voice, We are armed in the cause of Galba, and we know no other emperor. Nymphidius had not the prudence to retire from the walls. Dissimulation he thought would cloak his design. He commended the zeal of the prætorians, and assured them that he, and his followers, were the avowed friends of Galba. The sentinels opened the gates. Nymphidius entered with some of his friends: the pass was immediately secured; and the soldiers attacked him sword in hand. He endeavoured to save himself in a tent, but was pursued, and massacred on the spot. His body, on the following day, was dragged through the camp, a spectacle for public view. Such was the end of a low-born base incendiary, who saw, that, in the general profligacy of the times, the weak were the willing dupes of the wicked. By forming a league with the most abandoned, he flattered himself, that the lowest of mankind, who in better times could not hope to be entrusted with the rank of a common centurion, might boldly aspire to make himself master of the Roman empire.

XVI. An account of all that passed was conveyed to Galba with incredible speed. By his order, all, who were suspected of taking a part in the mad projects of Nymphidius, were seized, and, without further inquiry, or any form of trial, put to death. Cingonius Varro, at that time consul elect, was in the number; and, what was very extraordinary, Mithridates[6] the dethroned king of Pontus, who had surrendered to Claudius, and from that time lived at Rome, was hurried to execution, without being heard in his defence. Petronius Turpilianus[7] was

1 Plutarch, Life of Galba. Cingonius Varro has already occurred, Annals, xiv. s. 45.

2 For more of Honoratus, see Plutarch, Life of Galba.

3 This speech may be seen in Plutarch.

4 See Plutarch, in Galba; though Suetonius says, Galba was no way allied to the house of Cæsar. Suet. in Galba, s. 2.

5 All these particulars are to be found in Plutarch.

6 Plutarch, Life of Galba. For Mithridates brought before the emperor Claudius, see Annals, xii. s. 21; and History, i. s. 6.

7 For Petronius Turpilianus, see Annals, xv. s. 72; and History, i. s. 6.

another unhappy victim. He had been chosen by Nero to command his armies; and, though he never went from Rome to execute his commission, the very appointment was deemed a sufficient crime. These bloody executions were inauspicious in the opening of a new reign. The cruelty of Nero seemed to be renewed, when the people expected a milder government, and a regular administration of law and justice. The fate of Turpilianus filled the city with murmurs of discontent. It was known that Tigellinus presided at the execution; and that a man of worth and honour should bleed under the eye of a detested miscreant, appeared to be a continuation of the late reign, and the triumph of vice over every virtue.

Galba set out from Spain, proceeding by slow marches, and still wearing the military robe of a general officer, with a dagger[8] hanging from his neck down to his breast. Strong suspicion, a sense of injuries, and dark mistrust, with other passions unworthy of a prince, lay lurking in his heart. Before he began his journey, Obultronius Sabinus,[9] and Cornelius Marcellus, two governors of provinces in Spain, who had shown no inclination to his party, were put to death by his order. Betuus Chilo met with the same fate in Gaul. Despatches were also sent to Garrucianus, in Africa, commanding the immediate execution of Clodius Macer,[10] the proprætor of the province, who was known to have concerted measures for a revolt. It happened, however, that Calvia Crispinilla,[11] the famous manager of Nero's pleasures, arrived in Africa, and insinuated herself into the secret counsels of the governor. By her advice he formed a resolution to establish for himself a new province independent of Rome. Their scheme, for that purpose, was to lay an embargo on all ships loaded with corn, in order to afflict the city of Rome with all the miseries of famine. A legion was also raised: and Macer, at the head of a considerable army, was on the eve of renouncing all subjection to Rome, when Papirius, a centurion sent by order of Galba, gained access to his presence, and stabbed him to the heart.

Fonteius Capito,[12] who commanded the legions on the Lower Rhine, was put to death about the same time. It was this officer that sent Julius Civilis[13] a prisoner to Rome, during the reign of Nero. The charge was without foundation, and, in time, was the fatal cause of the destructive war, in which Rome was involved by the fierce resentment of that warlike chief. Avarice was the vice of Capito. He was in haste to grow rich, and felt no scruple about the means. Ambition was laid to his charge, but an unguarded expression was the only evidence against him. It happened that he sat in judgment on a soldier accused of a capital crime, and condemned him to suffer death. "Know," said the prisoner, "that I appeal to Cæsar." Capito rose, and, placing himself on a higher seat, told the man, "Now appeal to Cæsar: make your defence in his presence." The soldier obeyed, and was sent to execution. This transaction was reported to Fabius Valens,[14] who commanded a legion in Lower Germany; an officer of acknowledged ability, intrepid, active, and ambitious; eager in the pursuit of honours, and panting to signalize himself by some bold exploit. The opportunity now occurred, and he resolved to seize it. Crispinus, a centurion,[15] was devoted to his service. In that man he found a ready assassin, and Fonteius Capito fell a victim. The death of that commander, Valens concluded would be considerable merit with the new emperor. He lost no time, but sent an express to inform Galba of what he had done, with zeal for the service of his sovereign. He added, in the same letter, that the legions on the Upper Rhine had made a tender of the empire to Virginius Rufus, who remained in suspense, and with affected delays, hesitated about his final answer. Galba received the news of Capito's death with secret satisfaction, but he thought it more prudent to connive, than openly to approve. Virginius was still a dangerous rival. In order to draw him away from the army, and free himself from all danger in that quarter, he invited him to an amicable interview, having secretly appointed Hordeonius Flaccus to succeed to the command of the legions. The stratagem succeeded. The conqueror of Vindex went to the meeting, and found himself the dupe of pretended friendship. He met with a cold reception, very different from what was due to the man who wished to establish the civil authority, and to place the legislative power of the state in the senate only. He lived to be a spectator of the distractions and calamities that followed; and, that he was not an actor in those scenes of blood and horror,[16] was the recompense of uncommon virtue.

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8 Suetonius, in Galba, s. 11.

9 The fate of Obultronius Sabinus, Cornelius Marcellus, and Betuus Chilo, is mentioned by Tacitus, History, i. s. 37.

10 For Clodius Macer, murdered in Africa, see History, i. s. 3 and 11.

11 For an account of Calvia Crispinilla, see History, i. s. 72.

12 Fonteius Capito, History, i. s. 7, 8, and 58.

13 His name was Julius Paulus Claudius Civilis. For more of this famous Batavian chief, see History, book i. s. 59; book iv. s. 13, 14; and throughout the war which he waged against the Romans, to the close of book v. s. 26.

14 Fabius Valens contrived the murder of Fonteius Capito, in the Lower Germany, History, i. s. 7. He is mentioned often as the partisan of Vitellius. He was at last taken prisoner by Vespasian's party. Hist. iii. s. 43.

15 This man murdered Fonteius Capito by order of Fabius Valens, and was afterwards given up by Vitellius to the resentment of the soldiers. History, i. s. 58.

16 See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

Galba had no further reason to be alarmed. He saw the armies of Rome willing to acquiesce, and peace in every part of the empire. He, therefore, changed his military robe for the Roman gown, and assumed the name[1] of Cæsar. But even in that tide of his affairs, the simplicity of his manners suffered no alteration. The same frugality, the same contempt of pomp and luxury, and the same austerity, still remained. Vinius covered his table with a profusion of luxury; and Otho, who attended the cavalcade into Italy, displayed all the magnificence of Nero's court. Galba still preserved his rules of ancient frugality, and condemned the vain parade[2] with inflexible rigour. He showed himself ready to punish and slow to reward. In his manners no affability, no engaging courtesy. During the whole of his march he never once endeavoured, by an act of condescension, to gain the affections of the people. The army in Italy consisted, at that time, of four different classes of men: namely, the legions, both foot and cavalry, composed chiefly of Roman citizens; the auxiliary forces, drafted from the states in alliance with Rome; the body of marines, levied in the tributary cities, and considered as slaves in the service of Rome; and fourthly, the gladiators who were to shed their blood in battle, if the occasion required, or in the circus, for the diversion of the populace. The marines, classed as above, in the third division, were called forth by Nero when he projected a war on the borders of the Caspian sea, to be formed into a new legion. The men collected upon that occasion amounted to a prodigious number, and all were quartered in the city. Being informed that Galba was near at hand, they rushed forth in a tumultuous body to the Milvian bridge, about three miles from Rome, where they beset the road, obstructed the emperor's train, and, with violent clamour, demanded a confirmation of their military rank, with an eagle to distinguish their legion, and an allotment of winter-quarters. Their application, they were told, was out of season, but might be renewed at a more convenient time and place. The answer was deemed evasive, and nothing short of an absolute refusal. The men were fired with indignation; a mutiny ensued; they advanced sword in hand, determined to extort by force what they considered as a legal right. Galba was not of a temper to yield to sudden emergencies. He ordered his soldiers to disperse an insolent rabble. The cavalry rushed on to the charge with impetuous fury, and, meeting with a feeble resistance, cut their way with dreadful slaughter. It is said that no less than seven thousand were put to the sword. The rest submitted at discretion, and were afterwards ordered to be decimated.[3]

This tragic catastrophe spread a general consternation, Galba entered the city of Rome through a scene of blood, and men expected nothing less than a renewal of all the cruelties of Nero's reign. He carried with him many virtues, but he had in his train Titus Vinius, Cornelius Laco, and Icelus, his freedman;[4] three pernicious ministers, who gained an entire ascendant over a venerable, but indolent, old man, and by their vices occasioned the dreadful calamities, which, in the following year, overwhelmed themselves, their master, and the public.

1 Suetonius, in Galba, s. 11.

2 After a reign of luxury and dissipation, the rigid parsimony of Galba was unseasonable, and by consequence, rendered him unpopular. Suetonius relates several instances of his avarice beneath the dignity of a prince. He adds, that soon after Galba's arrival in Rome, when he attended the performance of an Atellane Fable, as soon as the actor began the first verse of a favourite song,

Venit, io! Simus a villa,

Here's Farmer Flatnose come from his villa, the whole audience, with one voice, sung the song, repeating the first verse several times. Suet. in Galba, s. 13.

3 This cruel slaughter is told by Plutarch, Life of Galba.

4 See Suetonius in Galba, s. 14; and History, i. s. 6 and 13.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

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These transactions passed in a few months.

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
822	69	Servius Galba, 2d time, Titus Vinius Rufinus.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

1. The era, from which it is my intention to deduce the following narration, is the second consulship of Servius Galba, when Titus Vinius was his colleague in office. [A. U. C. 822. A. D. 69.] Of the antecedent period, including a space of eight hundred and twenty years[1] from the foundation of Rome, the history has been composed by various authors, who, as long as they had before them the transactions[2] of the Roman people, dignified their work with eloquence equal to the subject, and a spirit of freedom worthy of the old republic. After the battle of Actium, when, to close the scene of civil distraction, all power and authority were surrendered to a single ruler, the historic character disappeared, and genius died by the same blow that ended public liberty. Truth was reduced to the last gasp, and various circumstances conspired against her. A new constitution took place, undefined, and little understood. Men resigned their rights, and lived like aliens in their native country. Adulation began to spread her baneful influence, and a rooted hatred of their ambitious masters rankled in the breast of numbers. Between both parties, one paying their court, and the other brooding over public injuries, the care of transmitting due information to posterity was utterly lost. It is true, that, against the seductions of the time-serving writer you may be upon your guard; but, on the other hand, spleen and calumny are devoured with a greedy ear. Flattery wears a badge of servitude, while malignity speaks the tone of independence, and is therefore well received. With regard to the writer of the following work, he can with truth aver, that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were neither known to him by marks of favour, nor by personal injury. The foundation of his fortune[3] was laid by Vespasian, advanced by Titus, and carried higher by Domitian. The fact must not be dissembled: but the historian who enters on his office with a profession of integrity, must not desert the cause of truth. No character should be touched with partiality; none should be disfigured by passion, or resentment. Of Nerva and Trajan,[4] if my health continues, it is my design to compose the history; it is a favourite plan, rich in materials, and every way safe. I have reserved it for the evening of my days; a glorious period! in which, through the rare felicity of the times, a man may think with freedom, and what he thinks he may publish to the world.

II. The subject now before me presents a series of great events, and battles fierce and bloody; a portion of time big with intestine divisions, and even the intervals of peace deformed with cruelty and horror; the whole a tragic volume, displaying, in succession, four princes[5] put to death; three civil wars;[6] with

1 Tacitus computes 820 years from the foundation of Rome to the end of Nero, when the following History begins. The battle of Actium was in the year of Rome 723; from that time the reigns of Augustus and the succeeding emperors form a period of 98 years to the end of Nero, who died A. U. C. 821.

2 The History of Rome to the end of the republic, is emphatically called by Tacitus the history of the Roman people. From the battle of Actium, it is properly the history of the emperors.

3 Tacitus was, probably, raised to the office of quæstor by Vespasian, and perhaps to the senatorian rank. Under Titus he advanced, in the regular gradation of the magistracy, to the functions either of tribune or ædile; and in the time of Domitian he was one of the quindecemviral college, as well as prætor. See Annals, xi. s. 11.

4 It is evident from this passage that Tacitus published his History in the reign of Trajan, since Nerva is called the Deified Nerva, and the apotheosis of the emperors was always after their death. Nerva began his reign A. U. C. 849, and died in the year 851, when Trajan succeeded by adoption.

5 The history included the whole time from the first of Galba to the assassination of Domitian: and, for that reason, some of the commentators are of opinion that the four princes put to the sword are Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian. Others, observing that the whole of Domitian's reign is lost, adapt their notions to the present state of our author's work, and reckon Piso, who was adopted by Galba, one of the four murdered princes.

6 The insurrection against Galba was an act of sudden violence; soon begun and ended. The three civil wars were as follows: 1. Otho and Vitellius: 2. Vitellius and Vespasian: 3. Lucius Antonius and Domitian, A. U. C. 845. The account of this last war is lost. All that can be collected at present is, that Antonius, who commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine, formed a

foreign enemies a greater number, and, in some conjunctures, both depending at once; prosperity in the East, disasters in the West; Illyricum thrown into convulsions; both the Gauls on the eve of a revolt; Britain[1] conquered, and, in the moment of conquest, lost again; the Sarmatians and the Suevians[2] leagued against the Romans; the Dacian name ennobled by alternate victory and defeat; and, finally, the Parthians taking the field under the banners of a pretended Nero.[3] In the course of the work, we shall see Italy overwhelmed with calamities; new wounds inflicted, and the old, which time had closed, opened again and bleeding afresh; cities sacked by the enemy, or swallowed up by earthquakes,[4] and the fertile country of Campania made a scene of desolation; Rome laid waste by fire; her ancient and most venerable temples smoking on the ground; the capitol[5] wrapt in flames by the hands of frantic citizens; the holy ceremonies of religion violated; adultery reigning without control; the adjacent islands filled with exiles; rocks and desert places stained with clandestine murder, and Rome itself a theatre of horror; where nobility of descent, and splendour of fortune, marked men out for destruction; where the vigour of mind that aimed at civil dignities, and the modesty that declined them, were offences without distinction; where virtue was a crime that led to certain ruin; where the guilt of informers, and the wages of their iniquity, were alike detestable; where the sacerdotal order, the consular dignity, the government of the provinces,[6] and even the cabinet of the prince, were seized by that execrable race, as their lawful prey; where nothing was sacred, nothing safe, from the hand of rapacity; where slaves were suborned, or, by their own malevolence, excited against their masters; where freedmen betrayed their patrons; and he, who had lived without an enemy,[7] died by the treachery of a friend.

III. And yet this melancholy period, barren as it was of public virtue, produced some examples of truth and honour. Mothers went with their sons into voluntary exile; wives followed the fortunes of their husbands; relations stood forth in the cause of their unhappy kindred; sons appeared in defence of their fathers; slaves on the rack gave proofs of their fidelity; eminent citizens, under the hard hand of oppression, were reduced to want and misery, and, even in that distress, retained an unconquered spirit. We shall see others firm to the last, and, in their deaths, nothing inferior to the applauded characters of antiquity. In addition to the misfortunes usual in the course of human transactions, we shall see the earth teeming with prodigies, the sky overcast with omens, thunder rolling with dreadful denunciation, and a variety of prognostics, sometimes auspicious, often big with terror, occasionally uncertain, dark, equivocal, frequently direct and manifest. In a word, the gods never gave such terrible instructions, nor, by the slaughter of armies, made it so clear and evident, that, instead of extending protection[8] to the empire, it was their awful pleasure to let fall their vengeance on the crimes of an offending people.

IV. Before we take up the thread of our narrative, it will not be useless to inquire what, in that period, was the state of affairs at Rome, and what the spirit that went forth among her armies; how the provinces stood affected, and wherein consisted the strength or weakness of the empire. By proceeding in this manner, we shall not content ourselves with a bare recital of facts, which are often ascribed to chance: we shall see the spring of each transaction, and a regular chain of causes and effects will be laid open to our view.

The death of Nero, in the first tumult of emotion, was considered as a public blessing;

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league with some of the German nations, and declared war against Domitian. He hazarded a battle with Lucius Maximus, and met with a total overthrow. He was slain in the engagement. Suet. in Domitian, s. vi. The foreign wars that distracted the empire, during the rage of civil commotions, were, one in Judea, and the other with Civilis, the Batavian chief.

1 Britain was finally subdued in the reign of Domitian. See the Life of Agricola. It was afterwards neglected and almost lost.

2 For the Sarmatians and the Suevians, see the Geographical Table.

3 For more of the pretended Nero, see Hist. ii. s. 8. The Parthians were on the point of declaring war in favour of another impostor, who took the name of Nero, in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 834, and afterwards in the reign of Domitian, A. U. 841.

4 The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed by an eruption of the lava of Mount Vesuvius, in the beginning of Titus's reign, A. U. C. 832.

5 See the conflagration of the Capitol, Hist. iii. s. 67 and 71.

6 Collectors of the imperial revenue were instituted by the emperors, in order to entrench on the power of the proconsuls, who were the proper officers in all the provinces that remained under the authority of the senate. Informers were raised to the office of imperial procurators, and obtained weight and influence in the cabinet. *Adepti procurationes et interiorem potentiam.*

7 The treachery of friends was the scourge and pest of society for several years. Trajan repressed the mischief. See his praise for that public benefit in Pliny's Panegyric, s. 42. *Reddita est amicis fides liberis pietas, obsequium servis.*

8 Some of the commentators have objected to the sentiment expressed by Tacitus in this place. Brotier calls it *atrox sententia.* But what is the fair construction? It is this: The crimes of the Roman people were such, that they could no longer expect the protection of the gods. They had drawn down the vengeance of heaven. Lucan has a similar sentiment:

Felix Roma quidem, civesque habitura beatos,
Si Libertatis superis tam cura fuisset,
Quam vindicta placet.

PHARSAL. lib. iv. ver. 107.

See Cicero to the same effect, De Nat. Deorum, lib. iii. s. 32.

but the senate, the people of Rome, the prætorian guards, and the legions, wherever stationed, were variously affected by that event. A new political secret was then for the first time discovered. It was perceived, that elsewhere than at Rome an emperor might be invested with the sovereign power. The fathers seized the opportunity, during the absence of a prince yet new[9] to the reins of government, to exercise their ancient rights, pleased with the novelty of freedom, and the resumption of their legislative authority. The Roman knights caught the flame of liberty. Honest men began to entertain hopes of the constitution. Such as stood connected with families of credit, and the various clients and freedmen of illustrious men driven into exile, were all erect with expectation of better times. The inferior populace, who loitered away their time in the theatre and the circus; the slaves of abandoned characters, and the sycophant crew, who, without substance of their own, had been pampered by the vices of Nero; all of that description stood covered with astonishment, yet panting for news, and eagerly swallowing the rumour of the day.

V. The prætorian guards[10] had been, by habit and the obligation of their oath, always devoted to the imperial family. Their revolt from Nero was not so much their own inclination as the management of their leaders. Acting without principle, they now were ready for new commotions. The promise of a donative in the name of Galba was still to be performed. They knew that war is the soldier's harvest. Peace affords no opportunity to gain the recompense due to valour; and the favours of the new prince would be engrossed by the legions, to whom he owed his elevation. Fired by these reflections, and further instigated by the arts of Nymphidius Sabinus,[11] their commanding officer, whose ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, they began to meditate a second revolution.

The conspiracy was crushed in the bud, and Nymphidius perished in the attempt. But the soldiers had thrown off the mask, and the sense of guilt served only to goad and spur their resolution. They talked of Galba with contempt and ridicule; they laughed at his advanced age; they inveighed against his avarice: and the rigorous discipline[12] by which he had acquired his [illegible]ry character, inflamed the prejudices of [illegible] had been enervated by a long peace of fourteen years. During that time, the dissolute manners of Nero diffused a general corruption, insomuch that the virtues, which formerly gained the affection of the army, were fallen into contempt. Nero was endeared to the soldiers by his vices. Galba, on the contrary, was rendered unpopular by the austerity of his manners. He was used to say, that he chose his soldiers, but never bought them. The maxim was worthy of the old republic, but no man thought it an effusion from the heart. His conduct and his words were too much at variance.

VI. Galba, being now in the decline of life, resigned himself altogether to Titus Vinius[13] and Cornelius Laco; the former the most profligate of men, and the latter despised for his sluggish inactivity. By those pernicious ministers he was involved in the popular hatred due to their own flagitious deeds. The wickedness of Vinius, and the incapacity of Laco, proved his ruin in the end. He made his approach to Rome[14] by slow journeys, in his progress marking his way with blood and cruelty. Cingonius Varro, consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, of consular rank, were, by his orders, put to death; the former, as an accomplice in the enterprise of Nymphidius, and the latter, because he had been appointed to command the army under Nero. They were condemned unheard, and, for that reason, thought the innocent victims of a barbarous policy.

Galba's entry[15] into the city of Rome, after the massacre of several thousands of unarmed and defenceless soldiers, struck a general panic. The people at large were thrown into consternation, and even the men, who executed the orders of their general, stood astonished at the horrors of the scene. Rome, at that time, was filled with a prodigious body of troops, assembled from various parts of the empire. Besides the forces drawn from the fleet,[16] and left as a garrison by Nero, Galba, when he entered the city, brought with him a legion from Spain. To these must be added the[17] several companies from Germany, from Britain, and Illyricum, which had been sent forward towards the Caspian straits,[18] to serve in the war then intended against the Albanians. In a short time after-

9 Galba, who was not arrived from Spain.

10 The prætorian guards had shown themselves, at all times, firmly attached to the Cæsarean family.

11 For an account of Nymphidius and his rash ambition, see the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

12 The rigour with which Galba supported and enforced military discipline, is stated by Suetonius, in Galba, s. 6.

13 For Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco, see the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

14 For Galba's journey from Spain, the fate of Cingonius Varro, and Petronius Turpilianus, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.; and this book, s. 37.

15 See also in the same Appendix, an account of the slaughter committed near the gates of Rome by Galba's order; and this book, s. 37.

16 Nero had formed a new legion composed of men draughted from the marines. See this book, s. 31.

17 The forces from Britain and Germany, which Nero had sent forward on a wild expedition to the straits of the Caspian Sea, were all recalled to quell the insurrection of Vindex in Gaul.

18 See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

wards, on the first notice of the revolt excited in Gaul by the turbulent genius of Vindex,[1] they were all recalled; and the consequence was, that Rome saw within her walls the unusual spectacle of a vast military force. In so large a number of soldiers, not yet devoted to the interest of a single leader, the seed-plots of a new rebellion were prepared, and ready to break out on the first alarm.

VII. It happened, at this point of time, that an account arrived of two murders, committed at a distance from Rome; one of Clodius Macer in Africa, and the other of Fonteius Capito[2] in Germany. Macer, beyond all doubt, was engaged in schemes of ambition, and, in the midst of his projects, was cut off by Trebonius Garrucianus, the procurator of the province, who had received his orders from Galba. Capito was put to death by Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, on a like suspicion of plotting innovations in the state. But the charge against him was by no means clear, nor had the emperor issued his orders. The general opinion was, that Capito, however branded with avarice, rapacity, and other vices, had not added to his crimes the guilt of rebellion; but that the authors of his destruction, having first endeavoured to draw him into their own designs, combined to execute on an innocent victim the vengeance due to their own iniquity.

Galba, with his usual facility, or, perhaps, wishing to avoid the danger of an inquiry into what could not be recalled, thought it prudent to give his sanction to the acts of his officers, however unjust and cruel. Both executions were, notwithstanding, the subject of public clamour: the usual fate of all unpopular princes: their actions, when the current of the times is set against them, are taken in the gross, and, whether good or evil, condemned without distinction. Venality and corruption were now fully established. The emperor's freedmen engrossed the whole power of the state, and every thing was put up to sale. Even the slaves, in haste to grow rich, and fearing the uncertainty of an old man's life, began to seize their share of the plunder. The new court opened with all the vices of Nero's reign, but without the same apology. The advanced age[3] of Galba was a subject of ridicule. Dissipation, at his time of life, excited laughter and contempt. Appearances are the reasons of the populace: they were accustomed to the youthful frolics of Nero, and in their comparison of princes, elegance of figure and the graces of deportment are decisive qualities.

VIII. Such was the posture of affairs at Rome, and such the sentiments that pervaded the mass of the people. With regard to the provinces, Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus,[4] a man distinguished by his eloquence, and well accomplished in the arts of peace, but of no reputation in war. In both the Gauls the name of Vindex was still held in veneration; and the people, pleased with their recent admission to the freedom[5] of Rome, and the diminution of their tribute, showed no symptoms of disaffection. In those parts, however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, the inhabitants of the several cities saw, with discontent, that they were not thought worthy of the like indulgence. Some of them complained that their territories were circumscribed within narrower limits; and, in vulgar minds, the good extended to others was an aggravation of the injury done to themselves.

The legions in Germany did not show a countenance that promised a perfect calm. The restless temper of the soldiers, by their late victory[6] flushed with pride, yet dreading the imputation of having conquered Galba's party, was thrown into violent agitations, by turns inflamed with rage, and overwhelmed with fear. From such a number of soldiers, who had the power of the sword in their own hands, nothing but danger was to be apprehended. They balanced for some time, before they detached themselves from Nero; nor did Verginius, their commanding officer, declare immediately for Galba. Whether that tardy movement was occasioned by his own ambitious projects, cannot now be known. The soldiers, it is certain, made him a tender of the imperial dignity. The death of Fonteius Capito was another cause of discontent. Even such as could not deny the justice of the measure, exclaimed against it with indignation. While the minds of men were thus distracted with contending passions, Galba thought fit, under a show of friendship, to recall Verginius[7] from

1 For the rebellion in Gaul, excited by the enterprising spirit and undaunted courage of Vindex, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.

2 The murder of Fonteius Capito on the Lower Rhine, and of Clodius Macer in Africa, has been related in the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

3 Galba, at his elevation to the imperial dignity, was seventy-three years old. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

4 Cluvius Rufus was a writer of History. Pliny the younger says, he told his friend Verginius, If you meet with any thing in my History that gives you offence, you will be so good as to remember, that History [illegible] not betray the cause of Truth. You know, rep[illegible] in-ius, that whatever I have done, it has bee[illegible] have all my actions faithfully related by s[illegible] as yourself. Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

5 The people of Gaul, who stood for Vindex, w[illegible] Sequani, the Ædui, and the Arverni; for whom see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume. The states that lay near the legions on the Upper and Lower Rhine, were the Lingones and the Remi. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

6 The German armies obtained a complete victory over Vindex at Vesontium. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

7 Verginius commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine. For an account of him and his conduct, see the

his post. The legions had now no chief at their head, and, if the conduct of their general was arraigned, they considered themselves as men involved in the same accusation.

IX. The legions on the Upper Rhine were ill retained in their duty by Hordeonius Flaccus, an officer far advanced in years, without vigour of mind, disabled in his limbs, and, by his infirmities, exposing himself and old age to scorn. Unequal to the command even in quiet times, he was now, in a camp full of bold and turbulent spirits, unable to support his authority. His endeavours to enforce obedience served only to irritate the minds of men disposed to mutiny. On the Lower Rhine, the army had been for some time without a general of consular rank, till Aulus Vitellius,[8] son of the person of that name who had been censor, and three times consul, was sent by Galba to take upon him the command. This to Galba seemed sufficient, and the Fates[9] ordained it.

In Britain every thing was quiet. The legions stationed in that island had no party-divisions to distract them. During the civil wars that followed, they took no part in the contest. Situated at a distance, and divided by the ocean from the rest of the world, they did not catch the epidemic frenzy of the times. They knew no enemies but those of their country, and were not taught by civil discord to hate one another. Illyricum remained in a state of tranquillity, though the legions drawn by Nero from that country found the means, while they loitered in Italy, of tampering with Verginius. But the armies were at distant stations, separated by a long tract of sea or land; and that circumstance proved the best expedient to prevent a combination of the military. They could neither act with a spirit of union, nor, by communicating their vices, spread a general infection through the legions that lay remote from each other.

X. The East was hitherto free from commotion. Licinius Mucianus governed the province of Syria with four legions under his command. He was an officer of experience, distinguished, in the early parts of his life, by alternate vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. In his youth the favour of the great was the object of his ambition, and in that pursuit he wasted his fortune. His circumstances growing desperate, and a storm impending from the displeasure of Claudius, he retired into Asia, and there lived in obscurity, as little removed from the state and condition of a real exile, as he was afterwards from the splendour of imperial fortune. He united in his character a rare and wonderful mixture of repugnant qualities. He was affable and arrogant; addicted to pleasure, and by fits and starts a man of business. When at leisure from affairs, he gave a loose to his luxurious passions; if his interest required it, he came upon mankind with superior talents. The minister was praised, and the private man detested. The art of conciliating the good will of others was his in an eminent degree. With his inferiors he knew how to soften authority; to his friends and equals his address was courtly; and yet, with these attractive arts, a man so various was fitter to raise others to the imperial dignity, than to obtain it for himself.

The war against the Jews had been committed by Nero to Flavius Vespasian, who was then in Judæa at the head of three legions. That commander had formed no design, nor even a wish, against the interest of Galba. He sent his son Titus to Rome, as will be seen hereafter,[10] with congratulations to Galba, and assurances of fidelity. It was not then perceived that the sovereign power was destined, by the decrees of Heaven, for Vespasian and his two sons. After his accession, portents and prodigies, and the responses of oracles, were better understood.

XI. Egypt, and the forces stationed there to bridle the several provinces, were, according to the system established by Augustus, confided to the Roman knights, who exercised all the powers of the ancient kings. In order to keep in subjection a country difficult of access, and at the same time a granary of corn; where the genius of the people,[11] deeply tinged with superstition, was ever wavering, and prone to change; where there was no plan of regular government, and, by consequence, no respect paid to the civil magistrate; it was the policy of Augustus to retain the administration, like a mystery of state, in his own hands, and under his own cabinet council. In the present juncture,[12] Tiberius Alexander, a native of the country, was intrusted with the government of the province.

Appendix to the Annals, xvi. s. 12. When he was recalled by Galba, Hordeonius Flaccus succeeded to the command.

8 This was Vitellius, whom in the sequel we shall see emperor of Rome. Galba sent him to command on the Lower Rhine, while Hordeonius Flaccus, a man in years, and greatly afflicted with the gout, was likely to remain inactive in the province of Upper Germany. See Suet. in Vitellio, s. 7.

9 The short reflection of Tacitus on the appointment of Vitellius, is understood two different ways by the commentators. According to some, the true reading is, *Id satis videbatur*, That by Galba was thought sufficient; according to others, *Id fatis videbatur*, The fates ordained it. The last is in the manner of Tacitus, and therefore adopted in the translation.

10 See the History, book ii. s. 1.

11 It has been mentioned in former notes, that it was the policy of Augustus to keep the management of Egypt, the great corn-market of Rome, in his own hands. The expression of Tacitus is remarkable; *domi retinere*, to reserve the administration for his own cabinet-council. See Annals, ii. s. 59.

12 Tiberius Alexander is said to be a native of Egypt; but, to qualify him for the office of governor, he was made a Roman knight. He was probably the same person who is mentioned, Annals, xv. s. 28.

Africa, and the legions quartered there, were, since the murder of Clodius Macer, grown indifferent to all modes of government. Having experienced the authority of an inferior master, they were willing to submit to any prince. The two Mauritanias,[1] Rhætia, Noricum, and Thrace, with the places committed to the care of imperial procurators, had no fixed principle, no hatred, and no affection, but what was inspired by the force nearest at hand. They were always united in opinion with the strongest. The provinces, which were left naked and defenceless, and Italy in particular, were open to the first invader, the ready prey of any conqueror. Such was the situation of the Roman world, when Servius Galba, in his second consulship, and Titus Vinius, his colleague, began their year; a fatal year, which brought them both to a tragic catastrophe, and the commonwealth to the brink of ruin.

XII. In a few days after the calends of January, letters arrived at Rome from Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of Belgic Gaul,[2] with intelligence of a revolt in Upper Germany. The legions in that quarter, disregarding the obligation of their oath, shook off all obedience, and demanded another emperor; willing, however, to soften the violence of their proceedings, and, for that purpose, to leave the choice to the judgment of the senate, and the Roman people. The use that Galba made of this intelligence, was, to hasten the adoption of a successor; a point which he had for some time revolved in his mind, and often discussed with his secret advisers. During the few months of his reign, no subject had so much engrossed the public conversation. The people, always politicians, and fond of settling state affairs, gave a loose to their usual freedom of speech; and, besides, an emperor on the verge of life made it natural to advert to the succession. Few were able to think with judgment, and fewer had the virtue to feel for the public good. Private views and party connections suggested various candidates. Different factions were formed, and all intrigued, caballed, and clamoured, as their hopes or fears directed. Titus Vinius did not escape the notice of the public. He grew in power every day, and the hatred of the people kept pace with his rising grandeur. In the sudden elevation of Galba, this man and his adherents, with all the creatures of the court, saw their opportunity to enrich themselves with the spoils of their country; and, encouraged as they were by the facility of a weak, a credulous, and superannuated prince, they were resolved to lose no time. In such a period the temptation was great, and guilt might hope to plunder with impunity.

XIII. The whole sovereign power was in the hands of Titus Vinius, the consul, and Cornelius Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards. A third favourite soon appeared on the political stage, with a degree of influence not inferior to either of the former. The name of this man was Icelus,[3] one of the emperor's freedmen, lately created a Roman knight, and, to suit his new dignity, honoured with the name of Martianus. The three confidential ministers were soon at variance. They clashed in interest, and, in all inferior transactions, drew different ways; but in the choice of a successor they were divided into factions. Vinius declared for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelus joined in opposition to that measure, not so much to favour a friend of their own, as to thwart the designs of a rival. Galba was not to learn the close connection that subsisted between Vinius and Otho. The busy politicians, who love to pry into every thing, and divulge all they know, and all they think, had circulated a report that reached the ear of the emperor. Vinius had a daughter, at that time a widow; Otho was unmarried, and a match between them would make the minister the father-in-law of his future emperor.

Galba resolved to act with caution, and with due regard to the public welfare. He saw the sovereign power wrested out of the hands of Nero, but wrested in vain, if transferred to a man like Otho; a stranger, from his earliest days, to every fair pursuit, and in the prime of manhood distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. It was his taste for luxury and vicious pleasures, that first recommended him to the notice of Nero. He vied with his master in all kinds of dissipation, and, in consequence of that connection, became the worthy depositary to whom the prince intrusted the care of his dearly beloved Poppæa,[4] till such time as Octavia was, by a divorce, removed out of the way. But Otho's fidelity soon became suspected. Nero's jealousy could not bear a rival. He sent his favourite companion to govern the province of Lusitania, and, under that pretext, banished him from Rome. It is true that Otho, in the course of his administration, gained, by his mild and courtly manners, no small degree of popularity. In the late revolution, he was the first to espouse the interest of Galba. While the war lasted, he continued an active partisan, and, by his splendid appearance, did no small credit to

1 For Mauritania, Rhætia, Noricum, and Thracia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 Belgic Gaul began from the Scheld (*L'Escaut*) and extended to the river Sequana (the *Seine*). The revolt of the legions on the Upper Rhine is related by Suetonius, in Galba, s. 16.

3 Icelus, the favourite freedman, has been mentioned in the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 13. See Pliny the Elder, lib. xxxiii. s. 2.

4 For Otho's connection with Poppæa, see Annals, xiii. s. 45 and 46.

the cause. Hence his hopes of being called to the succession. The soldiers favoured his pretensions; and the creatures of Nero's court promised themselves, under a sovereign so nearly resembling their master, a return of the same vices.

XIV. Galba saw, with deep anxiety, a storm gathering in Germany, and where it would burst he could not foresee. Of Vitellius and his designs no certain account arrived. The revolt of the legions filled him with apprehensions, and he reposed no confidence in the prætorian guards. The nomination of a successor seemed, in such a crisis, to be the best expedient; and for that purpose he held a cabinet council. Besides Vinius and Laco, he thought proper to summon Marius Celsus, consul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, the præfect of the city. Having prefaced the business in a short speech concerning his age and infirmities, he sent for Piso Licinianus;[5] whether of his own free choice, or at the instigation of Laco, remains uncertain. That minister had lived in friendship with Piso. He contracted an intimacy with him at the house of Rubellius Plautus, though he had now the address to conceal that connection, affecting, with public motives, to recommend a stranger. To this conduct, the fair esteem, in which Piso was held, gave an appearance of sincerity. Piso was the son of Marcus Crassus and Scribonia, both of illustrious descent. His aspect was grave, and his deportment formal; such as gave an idea of primitive manners. By the candid and impartial he was called strict and severe; by his enemies, morose and sullen. With great excellences, he had a mixture of those qualities that are often the shades of eminent virtue; but those very shades, which seemed to others too dark and gloomy, in the eyes of Galba were the strokes of character, that gave Piso a cast of antiquity, and made him worthy to be the adopted heir to the empire.

XV. Galba, we are told, taking Piso by the hand, addressed him in the following manner: "If the adoption which I am now to make, were, like the act of a private citizen, to be acknowledged, as the law *Curiata*[6] directs, in the presence of the pontiffs, I should derive honour to myself from an alliance with a person descended from the great Pompey and Marcus Crassus: and, in return, you would add to the nobility of your own family the lustre of the Sulpician and Lutatian name. I now address you in a more exalted character. It is the emperor of Rome that speaks. Called by the consent of gods and men to that high station, I am now determined in my choice by your rare accomplishments, and the love I feel for my country. I invite you to the imperial dignity; that dignity for which our ancestors led armies to the field, and which I myself obtained in battle. Without your stir I now make to you a voluntary offer. For this proceeding I have before me the example of Augustus, who associated to himself, first his sister's son Marcellus, and then Agrippa his son-in-law, his grandsons afterwards, and, finally, Tiberius, the son of his wife. Augustus, indeed, looked for an heir in his own family; I choose in the bosom of the commonwealth. If, upon such an occasion, I could listen to private affection, I have a numerous train of relations, and I have companions in war. But it was not from motives of pride that I accepted the sovereignty of the state: ambition had no share in my conduct. I brought with me to the seat of government an upright intention; and that I now act on the same principle may be fairly seen, when, in my present choice, I postpone not only my own relations, but even those of your own family. You have a brother, in point of nobility your equal; by priority of birth your superior; and, if your merit did not supersede him, a man worthy of the highest elevation.

"You are now at the time of life at which the passions subside. Your former conduct requires no apology. Fortune has hitherto[7] frowned upon you: you must now beware of her smiles. Prosperity tries the human heart with the deepest probe, and draws forth the hidden character. We struggle with adversity, but success disarms us. I trust, however, that you will carry with you, to the highest station, the candour of your mind, your good faith, your independent spirit, and your constancy in friendship; virtues that exalt and dignify the human character; but the arts of insidious men will lay siege to your best qualities, and undermine them all. Dissimulation will deceive you; flattery will find admission to your heart; and self-interest, the bane of all true affection, will lay snares to seduce your integrity. To-day you and I converse without disguise, in terms of plain simplicity: how will others deal with us? Their respect will be paid

5 Suetonius says, *Pisonem Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque juvenem, ac sibi olim probatissimum, testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adsritum, repente e media salutantium turba apprehendit, filiumque appellans, perduxit in castra, ac pro concione adoptavit.* Suet. in Galba, s. 17. According to this account, Galba was determined in his choice, and did not want the advice of Laco. He adopted Piso from inclination, *propria electione.* Plutarch, in the Life of Galba, gives the same account. For an account of Piso's pedigree, see Brotier, 4to edition, vol. iii. page 365.

6 Romulus classed the citizens of Rome in thirty *curiæ*, and from that circumstance the *Lex Curiata* took its name. The law was enacted by the people assembled in their several curiæ. See Annals, xi. s. 22.

7 Piso's father, mother, and brother, were put to death by Claudius. Another brother (the conspiracy against Nero being detected) opened his veins and bled to death. See Annals, xv. s. 59.

to our fortunes, not to ourselves. To talk the language of sincerity to a prince, and guide him by honest counsels, is a laborious task: to play the hypocrite requires no more than to humour his inclinations, whatever they are. It is the grimace of friendship: the heart has no share in the business.

XVI. "If the mighty fabric of this great empire could subsist on any other foundation than that of a monarchy, the glory of restoring the old republic should this day be mine. But, at my age, all that remains for me is to bequeath to the people an able successor: your youth may give them a virtuous prince. Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we were all the property of one family. By hereditary right the Roman world was theirs. The prince is now elective, and the freedom of choice is liberty. The Julian and the Claudian race are both extinct, and virtue may now succeed by adoption. To be born the son of a prince is the result of chance; mankind consider it in no higher light. The method of adoption allows time to deliberate, and the public voice will serve as a guide to direct the judgment of the emperor. Let Nero be for ever before your eyes: proud of his long line of ancestors, and warm with the blood of the Cæsars, he did not fall by the revolt of Vindex, at the head of a province naked and disarmed; nor was he deposed by me, who had only one legion under my command: his own vices, his own cruelty, hurled him from his throne, no more to trample on the necks of mankind. Of a prince condemned by a public sentence, there was till then no example.

"As to myself, raised as I was by the events of war, and called to the sovereignty by the voice of a willing people, I know what I have to expect: envy and malice may pursue me, but the glory of doing good shall still be mine. After the storm that lately shook the empire, you will not wonder that a perfect calm has not succeeded; and, if two legions waver in their duty, your courage must not be disconcerted. My reign did not begin in the halcyon days of peace. Old age, at present, is the objection urged against me: but when it is known whom I have adopted, I shall appear young in my successor. Nero is still regretted by the vile and profligate: that good men may not regret him, it will be ours to provide by our future conduct. More than I have said the time will not admit; if I have made a proper choice, I have discharged my duty. One rule, however, there is worthy of your consideration. In all questions of good and evil, ask yourself, when you were a subject, what did you expect from the prince, and what did you wish him to avoid? It is not at Rome as in despotic governments, where one family towers above mankind, and their subjects groan in bondage. You are to reign over the Roman people; a people whom no extreme will suit: when in full possession of liberty, enemies to their own happiness; when reduced to slavery, impatient of the yoke." To this effect Galba delivered himself, little doubting but that he was then creating a prince: the courtiers considered it as a complete legal act, and paid their homage to their future sovereign.

XVII. During the whole of this solemn transaction, Piso, we are told, never lost the even tenor of his mind. From the first moment all eyes were fixed upon him; yet, on his part, no emotion was seen, no symptom of joy, no surprise, no confusion. He addressed the emperor, now his father, in terms of profound respect, and spoke of himself with reserve and modesty. His mien and countenance never betrayed the smallest inward alteration. He behaved with the apathy of a man who deserved to reign, but did not desire it. The next consideration was, in what place the adoption should be announced; in the forum before an assembly of the people, in the senate, or in the camp. The latter was thought most eligible: the army would feel the compliment; the affections of the soldiers, though of little value if purchased by bribery and low intrigue, are, notwithstanding, when they are gained by fair and honourable means, always of moment, and never to be neglected. Meanwhile, the populace rushing in crowds from every quarter, surrounded the palace, burning with impatience for the important news, and growing still more eager in proportion to the delay of the profound politicians, who affected an air of mystery, when the secret had already transpired.

XVIII. On the fourth of the ides of January the weather was uncommonly tempestuous, accompanied with heavy rains, thunder and lightning, and all the uproar of the elements, which usually alarms the superstition of the multitude. In ancient times this phenomenon would have been sufficient[1] to dissolve all public assemblies: but Galba was not to be deterred from his purpose. He proceeded to the camp, regardless of prodigies, which he considered as the effect of natural causes; or, it may be, that what is fixed by fate cannot by human prudence be avoided. A vast conflux of soldiers assembled in the camp. Galba addressed them in a short speech, such as becomes the imperial dignity. He told them that, in conformity to the example of Augustus, and the practice of the army, where each soldier chooses his companion in war,[2] he had adopted

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1 Thunder and lightning were always considered by the Romans as a warning not to transact public business. *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.* Cicero De Divinatione, lib. ii. s. 18.

2 According to a military custom, established in an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman soldier chose his favourite comrade, and by that tie of friendship all were mutually bound to share every danger with

Piso for his son. Fearing that his silence on the subject of the German revolt might tend to magnify the danger, he added, that the fourth and eighteenth legions were, by the artifice of a few factious leaders, incited to tumult and disorder; but their violence went no further than words, and he had no doubt but they would soon be sensible of their error. Such was his plain and manly language. He added no flattering expressions, no soothing hopes of a donative. The tribunes, notwithstanding, and the centurions and soldiers who stood nearest to his person, raised a shout of approbation. Through the rest of the lines a deep and sullen silence prevailed. The men saw, with discontent, that, on the eve of a war, they were deprived of those gratuities which had been granted in time of peace, and were now become the soldier's right. The emperor, beyond all doubt, had it in his power to secure the affections of the soldiers. From a parsimonious old man the smallest mark of liberality would have made an impression. But in an age that could no longer bear the virtues of the old republic, rigid economy was out of season, and, by consequence, the worst of policy.

XIX. From the camp Galba proceeded to the senate. His speech, like that to the soldiers, was short, unadorned, and simple. Piso delivered himself with grace and eloquence. The fathers heard him with attention; some with real affection, and others, who in their hearts opposed his interest, with overacted zeal; while the neutral and indifferent (by far the greatest number) made a tender of their services, all with private views, regardless of their country. This was the only public act in which Piso appeared. In the time that followed between his adoption and his death (an interval of four days) he neither said nor did any thing that merits the attention of history.

Affairs in Germany began to wear a gloomy aspect. Messengers upon the heels of one another came posting to Rome; and in a city where men stood athirst for news, and swallowed the worst with avidity, nothing was seen but hurry and confusion. The fathers resolved to treat by their deputies with the German legions. In a secret council it was proposed that Piso should set out at the head of the embassy, that the army might have before their eyes the authority of the senate, and the majesty of the empire. It was further thought advisable that Laco, the prefect of the prætorian guards, should accompany the deputation; but he declined the office. Nor was the choice of the ambassadors easily arranged. The whole was left to Galba's judgment, and he executed it with caprice and shameful indecision. Men were appointed, and removed; others were substituted, and changed again; some excused themselves; numbers, as fear or ambition prompted, made interest for the preference, or for permission to remain at home.

XX. The means of raising money came next under consideration. Various expedients were proposed, but none appeared so just, as that of making reprisals on such as by their rapacity impoverished the commonwealth. Nero had lavished in pensions and donations above two and twenty millions of sesterces. The men who had enriched themselves by this wild profusion were allowed to retain a tenth part[3] of the plunder, and condemned to refund the rest. But their tenth part was no longer in their possession. Prodigal no less of the public money than of their own, they had squandered all in riot and debauchery. They had neither lands nor funds of any kind. The wreck of their fortunes consisted of little more than the utensils of luxury, vice, and folly. To enforce a resumption of all enormous grants, a court of commissioners was established, consisting of thirty Roman knights. This tribunal, odious on account of its novelty, and still more so for its number of officers, and the spirit of cabal that prevailed in every part of the business, was found vexatious and oppressive. The auctioneer planted his staff in every street; the public crier was heard; sales and confiscations were seen; a general ferment spread through the city. And yet this scene of distress was beheld with pleasure. The men who had been pillaged by Nero, saw the minions of that emperor reduced to a level with themselves. About the same time several tribunes were discharged from the service. In that number were Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso, both of the prætorian guards; Æmilius Pacensis, from the city cohorts, and Julius Fronto, from the night-watch. But this, so far from being a remedy, served only to alarm and irritate the rest of the officers. They concluded that all were equally suspected, and that a timid court, not daring at once to go the length of its resentment, would proceed to cull them out man by man.

XXI. Otho, in the mean time, felt every motive that could inflame ambition. In quiet times he had nothing before him but despair; trouble and confusion were his only source of hope. His luxury was too great for the revenue of a prince,[4] and his fortune was sunk to the

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their fellows. The consequence was, that a warlike spirit pervaded the whole army. See Livy, lib. ix. s. 28.

3 See Suetonius, in Galba, s. 15.

4 See in Suetonius an account of Otho's circumstances, and his expensive luxury. Otho did not scruple to say, that nothing short of the imperial power could save him from utter ruin; and whether he died in battle, or fell a victim to his creditors, was immaterial. *Nisi principem se stare non posse: nihilque referre, ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus caderet.* Suet. in Otho, s. 5. See also Plutarch, in the Life of Galba.

lowest ebb, below the condition of a private man. He hated Galba, and he saw Piso with an eye of envy. To these incentives he added real or imaginary fears for his own personal safety, and in those fears he found new motives for rebellion. "He had felt the weight of Nero's displeasure; and must he now wait for a second Lusitania? Was he to expect, under colour of friendship, another honourable banishment? The man whom the public voice has named for the succession, is sure to be suspected by the reigning prince. It was that jealousy that ruined his interest with a superannuated emperor; and the same narrow motive would act with greater force on the mind of a young man,[1] by nature harsh, and in his exile grown fierce and savage. Otho was, perhaps, already doomed to destruction. But the authority of Galba was on the decline, and that of Piso not yet established. This was, therefore, the time to strike a sudden blow. The convulsion of states, and the change of masters, afford the true season for courage and vigorous enterprise. In such a period, when inactivity is certain ruin, and bold temerity may be crowned with success, to linger in doubt might be the ruin of his cause. To die is the common lot of humanity. In the grave, the only distinction lies between those who leave no trace behind, and the heroic spirits who transmit their names to posterity. And since the same end awaits alike the guilty and the innocent, the man of enterprise will provoke his fate, and close the scene with glory."

XXII. The mind of Otho was not, like his body,[2] soft and effeminate. His slaves and freedmen lived in a course of luxury, unknown to private families. They flattered their master's taste; they painted to him in lively colours the joys of Nero's court, and the perpetual round of gay delights in which he had passed his days; they represented to him adultery without control, the choice of wives and concubines, and scenes of revelry scarcely known to Asiatic princes. These, if he dared nobly, they represented to him as his own; if he remained inactive, as the prize of others. The judicial astrologers added a spur to inflame his ardour. They announced great events, and to Otho a year of glory. Society has, perhaps, never known a more dangerous pest than this race of impostors, who had been ever ready, with vile infusions, to poison the hearts of princes, and to stimulate ambition to its ruin; a set of perfidious men, proscribed by law, and yet, in defiance of all law, cherished in such a city as Rome.

It was with this crew of fortune-tellers that Poppæa held consultations when she aspired to the imperial bed. It happened that one of these pretenders to preternatural knowledge, a man of the name of Ptolemy, accompained Otho into Spain. He had there fortold that Otho would survive the reign of Nero; and the event giving credit to his art, he took upon him to promise greater things. He saw Galba on the verge of life, and Otho in the vigour of his days. From that circumstance, and the currents of popular rumour that filled the city of Rome, this man drew his conjectures, and ventured to announce Otho's elevation to the imperial dignity. These bodings were welcome to the ear of Otho: he considered them as the effect of science, and believed the whole, with that credulity, which, in a mind inflamed with ambition, stands ready to receive the marvellous for reality. From this time, Ptolemy was the chief actor in the dark scenes that followed. He inspired the plan of treason, and Otho embraced it with impetuous ardour. The heart that has formed the wish, and conceived the project, has seldom any scruple about the means.

XXIII. Whether this bold conspiracy was then first imagined, or prepared and settled long before, cannot now be known. It is, however, certain that Otho had been in the habit of courting the affections of the army, and this, either with a view of being called to the succession, or, if not, with a design to seize it by force. He omitted no opportunity to ingratiate himself with the common men; on their march, in the lines, at their quarters, he made it his business to converse freely with all; he accosted the veterans by name, and, remembering their service under Nero, called them his brother-soldiers; he renewed his acquaintance with some; he inquired after others, and with his interest and his purse was ready to be their friend. In these discourses he took care to mingle complaints, and, with half-hinted malignity, to glance at Galba. He omitted nothing that could fill the vulgar mind with discontent. The soldiers were prepared to receive the worst impressions. Fatiguing

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1 Piso had been by Nero ordered into exile, and might probably return with a mind exasperated, and deep-smothered resentment, according to the verses made against Tiberius, during his retreat in the isle of Rhodes.

———Regnabit sanguine multo
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.
SUET. in Tib. s. 59.

2 The character of Otho, as here delineated by the unerring pencil of Tacitus, is finely copied by Corneille in his tragedy, entitled Otho. A review of the various passages, which are transplanted into the French play, would be an agreeable amusement to every reader of taste, but cannot be comprised within the limits of a note. It will be sufficient to state what Corneille himself has said in the preface to his tragedy. He makes it his boast that he translated as much as he possibly could; and it does not appear that the malignant critics of that day charged him with petty larceny, or railed at him with virulence for the use which he thought proper to make of a great historian. Corneille's words are as follow: *Le sujet de cette tragedie est tire de Tacite, qui commence ses histoires par celle-ci. Les caracteres de ceux que j'y fais parler, y sont les memes que chez cet incomparable auteur, que j'ai traduit tant qu'il m'a ete possible.*

marches, provisions ill supplied, and a plan of rigorous discipline lately revived, turned their hearts against the reigning prince. They had known gentler times, when, at their ease, they traversed the lakes of Campania, and went on sailing-parties to the cities of Achaia; but now the scene was changed to the Alps, the Pyrenean, and long tracts of country, where they were to march under a load of armour scarce supportable.

XXIV. While the minds of the soldiers were, by these means, thrown into violent agitations, Mævius Pudens, a near relation of Tigellinus, added fuel to the flame. Whoever was known to be of a light and versatile disposition, in distress for money, or fond of public commotions, this man attracted to his party. He sapped his way with a degree of dexterity, as unperceived as it was successful. As often as Galba was entertained at Otho's house, he distributed to the cohort on duty a hundred sesterces for every man, under colour of an allowance for their usual convivial party. This generosity, which passed under the name of a largess, was increased by the secret, but well applied, bribery of Otho; who became at last a corruptor so bold and open, that, when Cocceius Proculus, a soldier of the body-guard, was engaged in a litigation with one of his neighbours about the boundaries of their respective grounds, Otho bought the whole estate of the adverse party, and conveyed it to the soldier as a present. And yet these practices gave no jealousy to the commander of the prætorian bands. To penetrate dark transactions was so far from being his talent, that he could not see what escaped no eye but his own.

XXV. Otho took into his councils one of his freedmen, by name Onomastus. This man was chosen to conduct the enterprise. He selected for his accomplices, Barbius Proculus, whose duty it was to bear the watch-word to the night-guard, and one Veturius, his chosen assistant. Otho sounded them apart; and finding them fit instruments for his purposes, subtle, dark, and resolute, he loaded them both with presents, and dismissed them with a sum of money, to be employed in bribing the rest of the guards. In this manner two soldiers undertook to dispose of the Roman empire, and what they undertook, they dared to execute. A few only were conscious of the plot. The rest, though held in suspense, were managed with such dexterity, that they stood in readiness, as soon as the blow was struck, to second the conspirators. The soldiers of note were told, that having been distinguished by Nymphidius, they lived in danger, suspected, and exposed to the resentment of Galba. The loss of the donative, so often promised, and still withheld, was the topic enforced, to irritate the minds of the common men. Numbers lamented the loss of Nero, and the agreeable vices of that dissolute reign. All were averse from the new plan of discipline, and the idea of a further reform diffused a general terror.

XXVI. The spirit of disaffection spread, as it were by contagion, to the legions and the auxiliary troops, all sufficiently agitated by the revolt in Germany. The vile and profligate were ready for any mischief, and among the few of sober conduct, inactivity was no better than treason in disguise. The conspirators saw their advantage, insomuch that, on the day ensuing the ides of January, they formed a resolution to take Otho under their care, as he returned from supper, and, without further delay, proclaim him emperor. This project, however, did not take effect. In the darkness of the night, and the confusion inseparable from it, no man could answer for the consequences. The city was full of soldiers; and among men inflamed with liquor, no union, no concerted measure, could be expected. The traitors desisted from their purpose, but with no public motive. The general welfare made no impression on men, who had conspired to imbrue their hand in the blood of their sovereign. What they chiefly feared was, that the first who offered himself to the troops from Germany and Pannonia, might by those strangers, and in the tumult of the dark, be mistaken for Otho, and saluted by the title of emperor. The plot, thus checked for the present, began to transpire, and must have been by various circumstances brought to light had not the chief conspirators laboured to suppress all appearances of lurking treason. Some facts, however, reached the ears of Galba; but the folly of Laco explained every thing away, and, by consequence, the emperor was lulled into security. The præfect of the guards had no knowledge of the military character. Nothing could open the eyes of a man, who opposed every measure, however excellent, which did not originate with himself. By the perversity of his nature, he was always at variance with talents and superior judgment.

XXVII. On the eighteenth day before the calends of February, Galba assisted at a sacrifice, in the temple of Apollo. In the midst of the ceremony, Umbricius the augur, after inspecting the entrails of the victims, announced impending treason, and a lurking enemy within the walls of Rome. Otho, who stood near the emperor, heard this prediction, but interpreted it in his own favour, pleased with omens that promised so well to his cause. In that moment, Onomastus came to inform him, that his builders and surveyors were waiting to talk with him on business. This, as had been concerted, was a signal, that the conspirators were ready to throw off the mask, and strike the decisive blow. Otho quitted the temple, having first told such as wondered at his sudden departure, that, being on the point of purchasing certain farm-houses not in good repair, he had appointed workmen

to examine the buildings before he concluded his bargain. Having made that feigned excuse, he walked off, arm in arm, with his freedman; and, passing through the palace formerly belonging to Tiberius, went directly to the great market-place, called the Velabrum, and thence to the golden mile-pillar[1] near the temple of Saturn. At that place a small party of the prætorian soldiers, in number not exceeding three and twenty, saluted him emperor. The sight of such an insignificant handful of men struck him with dismay; but his partisans drew their swords, and, placing him in a litter,[2] carried him off in triumph. They were joined in their way by an equal number, some of them accomplices in the treason: others, in wonder and astonishment, hurried along by the current. The conspirators, brandishing their swords, and rending the air with acclamations, pursued their course, while numbers followed in profound silence, determined to see the issue before they took a decided part.

XXVIII. Julius Martialis, a military tribune, was at that time commanding officer in the camp. Amazed at a treason so bold and daring, and perhaps imagining that it extended wider, he made no attempt to oppose the torrent. His inactivity had the appearance of a confederacy in guilt. The rest of the tribunes and centurions followed the same line of caution, in their solicitude for their own safety losing all sense of honour and of every public principle. Such, in that alarming crisis, was the disposition of the camp: a few seditious incendiaries dared to attempt a revolution; more wished to see it, and all were willing to acquiesce.

XXIX. Galba, in the meantime, ignorant of all that passed, continued in the temple, attentive to the sacred rites, and with his prayers fatiguing the gods of an empire now no longer his. Intelligence at length arrived, that a senator (who by name no man could tell) was carried in triumph to the camp. Otho was soon after announced. The people in crowds rushed forward from every quarter, some representing the danger greater than it was, others lessening it, and, even in ruin, still retaining their habitual flattery. A council was called. After due deliberation, it was thought advisable to sound the dispositions of the cohort then on duty before the palace, but without the interposition of Galba. His authority was to be reserved for the last extremity. Piso called the men together, and, from the steps of the palace, addressed them to the following purport: "It is now, my fellow-soldiers, the sixth day since I was made by adoption presumptive heir to this great empire. Whether I was called to a post of honour, or of danger, was more than I could then foresee. The offer was honourable, and, I accepted it; with what advantage to my own family in particular, or to the commonwealth at large, it will be yours to determine. For myself, I have nothing to fear. Trained in the school of adversity, I now perceive that the smiles are no less dreadful than the frowns of fortune. But for myself I feel no concern: I feel for the situation of an aged father; I feel for the senate; I feel for my country. The lot of all three will be grievous, whether we fall this day by the hands of assassins, or, which to a generous mind is no less afflicting, find ourselves obliged to shed the blood of our fellow citizens. In the late revolution, it was matter of joy to all good men, that the city was not discoloured with Roman blood, and that, without civil discord, the reins of government passed into other hands. To secure the same tranquillity was the object of the late adoption. By that measure, Galba had reason to think that he closed the scene of war and civil commotion.

XXX. "I will neither mention the nobility of my birth, nor claim the merit of moderation. I arrogate nothing to myself. In opposition to Otho there is no necessity to call our virtues to our aid. The vices of the man, even then, when he was the friend, or rather the pander, of Nero, were the ruin of his country. In those vices he places all his glory. And shall a life of debauchery, shall that effeminate air, and that soft solicitude[3] for gay apparel, give an emperor to the Roman world? They, who suffer profusion to pass for liberality, will in time perceive their error. Otho may squander, but to bestow is not in his character. What think you are the objects that now engross his thoughts? What are his views? What does he aim at? Scenes of luxury, lawless gratifications, carousing festivals, and the embraces of lascivious women, are the imaginations of his heart. These with him are imperial pleasures, the rights of sovereignty. The joy will be his: it will be yours to blush for your new master. In the whole catalogue of those daring usurpers, who by their crimes have risen to power, is there an instance of one who made atonement by his virtues? Is there a man who gained an empire by iniquity, and governed it with moderation?

"Galba was raised by the voice of a willing people to his present situation: his inclination, and your consent, have added me to the line of the Cæsars. But after all, if the commonwealth, the senate, and the people, are no better than

1 The place called *Velabrum* lay between the Forum and Mount Palatine. The *Millarium aureum* was at the upper part of the Forum. The temple of Saturn was at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.

2 See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 6.

3 See Juvenal's description of Otho's effeminacy, and his looking-glass, sat. ii. ver. 99.

mere empty names, yet let me ask you, my fellow-soldiers, will you suffer a lawless crew to overturn the government? From the worst and most abandoned of mankind will you receive an emperor? The legions, it is true, have at different times mutinied against their generals; but your fidelity has never been questioned. Nero abdicated; you did not desert him. He fell without your treachery. And shall thirty ruffians—thirty did I say? their number is less—shall a wretched handful of vile conspirators, whom no man would suffer to vote in the choice of a tribune or centurion, dispose of the Roman empire at their will and pleasure? Will you establish such a precedent? and, by establishing it, will you become accomplices in the guilt? The example will pass into the provinces; confusion and anarchy will be the fatal consequence. Galba may fall, and I may perish with him; but the calamities of a civil war must remain for you. By murdering your prince you may earn the wages of iniquity; but the reward of virtue will not be less. Judge which is best, a donative for your innocence, or a largess for murder and rebellion?"

XXXI. During this harangue, the soldiers belonging to the guard withdrew from the place. The rest of the cohort showed no sign of discontent. Without noise or tumult, the usual incidents of sedition, they displayed their colours according to the military custom, and not, as was imagined afterwards, with a design to cover, by false appearances, a settled plan of treachery and revolt. Celsus Marius was sent to use his influence with the forces from Illyricum, at that time encamped under the portico of Vipsanius.[4] Orders were likewise given to Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, two centurions of the first rank, to draw from the temple of Liberty the German soldiers quartered in that place. The legion, draughted from the marines, was not to be trusted. They had seen, on Galba's entry into Rome, a cruel massacre of their comrades, and the survivors, with minds exasperated, panted for revenge. At the same time, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, three military tribunes, made the best of their way to the prætorian camp, with an intention, while the ferment was still recent, and before a general flame was kindled, to mould the minds of the men to a pacific temper. Subrius and Cetrius were repulsed with menaces. Longinus was roughly handled. The soldiers took away his weapons, unwilling to listen to a man, whom they considered as an officer promoted out of his turn, by the favour of Galba, and, for that reason, faithful to his prince. The marine legion, without hesitation, joined the prætorian malcontents. The detachment from the Illyrian army caught the infection, and obliged Celsus to retire under a shower of darts. The veterans from Germany remained for some time in suspense. They had been sent by Nero to Alexandria; but, being recalled in a short time afterwards, they returned to Rome, in a distressed condition, worn out with toil, and weakened by sickness during their voyage. Galba attended to their wants, and, in order to recruit their strength, administered seasonable relief. The soldiers felt the generosity of the prince, and gratitude was not yet effaced from their minds.

XXXII. The populace, in the mean time, with a crowd of slaves intermixed, rushed into the palace, demanding vengeance on the head of Otho, and his partisans. The clamour was loud and dissonant, like that of a rabble in the circus or amphitheatre, roaring for the public sports, or some new spectacle. The whole was conducted without principle, without judgment, or sincerity; and, before the close of day, the same mouths were open to bawl for the reverse of what they desired in the morning. To be ready with shouts and vociferation, let who will be the reigning prince, has been in all ages the zeal of the vulgar. Galba, in the mean time, balanced between two opposite opinions. Titus Vinius was for his remaining in the palace. "The slaves," he said, "might be armed, and all the avenues secured. The prince should by no means expose himself to a frantic mob. Due time should be allowed for the seditious to repent, and for good men to form a plan of union, and concert their measures. Crimes succeeded by hurry and sudden despatch: honest counsels gain vigour by delay. Should it be hereafter proper to sally forth, that expedient would be still in reserve; but if once hazarded, the error will be seen too late. The prince, in that case, would be in the power of his enemies."

XXXIII. It was argued on the other hand, "that the exigence called for vigorous measures. Before the conspiracy of a few traitors gained an accession of strength, one brave exertion might prove decisive. Confront the danger, and Otho will shrink back with terror and dismay. It is not long since he went forth by stealth. He has been joined by a few incendiaries, and hurried away to a camp, where no plan is settled; but now, while Galba's friends remain inactive, he assumes the sovereign, and has time to learn how to play his part. And shall we linger here in cold debate, till the usurper, having mastered the camp, comes forth to invade the forum, and, under the eye of a lawful prince, ascends the capitol? In the mean time, must our valiant emperor remain trembling in his palace, while his warlike friends barricade the doors, preparing, with heroic resolution, to

4 A portico built by Vipsanius Agrippa in the field of Mars. Horace says,

——— Cum bene notum
Porticus Agrippæ, et Via te conspexerit Appi.
Hor. lib. 1. epist. 6.

stand a siege? But, it seems, the slaves are to be armed; and they, no doubt, will render effectual service, especially if we neglect the people, now ready to support our cause, and suffer their indignation to evaporate without striking a blow. What is dishonourable is always dangerous. If we must fall, let us bravely meet our fate. Mankind will applaud our valour, and Otho, the author of our ruin, will be the object of public detestation." Vinius maintained his former opinion. Laco opposed him with warmth, and even with violent menaces. In this Icelus was the secret prompter. That favourite hated the consul, and, in a moment big with danger, chose to gratify a little and a narrow spirit at the expense of the emperor and the public.

XXXIV. Galba adopted what appeared to him the most specious and most prudent advice. Piso, notwithstanding, was sent forward to the camp. The presence of a young man of high expectation, and lately called to the first honours of the state, might give a turn to the passions of the army. He was besides considered as the enemy of Vinius. If, in fact, he did not hate him, the enemies of the minister wished it; and malice, imputed to the mind of man, is easily believed to be a natural passion. Piso was hardly gone forth, when a rumour prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp. The report at first was vague and uncertain, but, like all important lies, gathered as it went, and grew into credit. It was confirmed by men who averred that they were eye-witnesses on the spot, and saw the blow given. The tale was welcome to a great many, and the credulous swallowed it without further inquiry. It was afterwards thought to be a political lie, framed by Otho's friends, who mingled in the crowd in order to entice Galba from his palace.

XXXV. The city resounded with acclamations. Not only the vulgar and ignorant multitude were transported beyond all bounds, but the knights and senators were hurried away with the torrent; they forgot their fears; they rushed to the emperor's presence; they complained that the punishment of treason was taken out of their hands. The men who, as it appeared soon after, were the most likely to shrink from danger, displayed their zeal with ostentation; lavish of words, yet cowards in their hearts. No man knew that Otho was slain, yet all averred it as a fact. In this situation, wanting certain intelligence, but deceived by his courtiers, Galba determined to go forth from his palace. He called for his armour. The weight was too much for his feeble frame; and, in the throng that gathered round him, finding himself overpowered, he desired to be placed in a litter. Before he left the palace, Julius Atticus, a soldier of the body-guard, accosted him with a bloody sword in his hand, crying aloud, "In me you see the slayer of Otho; it was I that killed him." Galba calmly answered,[1] "Who gave you orders?" Such was the spirit of the man even in the last extremity, still determined to repress the licentiousness of the soldiers; by their insolence undismayed, by their flattery never softened.

XXXVI. Meanwhile, the prætorian guards threw off the mask, and with one voice declared for Otho. They ranged themselves in a body round his person, and, in the ardour of their zeal, placed him, amidst the standards and eagles, on the very tribunal where, a little before, stood the golden statue[2] of Galba. The tribunes and centurions were not suffered to approach. The common soldiers, having no kind of confidence in their officers, gave the word to watch the motions of all in any rank or command. The camp resounded with shouts and mutual exhortations, not with that faint-hearted zeal which draws from the mob of Rome their feeble acclamations, but with one mind, one general impulse, all concurred in support of their new emperor. The prætorians were almost frantic with joy. They embraced their comrades as they saw them advancing forward; they clasped their hands; they led them to the tribunal; they repeated the military oath,[3] and administered it to all. They recommended the prince of their own choice to the affections of the men, and the men, in their turn, to the favour of the prince. Otho, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the affections of the multitude. He paid his court to the rabble with his hands outstretched, bowing lowly down, and, in order to be emperor, crouching like a slave. The marine legion did not hesitate to take the oath of fidelity. By that event Otho felt himself inspired with uncommon ardour. Having hitherto tampered with the soldiers man by man, he judged right to address them in a body. He took his station on the rampart of the camp, and spoke to the following effect:

XXXVII. "In what light, my fellow-soldiers, shall I now consider myself? In what character must I address you? A private man I cannot call myself, for you have bestowed upon me the title of prince; but can I assume that title, while another is still in possession of the

1 Suetonius says, Galba put on his breast-plate, observing, at the same time, that it would be a poor defence against so many swords. Life of Galba, s. 19. Plutarch relates that the soldier, being asked by Galba, Who gave him orders, had the spirit to answer, "My oath and my duty."

2 In every Roman camp the statue of the emperor was placed in the tribunal, at the head-quarters of the general. See Annals, xv. s. 29.

3 The form of the military oath was as follows: *Jurant milites, omnia se strenue facturos, quæ præceperit imperator; nunquam desituros militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica.* Vegetius, lib. ii. cap 5.

sovereign power? In what description you yourselves are to be classed, is to me matter of doubt; and must remain so, till the question is decided, Whether you have in your camp the emperor of Rome, or a public enemy? You have heard the cry that has gone forth: the same voice that demands vengeance on me, calls aloud for your destruction. With my life your fate is interwoven. We must live or perish together. There is no alternative. The humanity of Galba is well known to us all. Perhaps, even while I speak, he has pronounced our doom. To yield to the advice of his friends, will be an easy task to him, who, without a request, of his own free will, in cold blood, could give to the edge of the sword so many thousand innocent soldiers, all destroyed in one inhuman massacre. My heart recoils with horror, when I reflect on the disastrous day when he made his public entry into the city. After receiving the submission of the soldiers, with unheard-of treachery he ordered the whole body to be decimated;[4] and, in the view of the people, exhibited a scene of blood and horror. These are the exploits of Galba, and this is his only victory. With these inauspicious omens he entered the city of Rome;—and what has been since the glory of his reign? Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus have been murdered in Spain; Betuus Chilo in Gaul; Fonteius Capito in Germany; and Clodius Macer in Africa. Add to these Cingonius Varro, butchered on his march, Turpilianus in the heart of the city, and Nymphidius in the camp. Is there a province, is there in any part of the empire a single camp, which he has not defiled with blood? This, he will tell you, is a reform of the army. In this language murder is a legal remedy: what all good men agree to call a deed of barbarity, passes with him for a correction of abuses. Under specious names he confounds the nature of things: cruelty is justice, avarice is economy, and massacre is military discipline. Since the death of Nero not more than seven months have elapsed; and, in that time, Icelus his freedman has amassed, by plunder, more enormous wealth than the Polycleti,[5] the Vantinii, the Elii, and the Haloti, were able to do in the whole course of that emperor's reign. Even Titus Vinius, if he himself had seized the empire, would have had the grace to blush at such enormities; nor should we have groaned under such a load of oppression. Though no higher than a private citizen, he plunders without remorse; he seizes our property, as if we were his slaves; and he despises us as the servants of another master. His house alone[6] contains wealth sufficient to discharge the donative every day promised, but promised merely to insult you.

XXXVIII. "That your hopes of better times may never succeed, Galba has taken care, by his choice of a successor, to entail upon you endless misery. He has adopted a man from whom you can have nothing to expect; a man recalled from banishment, in his temper dark and gloomy, hardened in avarice, the counterpart of the emperor himself. You remember, my fellow-soldiers, the day on which that adoption was made; a day deformed with storms and tempests, when the warring elements announced the awful displeasure of the gods. The senate and the people are now of one mind. They depend upon your valour. It is your generous ardour that must give vigour and energy to our present enterprise. Without your aid the best designs must prove abortive. It is not to a war, nor even to danger, that I am now to conduct you: the armies of Rome are on our side. The single cohort remaining with Galba is composed of citizens, not of soldiers; they are gowned, not armed: they do not stand forth in his defence; they detain him as their prisoner. When they see you advancing in firm array, and when my signal is given, the only struggle will be, who shall espouse my cause with the greatest ardour. The time forbids all dull delay: we have undertaken bravely; but it is the issue that must justify the measure, and crown us with applause." Having closed his harangue, he ordered the magazine of arms to be thrown open. The soldiers seized their weapons; they paid no regard to military rules; no distinction was observed; the prætorians, the legions, and the auxiliaries crowded together, and shields and helmets were snatched up in a tumultuary manner. No tribune, no centurion, was allowed to give orders. Each man was his own commanding officer. While the friends of discipline stood astonished at the scene of wild confusion, the evil-minded saw with pleasure that the regulars were offended, and in that sentiment found a new motive to increase the disorder.

XXXIX. The number of the rebels increased every moment, and their noise and clamour reached the city of Rome. Piso did not think it advisable to proceed to the camp. He met Galba, who had left the palace, on his way to the forum. Marius Celsus had already brought alarming tidings. Some advised the emperor to return to his palace; others were for taking possession of the capitol, and the major part for proceeding directly to the tribunal of public harangues; numbers gave their advice, for no better reason than to clash with the opinions of others;

4 See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

5 Polycletus, Vatinius, Helius, and Halotus, were favourite freedmen, who rose to wealth and honours in the reign of Nero. For more of Halotus, see Suet. in Galba, s. 15.

6 Vinius alone had amassed riches enough to discharge the donative, which had been promised to the soldiers by Nymphidius, in the name of Galba, but which was still withheld. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

and, in the distraction of jarring counsels, the misfortune was, that what ought to have occurred first, was seen too late. They decided when the opportunity was lost. We are told that Laco, without the privity of Galba, formed a design against the life of Vinius. The murder of that minister, he thought, would appease the fury of the soldiers, or it may be that he suspected treachery, and thought him joined in a secret league with Otho: perhaps his own malice was the motive. But for this dark purpose neither the time nor the place was convenient: the sword once drawn, there was no knowing where the scene of blood would end. Messengers arriving every moment increased the consternation; the spirit of Galba's friends began to droop; numbers deserted him; and of all that zeal which a little before blazed out with so much ardour, every spark was now extinguished.

XL. Galba, in the midst of a prodigious conflux of people, had not strength to support himself; and as the waving multitude was impelled different ways, he was hurried on by the torrent. The temples, the porticos, and great halls round the forum, were filled with crowds of gazing spectators. The whole presented an awful spectacle. A deep and sullen silence prevailed. The very rabble was hushed. Amazement sat on every face. Their eyes watched every motion, and their ears caught every sound. The interval was big with terror; it was neither a tumult, nor a settled calm, but rather the stillness of fear, or smothered rage, such as often precedes some dreadful calamity. Otho was still in the camp. He received intelligence that the populace had recourse to arms, and thereupon ordered his troops to push forward with rapidity, and prevent the impending danger. At his command the Roman soldiers, as if marching to dethrone an eastern monarch, a Vologeses, or a Pacorus, and not their own lawful sovereign, advanced with impetuous fury to imbrue their hands in the blood of an old man, naked and disarmed. They entered the city; they dispersed the common people; they spurred their horses at full speed, and, rushing into the forum sword in hand, trampled the senators under foot. The sight of the capitol made no impression; the temples sanctified by the religion of ages, could not restrain their fury; for the majesty of former princes they had no respect, and of those who were to succeed, no kind of dread. They rushed forward to commit a detestable parricide, forgetting, in their frantic rage, that crimes of that atrocious nature are sure to be punished by the prince that succeeds to the sovereign power.

XLI. The prætorians no sooner appeared in sight, than the standard-bearer of the cohort still remaining with Galba (his name, we are told, was Attilius Vergilio) tore from the colours the image of Galba, and dashed it on the ground. That signal given, the soldiers, with one voice, declared for Otho. The people fled in consternation. Such as lingered behind were attacked sword in hand. The men, who carried Galba in a litter, were struck with terror. In their fright they let him fall to the ground near the Curtian lake.[1] His last words, according as men admired or hated him, have been variously reported. According to some, he asked, in a suppliant tone, What harm he had done? and prayed for a few days, that he might discharge the donative due to the soldiers. Others assure us, that he presented his neck to the assassin's stroke, and said with a firm tone of voice, "Strike, if the good of the commonwealth requires it." To ruffians thirsting for blood, no matter what he said. By what hand the blow was given, cannot now be known. Some impute it to Terentius, a resumed veteran; others, to a fellow of the name of Lecanius. A report still more general has transmitted down to us the name of Camurius, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion. This man, it is said, cut Galba's throat. The rest fell on with brutal rage, and finding his breast covered with armour, dissevered his legs and arms. Nor did the barbarians desist, till the emperor lay a headless trunk, deformed with wounds, and weltering in his blood.

XLII. Titus Vinius was the next victim. The manner in which he met his fate is likewise left uncertain. Whether on the first assault his utterance was suppressed by fear, or whether he had power to call out, that Otho had given no orders against his life, we have now no means of knowing. Those words, if really spoken, might be an effort of pusillanimity to save his life, or they were the confession of a man, who was actually an accomplice in the conspiracy. His life and manners leave no room to doubt but he was capable of joining in a parricide, of which his own administration[2] was the principal cause. He fell by a wound that shattered the joint of his knee, and as he lay stretched in that condition, he was run through the body by Julius Carus, a legionary soldier. He expired before the temple of Julius Cæsar.

XLIII. While the rebels were acting their horrible tragedy, the age beheld, in the conduct of one man, a splendid example of courage and fidelity. Sempronius Densus was the person; a centurion of the prætorian cohort. Having been ordered by Galba to join the guard that escorted Piso, he no sooner saw a band of armed

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1 This was in the Forum near the Rostra. It has been observed in a former note, that the Pulpit of Harangues was adorned with the beaks of ships, and thence called *Rostra*. For Galba's death and funeral, see Suetonius in Galba, c. 20.

2 Galba laboured under the weight of crimes committed by his minister, Titus Vinius, who is said to have been an accomplice in the plot, which was occasioned by his own iniquity.

assassins, then he advanced to oppose their fury, brandishing his poniard, and exclaiming against the horrible deed. With his voice, with his hand, with every effort in the power of man, he made a brave resistance, and gave Piso, wounded as he was, an opportunity of making his escape. Piso reached the temple of Vesta, where a slave of the state touched with compassion, conducted him to his own private apartment. Piso lay concealed for some time, not indebted to the sanctity of the temple, nor to the rites of religion, but sheltered by the obscurity of the place. At length, Sulpicius Florus, who belonged to a British cohort, and had been made by Galba a citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus, a prætorian soldier, arrived in quest of him by Otho's special order. By these two men Piso was dragged to the vestibule of the temple, where, under repeated blows, he breathed his last.

XLIV. In the midst of a general massacre, no murder, we are told, gave so much satisfaction to Otho, nor was there, among the heads cut off,[3] one, at which he gazed with such ardent eyes. By this event he felt himself relieved from all apprehensions. The fate of Galba and of Titus Vinius affected him in a different manner. The former brought to his mind an idea of majesty fallen from a state of elevation; and the death of the latter awakened the memory of an early friendship, and even into a heart like his, fierce, cruel, and ambitious, infused a tincture of melancholy. When Piso fell, an enemy expired. Feeling for him neither regret nor compunction, he gave a loose to joy. The three heads were fixed on poles, and carried, amidst the ensigns of the cohorts, with the eagle of the legion, through the streets of Rome. A band of soldiers followed, stretching forth their hands reeking with blood, and boasting aloud that they gave the mortal wounds, or that they were present aiding and abetting; all, with truth or falsehood, claiming the honour of an atrocious deed. No less than one hundred and twenty memorials, presented on this occasion, by persons who claimed the reward of crimes committed on that dreadful day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; and the several authors, after diligent search made by his orders, were punished with death, not from motives of regard for the memory of Galba, but with the usual policy of princes, who think, by punishing the malefactors of a former reign, that they establish a precedent, and, by the terrors of future vengeance, effectually secure themselves.

XLV. Another senate and another people seemed now to be in possession of Rome. All pressed forward to the camp. You would have thought it a race of servility, in which every man endeavoured to outstrip his fellow-citizens, and be the first to pay his court. They joined in reviling the name of Galba, and all applauded the conduct of the soldiers. They thronged round Otho, fawning to kiss his hand, and, in proportion to their want of sincerity, playing the farce with overacted zeal. Otho was not deficient in the mummery of thanks and gratitude. Attentive to all, and gracious to individuals, he took care at the same time, by his looks and actions, to restrain the soldiers, who, by the ferocity of their looks, seemed to threaten further mischief. Marius Celsus, the consul elect, was the object of their vengeance. He had been the friend of Galba, and, in the last extremity, continued faithful to that unhappy prince. His talents and integrity gave offence to a lawless crew, with whom every virtue was a crime. They demanded his immediate execution. But their views were too apparent. The best and ablest men in Rome were doomed to destruction by a set of men, who panted to let loose their rage, and lay a scene of blood, of plunder, and devastation. Otho was not yet in fulness of power. His authority was sufficient to command the perpetration of crimes; to prohibit them was still beyond him. The part he assumed was that of a man enraged, and bent on some atrocious deed. In that pretended fury, he ordered Celsus to be loaded with irons, as a man reserved for heavier punishment, and by that stratagem saved him from destruction.

XLVI. The prætorians, from this time, knew no control. They chose their own prefects; namely, Plotius Firmus, formerly a common soldier, raised afterwards to the command of the night-guard, and, even during the life of Galba, a partisan in favour of Otho. To him they added Licinius Proculus, a man who lived in intimacy with Otho, and was supposed to be an accomplice in all his dark designs. For the office of governor of Rome they named Flavius Sabinus,[4] influenced in their choice by their respect for the memory of Nero, who had committed to him the same important charge. The majority had another motive: by concurring in this nomination, they meant to pay a compliment to Vespasian, the brother of Sabinus. Their next object was, to abolish the fees exacted by the centurions for occasional exemptions from duty, and for leave of absence. These fees, in fact, were an annual tribute out of the pockets of the common men. In consequence of this abuse, a fourth part of every company was seen rambling about the country, or idly loitering in the very camp. The centurion received his perquisite, and had no other care. Nor was the

3 On seeing the head of Galba, Otho cried out, This is nothing, my fellow-soldiers: bring me the head of Piso. See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

4 Flavius Sabinus had been appointed prefect of the city by Nero. The soldiers loved the vices of the former reign, and for that reason continued Sabinus in the same office. For more of Sabinus, see History, ii. s. 74 and 75; and Suet. in Vespasian, s. 1.

soldier solicitous about the price: he purchased a right to be idle, and the means by which he enabled himself to defray the expense gave him no kind of scruple. By theft, by robbery, and by servile employments, he gained enough to enrich his officer; and the officer, in return, sold a dispensation from labour and the duties of the service. Whoever had hoarded up a little money, was, for that reason, harassed with discipline, and oppressed with labour, till he purchased the usual indulgence. By these extortions, the soldier was impoverished, his stock was exhausted; and after a vagabond life, his industry relaxed, and his vigour wasted, he returned to the camp without courage, strength, or money. By these pernicious practices corruption grew into a system. The common men forgot all discipline; their morals went to ruin; and, in the natural progress of vice, all became ripe for tumult, insurrections, and civil war. To remedy the mischief, and, at the same time, not to alienate the minds of the centurions, Otho undertook to pay an annual equivalent to the officers out of his own revenue. This reform was, no doubt, both wise and just. Good princes adopted it afterwards, and it is now a settled rule in the military system. Laco, the late commander of the prætorians, was condemned to an island, there, as was given out, to pass the remainder of his days; but a veteran soldier, whom Otho had despatched for the purpose, put an end to his life. Martianus Icelus, being of no higher rank than that of a manumitted slave, died by the hand of the executioner.

XLVII. After the horrors of a day spent in guilt, and blood, and carnage, if any thing could add to the public misery, it was the joy that succeeded to that dismal scene. The prætor of the city[1] summoned a meeting of the senate. The other magistrates strove to distinguish themselves by the vilest adulation. The fathers assembled without delay. The tribunitian power, the name of Augustus, and all imperial honours enjoyed by former princes, were by a decree granted to Otho. Several members of that assembly were conscious of having thrown odious colours on the name and character of their new emperor, and hoped to expiate, by present flattery, the bitterness of former invectives. Whether Otho despised those injurious reflections, or stored them in his memory for future occasions, is uncertain. The shortness of his reign has left that matter undecided. He was conveyed in triumph to the capitol, and thence to the imperial palace. In his way, he saw the forum discoloured with blood, and heaps of slaughtered citizens lying round him. He granted leave to remove the dead bodies, and to perform the rites of sepulture. The remains of Piso were buried by his wife Verania,[2] and Scribonianus his brother. The last duty to Titus Vinius was performed by his daughter Crispina.[3] Their heads, which the murderers had reserved for sale, were found, and redeemed at a stipulated price.

XLVIII. Piso had well nigh completed the thirty-first year of his age; always high in the esteem of the public, yet never happy. Two of his brothers suffered a violent death; Magnus, by the command of Claudius, and Crassus, by the cruelty of Nero. He himself had passed a considerable part of his time in banishment; an outlaw for some years, and four days a prince by the adoption of Galba, he was raised above his elder brother; but, by that preference, all he gained was to be murdered first.

Titus Vinius had reached the age of fifty-seven; a man of unsettled principle, and various manners. His father was of a prætorian family; his grandfather by the maternal line was in the number proscribed by the triumvirate. His first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus,[4] began with disgrace. The wife of his commanding officer, prompted by wanton curiosity, went by night, in the disguise of a common soldier, to view the site and disposition of the camp. In her frolic, she went round to visit the sentinels, and the posts and stations of the army. Arriving at length at the place where the eagles were deposited, she did not scruple to commit the act of adultery on that sacred spot. Vinius was charged as her accomplice, and, by order of Caligula, loaded with irons. By the revolution which soon after happened, he regained his liberty, and from that time rose to honours. He discharged the office of prætor, and afterwards commanded a legion, free from reproach. His name, however, was soon after branded with a crime, which a common slave would have blushed to commit. Being a guest at the table of Claudius, he was charged with pilfering a golden goblet. On the following day that emperor, to distinguish Vinius from the rest of his company, gave orders that he should be trusted with nothing better than a cup of earthenware. Notwithstanding this disgrace, he became proconsul of Narbon Gaul, and acquitted himself in his ad-

1 The two consuls, Galba and Vinius, being cut off, the power of convening the senate devolved to the city prætor. See Cicero's Epistles, lib. x. epist. 12.

2 For Verania, the wife of Piso, see Pliny the consul, lib. ii. epist. 20.

3 Crispina the daughter of Vinius, bought her father's head at a great price from the bands of assassins. Plutarch, Life of Galba.

4 Calvisius Sabinus, mentioned in this place, was probably the person who, in Caligula's reign, commanded in Pannonia, and, on his return to Rome, was compelled to end his days, A. U. C. 792. His wife Cornelia, whom we find abandoned to her libidinous passions, almost redeemed her character in the last act of her life. She perished with her husband. Seneca talks of a person of the name of Calvisius Sabinus, who, he says, did not know how to enjoy his success in the world with moderation; but whether that was the Sabinus of Tacitus is uncertain. *Nunquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius.* Seneca, epist. xxvii.

ministration with distinguished firmness and equal integrity. The friendship of Galba placed him on the brink of a precipice. Bold and prompt in action, of an enterprising genius and undaunted courage, he was at the same time dark, subtle, and deceitful. Qualified to succeed in whatever he undertook, and by nature ready for good or evil deeds, he practised vice and virtue with alternate success and equal ardour. His last will, on account of his immoderate wealth, was declared null and void. That of Piso was confirmed by his poverty.

XLIX. Galba's body, during the night that followed the murder, lay exposed to numberless indignities. It was at length conveyed by Argius, an ancient slave and steward of that unfortunate emperor, to the private gardens of his master, and there deposited in an humble manner without honour or distinction. His head, in a mangled condition, was fixed on a pole by the rabble of the camp, and set up to public view near the tomb of Patrobius, a slave manumitted by Nero, and by order of Galba put to death. In that situation it was found on the following day, and added to the ashes of the body, which had been already committed to the flames. Such was the end of Servius Galba, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had seen the reign of five princes, and enjoyed, during that whole period, a series of prosperity; happy as a private citizen, as a prince unfortunate. He was descended from a long line of ancestors. His wealth was great: his talents not above mediocrity. Free from vice; he cannot be celebrated for his virtues. He knew the value of fame, yet was neither arrogant nor vain-glorious. Having no rapacity, he was an economist of his own, and of the public treasure careful to a degree of avarice. To his friends and freedmen he was open, generous, and even resigned to their will. When his choice was happily made, his indulgence, however excessive, was at worst an amiable weakness; when bad men surrounded him, his good nature bordered on folly. The splendour of his rank, and the felicity with which he steered through the dangers of a black and evil period, helped to raise the value of his character; his indolence passed for wisdom, and inactivity took the name of prudence. In the vigour of his days, he served with honour in Germany; as proconsul of Africa, he governed with moderation; and the Nethermost Spain, when he was advanced in years, felt the mildness of his administration. While no higher than a private citizen, his merit was thought superior to his rank; and the suffrages of mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire, had he never made the experiment.

L. In this disastrous juncture, while Rome was shuddering with horror at the late dreadful carnage, and, from the well known vices of Otho's nature, men were in dread of worse evils still to come, despatches from Germany brought an account of a new storm ready to burst in that quarter. The revolt of Vitellius, and the armies under his command, was no longer a secret. The intelligence arrived before the death of Galba, but was suppressed by that emperor, that the sedition on the Upper Rhine might be thought the only mischief that disturbed the tranquillity of the empire. At length the true state of affairs was known, and a general panic spread through the city. Not only the senators and Roman knights, who had still some shadow of authority, but the meaner populace, mourned over the distractions of their country. All were grieved to see two men of the most pernicious characters, enervated by luxury, and abandoned to every vice, chosen by some fatality to be the bane and ruin of the commonwealth. The crimes and miseries, which, under the late emperors, were one continued pestilence, were no longer the objects that employed the public mind. The civil wars were fresh in the memory of all; they talked of Rome besieged and taken by her own armies; they remembered Italy laid waste; the provinces plundered, the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi, and the siege of Modena and Perusia,[5] two places well known in history, and each of them the scene of public calamity.

"In those tempestuous times, the struggle," it was observed, "lay between men of illustrious character, and by their contentions the state was brought to the brink of ruin. But, even then, under Julius Cæsar, the empire still survived and flourished. It survived under Augustus, and gained additional lustre. Under Pompey and Brutus, had their arms prevailed, the republic would have been once more established. But those men have passed away. Otho and Vitellius are now the competitors: and for them, or either of them, shall the people crowd to the temples? must they pray for a tyrant to reign over them? Vows, in such a cause, were impious, since, in a war between two detestable rivals, he, who conquers, will be armed with power to commit still greater crimes, and prove himself the worst." Such were the reasonings of the people. Some, who saw at a distance, fixed their eyes on Vespasian, and the armies in the east. They foresaw new commotions in that part of the world, and dreaded the calamities of another war. Vespasian, they agreed, was in every respect superior to the two chiefs, who now convulsed the state; but even his character[6] was

5 The battle of Pharsalia was A. U. C. 706; that of Mutina, between Mark Antony and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa, 711; of Philippi, in the year of Rome 712; and the siege of Perusia, A. U. C. 714.

6 Vespasian, in the reign of Caligula, was a time-serving flatterer; and, being afterwards overwhelmed with debts, was a man of an equivocal character. Suet. in Vespas. s. 2, 3, and 5.

rather problematical. The truth is, of all the princes who to his time reigned at Rome, he was the only one, whom power reformed, and made a better man.

LI. That the revolt under Vitellius may be seen in its true light, it will be necessary to state the causes that produced it. I therefore go back to the origin of that event. After the defeat of Julius Vindex[1] and the total rout of his armies, the victorious legions, enriched with booty, grew wanton with success. To men, who without fatigue or danger had closed a lucrative war, the love of enterprise became a natural passion. They preferred hostilities to a state of inaction, and plunder to the soldier's pay. They had, till the late commotions called them forth, endured the hardships of a rigorous service, in a bleak climate and a desolate country, where, even in time of peace, discipline was enforced with strict severity. But discipline, they knew, would be relaxed by civil discord. In the distractions of parties, both sides encourage licentiousness; and, by consequence, fraud, corruption, and treachery, triumph with impunity. The mutinous soldiers were abundantly provided with arms and horses, both for parade and service. Before the late war in Gaul, they saw no more than the company, or the troop of horse to which they belonged. Stationed at different quarters, they never went beyond their limits, and the boundaries of the provinces kept the armies distinct and separate. Being at length drawn together to make head against Vindex, they felt their own strength; and, having tasted the sweets of victory, they wanted to renew the troubles, by which their rapacity had been so amply gratified. They no longer treated the Gauls as their allies and friends; they considered them as enemies, and a vanquished people.

In these hostile sentiments they were confirmed by such of the Gallic nation as dwelt on the borders of the Rhine. The people, on that side of the country, had taken up arms against Vindex, and his allies, whom, since the death of that chief, they chose to call the GALBIAN FACTION; and now, by every artifice, by infusions of their own malice, they endeavoured to kindle a war between the Romans and their countrymen. The animosity of the legions was easily excited. The Sequanians, the Æduans, and other states, according to their opulence, were the chief objects of resentment. The soldiers thought of nothing but towns assaulted and carried by storm, the plunder of houses, and the desolation of the country. In the heat of imagination, every man anticipated the booty that was to fall to his share. To their arrogance and avarice, the never failing vices of the strongest, they united the indignation of men, who felt themselves insulted by the vain-glory with which the Æduans and the rest of the obnoxious states made it their boast, that, in despite of the legions, they had extorted from Galba a remission of one-fourth of their tribute, and an extension of their territory. To these invectives was added a report, artfully thrown out and readily believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the best and bravest of the centurions to be dismissed from the service. To increase the ferment, tidings of an alarming nature arrived from every quarter, and, in particular, a storm was said to be gathering over the city of Rome. The people of Lyons, still faithful to the memory of Nero, and the avowed enemies of Galba, took care to disseminate the worst reports. From that place, as from the centre of intelligence, rumours constantly issued: but the camp was the magazine of news, where invention framed the lie of the day, and credulity stood ready to receive it. The passions of the soldiers were in constant agitation: malice embittered their minds, and fear held them in suspense. But they viewed their numbers, and their courage revived. They found themselves in force, and in full security laughed at the idea of danger.

LII. It was near the calends of December in the preceding year, when Aulus Vitellius first appeared in the Lower Germany. He made it his business to review the legions in their winter quarters; he restored several officers who had been degraded, and relieved others from the disgrace of an ignominious sentence. In these proceedings he acted in some instances, with justice, in others, with a view to his own ambition. He condemned the sordid avarice with which Fonteius Capito granted or refused rank in the army. He established a fair and regular system of military promotion, and in the eyes of the soldiers appeared to exceed the powers usually vested in consular generals. He seemed to be an officer of superior weight and grandeur. Reflecting men saw the baseness of his motives,[2] while his creatures extolled every part of his conduct. The profusion, which, without judgment or economy, lavished away in bounties all his own property, and squandered that of others, was by his sycophants called benevolence and generosity. Even the vices, that sprung from lust of dominion, were by his creatures transformed into so many virtues.

In the two armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, there were, no doubt, men well disposed, and of sober conduct; but, at the same time, both camps were infested by a set of desperate incendiaries. At the head of the factious and the turbulent stood Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens, each the commander of a legion, both remarkable for their avarice, and both of a daring spirit, ready for any desperate enterprise.

1 For the revolt of Vindex, and the overthrow of his army, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

2 See Suetonius, in Vitellio, s. 7.

Valens had served the interest of Galba, by detecting Verginius, as soon as the conduct of that officer seemed to be equivocal: he had also crushed the machinations of Capito, and for those services thought himself ill requited. Stung with resentment, he now endeavoured to rouse the ambition of Vitellius. "The soldiers," he said, "were zealous in his service, and the name of Vitellius stood in high esteem throughout the Roman world. From Hordeonius Flaccus no opposition was to be apprehended. Britain was ready to declare against Galba, and the German auxiliaries would follow their example. The provinces wavered in their duty, and, by consequence, the precarious authority of a feeble old man would be soon transferred to other hands. Fortune courted Vitellius: he had nothing to do but to open his arms, and receive her favours. Verginius, indeed, had every thing to chill his hopes, and damp his resolution. He had no splendid line of ancestors to recommend him. He was of an equestrian family; but his father lived and died in obscurity. A man of his cast would have proved unequal to the weight of empire. A private station was to him a post of safety. The case of Vitellius was very different. Sprung from a father who had been three times consul, once in conjunction with the emperor Claudius, and who, moreover, had discharged the office of censor, he might well aspire to the highest elevation. The honours of his family marked him out for the imperial dignity. Too great for a private station, he must reach the summit of power, or be utterly lost." Notwithstanding this inflammatory speech, the phlegmatic temper of Vitellius was not to be roused. A few faint wishes fluttered at his heart, but hope could find no admission.

LIII. Meanwhile Cæcina, who served in the army on the Upper Rhine, had drawn to himself the affections of the army. Young, and of a comely figure, tall and well proportioned, with an air of dignity in his deportment, a flow of eloquence, and an aspiring genius, he had all the qualities that made an impression on the military mind. Though a young man, he discharged the office of quæstor in the province of Bætica in Spain, and was among the first that went over to Galba's interest. The emperor, to reward his zeal, gave him the command of a legion in Germany; but finding, afterwards, that he had been guilty of embezzling the public money, he ordered him to be called to a strict account. Cæcina was not of a temper to submit with patience. He resolved to embroil the state, and in the general confusion hoped to find a remedy for his own private afflictions. The seed-plots of rebellion were already laid in the army. In the war against Vindex they had taken the field, and, till they heard that Nero was no more, never declared in favour of Galba. Even in that act of submission, they showed no forward zeal, but suffered the legions on the Lower Rhine to take the lead. There was still another circumstance that helped to sharpen their discontent. The Treviri, the Lingones, and other states, which had felt the severity of Galba's edicts, or had seen their territory reduced to narrow limits, lay contiguous to the winter quarters of the legions. Hence frequent intercourse, cabals, and seditious meetings in which the soldiers grew more corrupt, envenomed as they were by the politics of discontented peasants. Hence their zeal to promote the interest of Verginius, and, when that project failed, their readiness to list under any other chief.

LIV. The Lingones, in token of friendship, had sent presents to the legions, and, in conformity to their ancient usage, the symbolical figure of two right hands clasping one another. Their deputies appeared with the mien and garb of affliction. They went round the camp, and in every quarter disburthened their complaints. In the tents, and in the place for the standards and eagles, they painted forth their own private injuries, while other states enjoyed the favour and the protection of Galba. Finding that they made an impression, they represented to the soldiers the dangers that hung over their own heads, and the hardships under which they laboured. The Romans caught the infection. A general phrensy spread through the camp; the flame of sedition was ready to break out; and some dreadful mischief seemed to be impending, when Hordeonius Flaccus, in the dead of night, ordered the deputies to depart without further delay. A report soon prevailed that they were all treacherously murdered, and that, if the soldiers did not instantly provide for their own safety, the best and bravest of the army would be cruelly butchered, under covert of the night, far from their comrades, and without the knowledge of their friends. A secret combination was immediately formed. The soldiers joined in a bond of union. The auxiliary cohorts, at first suspected of a design to rise against the legions, and put the whole body to the sword, entered into the league with eager ardour. Such is the nature of profligate and abandoned minds; in peace and profound tranquillity, they seldom agree; but for seditious purposes a coalition is easily formed.

LV. The legions on the Lower Rhine, on the calends of January, went through the usual form of swearing fidelity to Galba; but the form only was observed. No man was seen to act with alacrity. In the foremost ranks a feeble sound was heard; the words of the oath were repeated with an unwilling murmur, while the rest remained in sullen silence; each man, as usual in dangerous enterprises, expecting the bold example of his comrades, ready to second the insurrection, yet not daring to begin it. A leaven of discordant humours pervaded the whole mass of

the army. The first and fifth legions were the most outrageous: some of them pelted the images of Galba with a volley of stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth abstained from acts of violence, but were loud and clamorous; they bawled sedition, but waited for ringleaders to begin the fray.

In the Upper Germany the tumult was still more violent. On the same calends of January, the fourth and eighteenth legions, quartered together in one winter-camp, dashed the images of Galba into fragments. In this outrage the fourth legion led the way; and the eighteenth, after balancing for some time, followed their example. Unwilling, however, to incur the imputation of a rebellion against their country, they agreed to revive the antiquated names of the SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE, and in that republican form took the oath of fidelity. Not one commander of a legion, nor even so much as a tribune, appeared in favour of Galba; on the contrary, many of them, as often happens in cases of public confusion, not only connived, but helped to increase the tumult. The mutineers were still without a leader. No man took upon him to harangue the multitude; no orator ascended the tribunal; nor could the incendiaries tell in whose service their eloquence was to be employed.

LVI. Hordeonius Flaccus beheld this scene of confusion, and, though a consular commander, never once interposed with his authority to restrain the violent, to secure the wavering, or to animate the well-affected. He looked on, a calm spectator, tame and passive; it may be added, innocent, but innocent through sluggish indolence. Four centurions of the eighteenth legion, namely, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, attempted to defend the images of Galba. The soldiers attacked them with impetuous violence, and all four were loaded with fetters. From that moment all fidelity was at an end. The obligation of the former oath was no longer binding. It happened in this, as in all seditions: one set appeared to be the most numerous, the rest followed the leaders, and the whole herd was of one party. In the course of the night that followed the calends of January, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion arrived at the Agrippinian colony,[1] where Vitellius was engaged at a banquet, with intelligence, that the fourth and eighteenth legions, having destroyed the images of Galba, took a new form of oath to THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE. As that government existed no longer, the oath was deemed a nullity. In this crisis it was judged proper to seize the opportunity that fortune offered, and, by the nomination of an emperor, fix the wavering temper of the legions. Despatches were accordingly sent to inform the army in the Lower Germany, that the soldiers on the Upper Rhine had revolted from Galba, and that, by consequence, it remained for them either to march against the rebels, or, for the sake of peace and mutual concord, to create another emperor. In choosing for themselves they would hazard little; but indecision might be dangerous.

LVII. The winter-quarters[2] of the first legion were nearest to the residence of Vitellius. Fabius Valens was the commanding officer; a prompt and daring leader of sedition. On the following day he put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to his own legion, and, with a party of the auxiliaries, proceeded by a rapid march to the Agrippinian colony. He no sooner entered the city, than he saluted Vitellius by the title of emperor. The legions of the province, with zeal and ardour, followed his example; and three days before the nones of January, the legions in Upper Germany declared for Vitellius, losing all memory of the senate and the Roman people. Those specious words, which a few days before resounded with so much energy, were dropt at once; and the men, it now was plain, were never in their hearts the soldiers of a republic. The Agrippinian people, the Treveri, and Lingones, were determined not to be behindhand in demonstrations of zeal. They offered a supply of arms and horses, of men and money, in proportion to their respective abilities. The strong and valiant were willing to serve in person; the rich opened their treasure; and the skilful gave their advice. The leading chiefs, as well in the colonies as in the camp, who had already enriched themselves by the spoils of war, wished for another victory that might bring with it an accumulation of wealth. The zeal with which they entered into the league, was what might be expected; but the alacrity of the common men was beheld with wonder. Poor and destitute, they made a tender of their travelling-subsistence, their belts, their accoutrements, and the silver ornaments of their armour; all excited by one general impulse, a sudden fit of blind enthusiasm. In their motives there was, no doubt, a mingle of avarice; and plunder, they hoped, would be the reward of valour.

LVIII. Vitellius, after bestowing the highest praise on the spirit with which the soldiers embraced his cause, proceeded to regulate the various departments of public business. He transferred the offices, hitherto granted to the imperial freedmen, to the Roman knights; and the fees claimed by the centurions for exemptions from duty, were, for the future, to be defrayed out of the revenue of the prince. The fury of the soldiers, demanding vengeance on particular persons, was not to be repressed. He yielded

1 For Colonia Agrippinensis, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 The first legion was probably stationed at *Bonna*. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

in some instances, and in others eluded their resentment under colour of reserving the obnoxious for heavier punishment. Pompeius Propinquus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, was put to death on the spot; but Julius Burdo, who commanded the German fleet, was saved by an artful stratagem. The army considered that officer as the accuser first, and afterwards as the murderer, of Fonteius Capito, whose memory was still held in respect. To pardon openly was not in the power of Vitellius; he could execute in open day; but to be merciful, he was obliged to deceive. Burdo remained in prison till the victory obtained by Vitellius appeased the wrath of the soldiers. He then was set at liberty. In the meantime, Centurio Crispinus, who with his own hand had shed the blood of Capito, suffered as a victim to expiate that atrocious deed. His guilt was manifest; the soldiers demanded his blood, and Vitellius thought a man of that description no kind of loss.

LIX. Julius Civilis was the next whom the army doomed to destruction; but being of high rank and consequence among the Batavians, fear of a rupture with that fierce and warlike people saved his life. There were, at that time, in the territory of the Lingones, no less than eight Batavian cohorts, annexed at first as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but separated in the distraction of the times; a body of men, in that juncture, of the greatest moment. It was in their power to turn the scale in favour of whatever party they espoused. Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions already mentioned, were, by order of Vitellius, hurried to execution. They had remained steady in their duty to their prince; and fidelity is a crime which men in open rebellion never pardon. Valerius Asiaticus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, to whom, in a short time after, Vitellius gave his daughter in marriage; and Junius Blæsus, who presided in the province of Lyons, and had under his command the Italic legion,[3] and the body of horse called the Taurinian cavalry,[4] went over to the party of the new emperor. The forces in Rhætia were not long in suspense, and the legions in Britain declared without hesitation, in favour of Vitellius.

LX. Britain was, at that time, governed by Trebellius Maximus;[5] a man, for his avarice and sordid practices, despised and hated by the army. Between him and Roscius Cælius, who commanded the twentieth legion, there had been a long-subsisting quarrel, renewed of late with keener acrimony, and embittered by the distractions of a civil war. Cælius was charged by his superior officer with being the fomenter of sedition, and an enemy to discipline and good order: in return, he recriminated, alleging that the commander-in-chief plundered the legions, and left the soldiers to languish in distress and poverty. From this dissension between their officers the common men caught the infection. All discipline was at an end. Licentiousness prevailed, and the tumult rose at length to such a height, that Trebellius, insulted openly by the auxiliaries, deserted by the cavalry, and betrayed by the cohorts, was obliged to fly for refuge to Vitellius. The province, however, notwithstanding the flight of a consular governor, remained in a perfect state of tranquillity. The commanders of the legions held the reins of government, by their commissions equal in authority, but eclipsed by the enterprising genius and the daring spirit of Cælius.

LXI. The arrival of the forces from Britain was an accession of strength; and thereupon Vitellius, flushed with hope, abounding in resources, and strong in numbers, resolved to carry the war into Italy, by two different routes, under the conduct of two commanders. Fabius Valens was sent forward, with instructions to draw to his interest the people of Gaul, and, if he found them obstinate, to lay waste their country with fire and sword. He was afterwards to pass over the *Cottian Alps*,[6] and make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina, the other general, was ordered to take a nearer way, over the Penine mountains, and make his descent on that side. The flower of the army from the Lower Rhine, with the eagle of the fifth legion, and the cohorts and cavalry, amounting to forty thousand men, were put under the command of Valens. Cæcina advanced from the Upper Germany with no less than thirty thousand, of which the one and twentieth legion was the main strength. Each commander had a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. Vitellius followed them with a third army, to crush whatever resisted, and bring up the whole weight of the war.

LXII. The new emperor and his army presented a striking contrast: the soldiers burned with impatience, and with one voice demanded to be led against the enemy. "It was time," they said, "to push on the war with vigour, while the two Gauls are in commotion, and Spain is yet undecided. The winter season is far from being an obstacle; nor were the men to be amused with idle negotiations to bring on a compromise. Italy, in all events, must be invaded, and Rome taken by storm. In civil dissensions, it is expe-

3 For the legion called the Italic, see History, ii. s. 6, note.

4 The Taurinian squadron was so called from the Taurina, or people of Turin. See the Geographical Table at the end of the volume.

5 For Trebellius Maximus, see Life of Agricola, s. 16.

6 The vast range of mountains called the Alps, separating Italy from Gaul and Germany, were divided into several parts, which have their distinct names, such as Cottian Alps, Penine Alps, &c. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

dition that gives life and energy to all military operations. The crisis called for vigour, and debate was out of season." Vitellius, in the meantime, loitered away his time in dull repose, lifelessness, torpid, drunk at noon-day, and overwhelmed with gluttony.[1] The imperial dignity, he thought, consisted in riot and profusion, and he resolved to enjoy the prerogative of a prince. The spirit of the soldiers supplied the defects of their prince. They neither wanted him in the ranks to animate the brave, nor to rouse the tardy and inactive. Each man was his own general. With one consent they formed the ranks, and demanded the signal for the march. They saluted Vitellius by the name of Germanicus;[2] that of Cæsar, he chose to decline, and even after his victory always rejected it. Valens began his march. On that very day his army beheld a joyful omen. An eagle appeared at the head of the lines, measuring his flight by the movement of the soldiers, as if to guide them on their way. The air resounded with shouts of joy, while the bird proceeded in the same regular course undismayed by the uproar, and still seeming to direct their march. A phenomenon so unusual was considered as a sure prognostic of a signal victory.

LXIII. The army advanced in good order towards the state of the Treveri, whom they considered as their friends and allies. At Divodurum[3] (a city of the Mediomatrici) they received every mark of kindness, but were seized unaccountably with a sudden panic, in its effect so extraordinary, that the soldiers grasped their arms, and fell upon the innocent inhabitants sword in hand. In this dreadful outrage the love of plunder had no share; a sudden phrensy possessed every mind; and, as the cause was unknown, no remedy could be applied. No less than four thousand men were massacred; and, if the entreaties of the general had not at length prevailed, the whole city had been laid in blood. The rest of Gaul was alarmed by this horrible catastrophe to such a degree, that, wherever the army approached, whole cities, with the magistrates at their head, went forth in a suppliant manner to sue for mercy. Mothers with their children lay prostrate on the ground, as if a conquering enemy advanced against them; and, though nothing like hostility subsisted, the wretched people were obliged, in profound peace, to deprecate all the horrors of war.

LXIV. Valens arrived with his army at the capital city of the Leucians.[4] At that place he received intelligence of the murder of Galba, and the accession of Otho. The news made no impression on the soldiers. Unmoved by joy or fear, they thought of nothing but the spoils of war. The Gauls, released by this event from their attachment to Galba, were now at liberty to choose their party. Otho and Vitellius were objects of their detestation; but they feared the latter. The army proceeded on their march to the territory of the Lingones, a people well disposed towards Vitellius. They met with a friendly reception, and passed their time in acts of mutual kindness. But this amicable intercourse was interrupted by the intemperance of the cohort[5] which had been separated, as already mentioned, from the fourteenth legion, and by Valens incorporated with his army. Being of the Batavian nation, and by nature fierce and warlike, they lived on bad terms with the legions. Opprobrious words passed between them; from words contention arose; the legionary soldiers entered into the dispute, and joined the different parties as judgment or inclination prompted. The quarrel rose to such a pitch, that, if Valens had not interposed, and, by making a few examples, recalled the Batavians to a sense of their duty, a bloody battle must have been the consequence.

A colourable pretext for falling on the Æduans was the ardent wish of the army; but that people not only complied with the demand of money and arms, but added a voluntary supply of provisions. What was thus done by the Æduans through motives of fear, the people of Lyons performed with inclination and zeal to serve the cause of Vitellius. From that city the ITALIC LEGION and the TAURINIAN CAVALRY were ordered to join the army. The eighteenth cohort,[6] which had been used to winter there, was left in garrison. Manlius Valens at that time commanded the Italic legion. This officer had rendered good service to the cause; but his services were repaid with ingratitude by Vitellius. The fact was, Fabius Valens, the commander-in-chief, had given a secret stab to his reputation, and, to cover his malice, played an artful game, with all the plausible appearance of sly hypocrisy. In public he praised the person whom he wounded in the dark.

LXV. The late war had kindled afresh the deadly feud, which had long subsisted between the people of Lyons and the inhabitants of Vienne.[7] In the various battles, which they

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1 For the sloth, drunkenness, and other vices, of Vitellius, see Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 17.

2 Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 8.

3 For Divodurum, and the Mediomatrici, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

4 The original says, *in civitate Leucorum;* but it should be remembered that *civitas*, as used by Tacitus and other Roman writers, generally implies a state, and not a city in the modern acceptation of the word. For the Leuci, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

5 See this book, s. 59.

6 This cohort was usually quartered at Lyons. See Annals, iii. s. 41.

7 For the animosity that subsisted between the people of Lugdunum (*Lyons*) and the city of Vienne, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi; and for Vienne, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

had fought with alternate success, and prodigious slaughter, it was visible that so much animosity was not merely the effect of party rage in a contest between Nero and Galba. The people of Lyons had felt the weight of Galba's displeasure; they saw their revenues [8] wrested out of their hands, and confiscated to the imperial treasury, while their inveterate enemies enjoyed the favours of the emperor. Hence a new source of jealousy. The two cities were separated by a river;[9] but they were hostile neighbours, and they saw each other with inflamed resentment. Revenge and malice were not to be appeased. The citizens of Lyons omitted nothing that could excite the legions against their rivals; they talked with the soldiers, man by man, and nothing less than the utter destruction of Vienne could satisfy their indignation. "Lyons," they said, "had been besieged by their mortal enemies, who had taken up arms in the cause of Vindex, and lately raised recruits to complete the legions in the service of Galba." To these incentives they added the temptation of plunder in a rich and opulent city. Finding that they had infused their rancour into the minds of the soldiers, they no longer depended on secret practices, but openly, and in a body, preferred their petition, imploring the army to march forth the redressers of wrong, and rase to the ground a city, that had been the nursery of war, and a hive of enemies; a foreign race, who hated the Roman name. Lyons, they said, was a confederate colony,[10] a portion of the army, willing, at all times, to share in the good or evil fortune of the empire. The issue of the present war might be disastrous to their party. They therefore implored the legions not to leave them, in the event of a defeat, at the mercy of a furious and implacable enemy.

LXVI. These entreaties had their effect. The legions were roused to vengeance, and the flame rose to such a height, that the commanders and other officers despaired of being able to extinguish it. The inhabitants of Vienne had notice of their danger. They came forth in solemn procession, bearing in their hands [11] the sacred vestments, and all the usual tokens of peace and humble supplication. They met the Romans on their march, and, falling prostrate on the ground, clasped their knees, and in a pathetic strain deprecated the vengeance ready to burst upon them. Fabius Valens judged it expedient to order a distribution of three hundred sesterces to each man. The soldiers began to relent, and the colony was respected for its worth and ancient dignity. The general pleaded in behalf of the inhabitants, and was heard with attention. The state, however, was obliged to furnish a supply of arms and warlike stores. Individuals, with emulation, contributed from their private stock. The report however was, that the people, in good time, applied a large sum of money, and purchased the protection of the commander in chief. Thus much is certain, that, after being for a long time depressed with poverty, he grew suddenly rich, but took no pains to conceal his affluence. The art of rising in the world with moderation, was not the talent of Valens. His passions had been restrained by indigence, and now, when fortune smiled, the sudden taste of pleasure hurried him into excess. A beggar in his youth, he was, in old age, a voluptuous prodigal.

The army proceeded by slow marches through the territory of the Allobrogians, and thence to the Vocontians; the general, during the whole progress, making his market at every place, and selling his favours for a sum of money. For a bribe he fixed the length of each day's march, and shifted his camp for a price agreed upon between him and the owners of the lands. In all these exactions Valens enforced his orders with unrelenting cruelty, nor did he blush to drive open bargains with the magistrates of the several cities. Torches and firebrands were prepared to fire the town of Lucus, situate in the territory of the Vocontians; and the place would infallibly have been burnt to the ground, if the people had not ransomed themselves with a considerable sum. Where pecuniary bribes were not to be had, women were obliged to resign their persons, and prostitution became the price of common humanity. In this manner, gratifying his avarice, or his brutal passions, Valens arrived at the foot of the Alps.

XLVII. Cæcina, who commanded the second army, marked his way with greater rapine and more horrible cruelty. He found in the territory of the Helvetians abundant cause to provoke a man of his ferocious temper. The people of that district, originally a Gallic nation,[12] were renowned in former times for their valour, and their exploits in war. Of late years the history of their ancestors was their only glory. Not

8 The people of Lyons waged war against Vindex, and on that account Galba made them feel his resentment.

9 The cities of Lyons and Vienne were separated by the river Rhodanus, now the *Rhone*.

10 The people of Vienne favoured the revolt of Vindex. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

11 Olive branches and sacred vestments were usually displayed in cases of distress, when the conquered sued for mercy. So we read in Livy: *Ramos oleæ ac velamenta supplicum porrigentes, orare, ut reciperent sese, receptosque tutarentur.* Livy, lib. xxiv. s. 30.

12 The territory of the Helvetii was a part of Celtic Gaul, more extensive than what is now called Switzerland. The people are celebrated by Julius Cæsar for their military virtue, and constant warfare with the Germans. *Helvetii reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt, quod fere quotidianis prœliis cum Germanis contendant, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.* Cæsar Bell. Gall. lib. i. s. 1.

having heard of the death of Galba, they were unwilling to acknowledge Vitellius. In this disposition of their minds, they had soon a cause of quarrel, occasioned by the rapacity of the twenty-first legion. That body of men fell in with a party who were escorting a sum of money to a strong fort, where the Helvetians had immemorially maintained a garrison. The Romans seized the whole as lawful plunder. An act of violence, so unwarranted, raised the indignation of the people. Determined to make reprisals, they intercepted a small party on their way to Pannonia, with letters from the German army to the legions stationed in that country. They seized the papers, and detained in custody a centurion with some of his soldiers. This, to such a man as Cæcina, was ample provocation. He wished for nothing so much as a pretence for open hostility. Whenever he took umbrage, he struck his blow without delay. To defer the punishment, were to leave time for repentance. He marched against the Helvetians, and, having laid waste the country, sacked a place, built, during the leisure of a long peace, in the form of a municipal town, remarkable for the beauty of the situation, and, by reason of its salubrious waters,[1] much frequented. Not content with this act of revenge, he sent despatches into Rhætia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country to hang upon the rear of the Helvetians, while he advanced to attack them in front.

LXVIII. The spirit of the Helvetians, fierce and intrepid while the danger was at a distance, began to droop as soon as the war drew nearer. In the beginning of these hostilities they had chosen Claudius Severus to command their forces, but terror and confusion followed. They neither knew the use of their arms, nor the advantage of discipline. To keep their ranks in battle was not their practice, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The contest, they now perceived, must be unequal with a veteran army; and, their fortifications being every where in decay, to stand a siege was not advisable. Cæcina advanced at the head of a numerous army; the cavalry and auxiliary forces from Rhætia, with the youth of that country, inured to arms, and trained to the art of war, were ready to attack them in the rear. The country was laid waste, and a dreadful carnage followed. The Helvetians betook themselves to flight; and, after wandering about in a general panic, wounded, maimed, and unable to resist, they threw down their arms, and fled for refuge to the mountain, known by the name of Vocetius.[2] A band of Thracians was sent to dislodge them. Driven from their fastness, they betook themselves to the woods, or fled to their lurking-places, while the Germans and Rhætians hung upon them in their flight. Several thousands were put to the sword, or sold to slavery. Having ravaged the country, and laid a scene of desolation, the army marched to the siege of Aventicum,[3] the capital city of the Helvetians. The inhabitants sent their deputies, offering to surrender at discretion. Their submission was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was by order of Cæcina publicly executed. The rest were left to the mercy or resentment of Vitellius.

LXIX. The Helvetians sent their ambassadors to the new emperor; but which was most implacable, he or his army, it is difficult to decide. The soldiers clamoured for the utter destruction of the whole race. They brandished their arms in the face of the ambassadors, and threatened blows and brutal violence. Vitellius showed no less ferocity. He gave vent to a torrent of abuse, and threw out violent menaces. At length Claudius Cossus, one of the deputies, who possessed an uncommon share of eloquence, but had the skill, under an appearance of well-acted terror, to conceal his power over the passions of his audience, had the address to soothe the minds of the soldiers. Their rage subsided, and compassion took its turn. Such is the nature of the multitude; easily inflamed, and with a sudden transition shifting to the opposite extreme. They melted into tears, and never ceased their supplications till they prevailed on Vitellius, and saved the people from destruction.

LXX. Cæcina, wanting further instructions from Vitellius, and, at the same time, making all proper arrangements for his passage over the Alps, halted for a few days in the territory of the Helvetians. In that situation, he received intelligence that the squadron of horse called Sylla's squadron,[4] at that time quartered on the banks of the Po, had sworn fidelity to Vitellius. They had formerly served under Vitellius, when he was the proconsular governor[5] of Africa. Nero, when he projected an expedition into Egypt, ordered them to sail for that country; but, being soon after alarmed by the commotions stirred up by Vindex, he called them back to Italy, where they remained from that time. Their officers, unacquainted with Otho, and closely connected with Vitellius, espoused the interest of the latter. By representing to the

1 Brotier says, this place was called in ancient inscriptions, *Respublica aquensis*, on account of the salubrity of the waters. He supposes it to be what is now called *Baden*, in the territory of Switzerland.

2 For Mons Vocetius, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

3 For Aventicum, see the Geographical Table.

4 The *Ala Syllana* was a body of cavalry, originally raised by Sylla. For the Padus (now the *Po*), see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

5 Vitellius had been proconsul in Africa, where he administered the affairs of the province with an unblemished reputation. Suetonius, in Vitell. s. 5.

men the strength of the legions then on their march to the invasion of Italy, and by extolling the valour of the German armies, they drew the whole squadron into their party. As a further proof of their zeal for their new prince, they attracted to his interest the chief municipal towns on the other side of the Po, namely, Mediolanum,[6] Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercellus. Of this fact Cæcina was apprised by despatches from the officers. But a single squadron, he knew, was not sufficient to defend so large a tract of country. In order to reinforce them, he sent forward the cohorts of Gaul, Lusitania, and Britain, with the succours from Germany, and the squadron of horse called the ALA PETRINA.[7] How he himself should pass into Italy, was his next consideration. His first plan was to march over the Rhætian mountains,[8] in order to make a descent into Noricum, where Petronius Urbicus, the governor of the province, supposed to be a partisan in Otho's service, was busy in collecting forces, and destroying the bridges over the rivers. But this enterprise was soon relinquished. The detachment already sent forward might be cut off, and, after all, the secure possession of Italy was the important object. The issue of the war, wherever decided, would draw after it all inferior places, and Noricum would fall, by consequence, into the hands of the conqueror. He resolved, therefore, to proceed by the shortest way into Italy. For this purpose, he ordered the troops lightly armed to proceed on their journey, and, with the legions heavily armed, he marched himself over the Penine Alps,[9] through a waste of snow, and all the rigours of the winter season.

LXXI. Otho, in the mean time, displayed a new and unexpected character. He renounced his love of pleasure, or, at least, dissembled for the present. Scorning to loiter in luxury and inglorious ease, he assumed a spirit becoming the majesty of empire. And yet the change diffused a general terror: men knew that his virtues were false, and they dreaded a return of his former vices. He ordered Marius Celsus, the consul elect, whom he had put in irons[10] in order to rescue him from the hands of the soldiers, to appear before him in the capitol. To acquire the fame of clemency, by releasing a man of illustrious character, and well known to be an enemy to Otho and his party, was the object of his ambition. Celsus appeared with unshaken constancy. He confessed the crime of adhering faithfully to the unfortunate Galba, and, by that firmness, gave the emperor a fair opportunity to grace his character. Otho did not assume the tone of a sovereign granting pardon to a criminal; but, to show that he could think generously of an enemy, and to remove all doubt of the sincerity of his reconciliation, he received Celsus among his intimate friends, and, in a short time afterwards, appointed him one of his generals to conduct the war. Celsus accepted the commission, and remained study to his trust His fidelity was honourable, but unfortunate. The clemency of the prince gave great satisfaction to the leading men at Rome; the populace applauded, and even the soldiers admired the virtue which they had condemned.

LXXII. The joy excited on this occasion was followed by an event no less acceptable, but for reasons of a different nature. The public voice was loud against Sophonius Tigellinus,[11] and accordingly his doom was fixed. From low beginnings this man had raised himself to eminence in the state. His birth was obscure. Stained in his youth with the worst impurities, he retained, in his advanced years, all his early habits, and closed with disgrace a life begun in infamy. By his vices, the surest road to preferment, he obtained the command, first of the city cohorts, and afterwards of the prætorian guards. The rewards which were due to virtue only, he obtained by his crimes. To his effeminate qualities he united some of those rougher evils which may be called manly passions, such as avarice and cruelty. Having gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Nero, he was, in some instances, the adviser of the horrors committed by that prince, and in others the chief actor, without the knowledge of his master. He corrupted Nero at first, and in the end deserted him. Hence it was that the blood of a criminal was never demanded with such violent clamour. The men who detested the memory of Nero, and those who still regretted him, concurred in one opinion. They all joined in the cry for public justice. During the short reign of Galba, he lived secure under the protection of Titus Vinius. In fact, he had some merit with that minister, having saved the life of his daughter; but, in that very act, humanity was not his motive. A

6 For the municipal cities here enumerated, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

7 The squadron of horse, called *Ala Petrina*, had been stationed in Cumberland, as appears by a lapidary inscription set forth in Camden's Britannia.

8 See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

9 Penine Alps; see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume. The *Subsignanus Miles*, mentioned in this passage, means the soldiers who fought under the colours, *Vexilla*, and not under the Eagles. The auxiliaries, the veterans detained in the service, and the men draughted from the legions, were of this description.

10 Otho, to appease the fury of the soldiers, had thrown Marius Celsus into prison. At that time, he could instigate the soldiers to perpetrate any atrocious deed, but to command them to forbear was not in his power. *Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus; jubere jam poterat.* See this book, s. xlv.

11 Tigellinus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. s. 57; xv. s. 37; and Appendix to Annals, xvi.

man who had shed so much innocent blood, could not be suspected of a single virtue. His design was, by a new connection, to screen himself from future danger.

Such at all times is the policy of the worst of men: they dread a reverse of fortune, and, in the hour of need, hope to shelter themselves under the protection of some pernicious favourite. Innocence is no part of their care; they know that the guilty are ever ready to defend each other. But the friendship of Vinius, who was still remembered with detestation, was an additional spur to the populace. They crowded together from all quarters; they surrounded the palace; they filled the forum; and in the circus and the theatre, where licentiousness is most apt to show itself, they clamoured, with a degree of violence little short of sedition, for the punishment of a vile malefactor. Tigellinus was then at the baths of Sinuessa.[1] Orders were sent to him to put a period to his life. He received the fatal news in a circle of his concubines; he took leave with tenderness; and after mutual embraces and other trifling delays, he cut his throat with a razor; by the pusillanimity of his last moments disgracing even the infamy of his former life.

LXXIII. About the same time, the execution of Calvia Crispinilla[2] was demanded by the public voice: but by various artifices, in which the duplicity of the prince covered him with dishonour, she was saved from danger. She had been, in the reign of Nero, the professed teacher of lascivious pleasures, and, in the various scenes of that emperor, the caterer for his appetite. She passed afterwards into Africa, and, having instigated Clodius Macer to revolt, became an accomplice in the plot to cause a famine in the city of Rome. She was married soon after to a man of consular rank, and, by that connection, gained a powerful interest, insomach that, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, she lived in perfect security. Even in the following reign she was high in credit. Her riches, and her want of children, placed her in a flourishing state; and those two circumstances, in good as well as evil times, are sure to be of weight.

LXXIV. Otho, in the mean time, endeavoured by frequent letters to divert Vitellius from his purpose. His proposals were in the soft style of female persuasion; he offered money, and a retreat for voluptuous enjoyments, with all that the prince's favour could bestow. Vitellius answered in the same delicate strain. Both parties corresponded in dainty terms, with dissembled hatred, and frivolous negotiation, till, exasperated by want of success, they changed their tone, and, with unguarded invective charged each other with criminal pleasures and flagitious deeds. Both had truth on their sides. Weary of altercation, Otho recalled the deputies, who had been sent by Galba, and, in their room, despatched others to the German army, to the Italic legion, and the troops quartered at Lyons, with instructions to negotiate in the name of the senate. The men employed in this embassy tarried with Vitellius, and, by their cheerful compliance, left no room to think that they were detained by force. Under pretence of doing honour to the embassy, Otho had sent a detachment of the prætorian guards. Without suffering them to mix with the soldiers, Vitellius ordered them to return without delay. Fabius Valens took the opportunity to write, in the name of the German army, to the prætorian guards. His letters, in a style of magnificence, set forth the strength of the legions, and, at the same time, offered terms of mutual concord. He condemned the forward zeal, with which they presumed to transfer to Otho an empire which had been vested in Vitellius. He mingled promises with expressions of anger, and, after treating the prætorians as men unequal to an important war, gave them assurances that they would lose nothing by peace and unanimity. These letters, however, were without effect. The prætorians continued firm in their duty.

LXXV. The rival chiefs began to lay snares for each other. They waged a war of treachery. Emissaries were sent by Otho into Germany and others by Vitellius to Rome. Both parties missed their aim. The agents of Vitellius passed undetected. Amidst a concourse of people, in so vast a city as Rome, they could lurk with impunity; while, on the other hand, in a camp where all were known to each other, the men employed by Otho were soon discovered by the novelty of their faces. Vitellius, anxious for his family, then residing at Rome, sent letters to Titianus, the brother of Otho, threatening, if any violence was offered to his mother or his children,[3] to make reprisals, and put both him and his son to death. Both families remained unhurt. As long as Otho lived, fear might be the motive: Vitellius, after his victory, added to his laurels the palm of clemency.

LXXVI. The first occurrence that inspired Otho with confidence in his cause, was an account from Illyricum that the legions of Dalmatia, of Pannonia, and Mæsia, had declared in his favour. Advices from Spain brought the like intelligence; and in a public edict, honourable mention was made of Cluvius Rufus, the governor of the province. That compliment, however, was found to be premature. Spain went over to the interest of Vitellius. The people

1 For Sinuessa, see Annals, xii. s. 66; and see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 For Calvia Crispinilla, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. and see Plutarch, in Galba.

3 Suetonius, in Vitell. s. 6.

of Aquitaine, under the influence of Julius Cordus, had sworn obedience to Otho; but a little time showed, that the obligation of an oath was no longer binding. All principle, all affection, and all truth, were banished. Fear, and the necessity of the times, governed in every quarter. Narbon Gaul acceded to Vitellius. A party in force, and near at hand, found no difficulty in drawing their neighbours into a league with themselves. The distant provinces, and all places separated by the Mediterranean, adhered to Otho, not from motives of regard for him or his party, but because the name of Rome and the senate was still respected by foreign nations. Besides this, Otho, being the first announced in foreign parts, had already made his impression. The army in Judæa under the conduct of Vespasian, and that in Syria, under Mucianus, swore fidelity to Otho. Ægypt, and the provinces in the East, acknowledged his authority. The same disposition prevailed in Africa. That whole country was willing to follow the example set by the people of Carthage. In that city, without any order or authority from Vipsanius Apronianus, then proconsular governor of the province, a public treat was given by a pragmatical fellow, of the name of Crescens, one of Nero's freedmen, who had the ambition to distinguish himself as an active partisan in the interest of Otho. Such, in times of public distraction, is the presumption of the lowest men in the state. They think it time to emerge from their obscurity, and act their part, as if they had an interest in the commonwealth. The mob of Carthage expressed their zeal with all demonstrations of joy, and the rest of Africa followed their example.

LXXVII. In this posture of affairs, while the armies and the several provinces embraced opposite interests, it was evident that Vitellius, to secure his title, had nothing left but the decision of the sword. Otho, in the mean time, remained at Rome, discharging all the functions of the sovereign power, as if he was established in profound tranquillity. His conduct, in some instances, was such as became the dignity of the state; but his measures, for the most part, were hastily adopted, the mere expedients of the day. He named himself and his brother Titianus joint consuls,[4] to continue in office till the calends of March. For the two following months, with a view to curry favour with the German army, he appointed Verginius, and gave him for his colleague Pompeius Vopiscus. For the nomination of the latter he pretended motives of friendship; but, as men of penetration thought, his real view was to pay court to the people of Vienne. With regard to future consuls, no alteration was made in the arrangement settled by Nero or by Galba. Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to succeed for the months of May and June. From the first of July to September, Arrius Antoninus[5] and Marius Celsus were to be in office. Nor did Vitellius, after his victory, disturb this order of succession. Otho, at the same time, thought proper to grant the augural and pontifical dignities, as the summit of civil honours, to such of the senators as were grown grey in public stations; nor was he unmindful of the young patricians lately recalled from banishment. To soothe the remembrance of their sufferings, he bestowed upon them the sacerdotal honours which had been enjoyed by their ancestors. Cadius Rufus,[6] Pedius Blæsus, and Sævinus Pomtinus, who under Claudius or Nero had been charged with extortion, and expelled the senate, were restored to their rank. To varnish this proceeding, the real offence was suppressed, and what was, in fact, public rapine, in the style of the pardon took the name of violated majesty; a charge held in such general detestation, that, to elude it, the best and wisest laws were set aside.

LXXVIII. In order to extend his popularity, Otho, in the next place, turned his thoughts to the cities and provinces, little doubting but by acts of munificence he should be able to strengthen his interest. To the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita,[7] then on the decline, he transplanted a number of families: the Lingones were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens, and to the province of Bætica all the Moorish cities were annexed. He gave a new code of laws to Cappadocia, and another to Africa; all popular grants, and splendid for the present, but soon to fade away, and sink into oblivion. Amidst these innovations, all of them temporizing acts, occasioned by the pressure of his affairs,

4 The number of consuls, in the course of this eventful year, was so great, that it will not be useless to place the list in one view before the eye of the reader.

A. U. C. 823.	Consuls.
On the Kalends of January, Hist. i. s. 1.	Galba, Vinius.
Kalends of March, Hist. i. s. 77.	Salvius Otho, Titianus Otho.
Kalends of May, Hist. i. s. 77.	Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
Kalends of July, Hist. i. s. 77.	Cælius Sabinus, Flavius Sabinus.
Kalends of September, Hist. i. s. 77.	Arrius Antoninus, Marius Celsus.
On the Kalends of November. Hist. ii. s. 1.	Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.

Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the senate, on the day before the kalends of January, A. U. C. 823, the consul for a single day, being the last of the year, was Rosius Regulus. Hist. iii. s. 37.

5 Arrius Antoninus, who appears in the foregoing list of the consuls, was grandfather to Antoninus Pius, the upright and virtuous emperor. See letters to him by the younger Pliny, lib. iv. epist. 3 and 18; lib. v. epist. 10.

6 For Cadius Rufus, see Annals, xii. s. 22. For Pedius Blæsus, see Annals, xiv. s. 18.

7 For the cities of Hispalis and Emerita, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

and perhaps on that account excusable, he did not forget his tender passions. Even in the moment when the sovereign power was still at stake, his love of Poppæa was not extinguished. With fond remembrance of that connection, he caused her statues to be restored by a decree of the senate. There is reason to think, that, with a view to popularity, he intended to celebrate the memory of Nero with public honours. Many were for erecting the statues of that emperor,[1] and even proposed it as a public measure. The populace and the soldiers, as if they meant to decorate their emperor with additional splendour, saluted him by the title of NERO OTHO. He heard their acclamations, but remained silent; perhaps unwilling to reject the compliment, perhaps ashamed to accept it.

LXXIX. The public mind being now intent on the great scene that began to open, no wonder if foreign affairs fell into neglect. Encouraged by the inattention that prevailed at Rome, the Rhoxolanians, a people of Sarmatia, who in the preceding winter had cut off two entire cohorts, made an irruption into the province of Mæsia, with nine thousand horse; a band of freebooters, determined to ravage the country. Plunder, and not war, was their passion. They prowled about in quest of prey, without order, or apprehension of an enemy, when, on a sudden, they found themselves hemmed in by the third legion and their auxiliaries. The Romans advanced in order of battle. The Sarmatians, overloaded with booty, were taken by surprise. On a damp and slippery soil, the swiftness of their horses was of no use. Unable to retreat, they were cut to pieces, more like men bound in fetters, than soldiers armed for the field of battle. It may seem strange, but it is not less true, that the courage of the Sarmatians has no inward principle, but depends altogether upon external circumstances; a kind of courage, that has no source in the mind, but may be said to be out of the man. In an engagement with the infantry, nothing can be more dastardly; in an onset of the cavalry, they are impetuous, fierce, and irresistible. Their weapons are long spears or sabres of an enormous size, which they wield with both hands. The chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of iron, or the tough hides of animals, impenetrable to the enemy, but to themselves an incumbrance so unwieldy, that he who falls in battle is never able to rise again.

In their encounter with the Romans, a heavy fall of rain and a sudden thaw deprived them of all advantage from the velocity of their horses; the consequence was, that they were overwhelmed in a deep waste of snow. The light breast-plates of the Romans were no impediment. With their missive weapons, and their swords of a moderate length, they were able to rush into the thickest ranks; while the Sarmatians, who wear neither shield nor buckler, were a mark at a distance, or in close engagement cut to pieces. The few who escaped from the slaughter, fled for refuge to their fens and marshes, and there died of their wounds, or perished under the inclemency of the season. An account of this transaction being received at Rome, a triumphal statue was decreed to Marcus Aponius, then governor of Mæsia. Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numisius Lupus, all three commanders of legions, obtained the consular ornaments. The joy expressed by Otho was beyond all bounds. He assumed the merit of the victory, boasting, with vain-glory, that, by his own auspicious fortune, and the valour of his officers and his armies, he had aggrandised the Roman name.

LXXX. From a cause altogether contemptible, and in its origin threatening no kind of danger, a violent sedition well nigh involved the city in ruin. The seventeenth cohort, then quartered at Ostia, had orders to remove to Rome. The care of providing them with arms was committed to Varius Crispinus, a tribune of the prætorian bands. That officer, intending to execute his orders without noise or bustle, chose his time towards the close of day, when the camp was quiet. He opened the magazine of arms, and ordered the waggons to be loaded. The lateness of the hour filled the men with suspicion; the intention seemed dark and dangerous, and the affectation of secrecy produced a general tumult. The soldiers were in liquor, and, at the sight of their arms, reasoning like drunken men, they thought it their business to seize them without delay. They murmured, they complained; they charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, declaring aloud, that a dark conspiracy was formed, with intention to arm the slaves and domestics of the senators against the life of Otho. A scene of uproar and confusion followed. Some were stupefied with liquor, and comprehended nothing: the profligate liked the opportunity to commit midnight plunder; and the multitude, as usual, were ready to mix in any sudden commotion. Those who regarded discipline and good order were undistinguished in the dark. The tribune who attempted to restrain their fury, was murdered on the spot. The centurions, who exerted themselves on the occasion, suffered in like manner. The soldiers seized their arms; they mounted their horses, and, entering the city sword in hand, rushed in a body to the imperial palace.

LXXXI. Otho was engaged at a grand entertainment, to which he had invited the most distinguished of both sexes. A sudden terror seized the whole company. The cause was unknown. Was it an accidental fray among the soldiers, or the perfidy of the emperor? What was

1 See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 7.

to be done? should they stay and perish together? or was it more advisable to disperse, and fly different ways? In the hurry and agitation no one could decide. They made a show of resolution: their courage failed; they stood covered with consternation, and, with their eyes fixed on Otho, endeavoured to peruse his countenance. The usual fate of suspicious minds attended them all. They were afraid of Otho, and he stood trembling for himself. He trembled also for the senate, and thought of their danger no less than of his own. He ordered the two prætorian commanders to go forth, in order to appease the tumult, and, in the mean time, advised his company to depart. They fled with precipitation. The magistrates threw aside the ensigns of their office, and dispersed without their friends, without their train of attendants. Old men and women of distinction wandered about in the dark, they knew not whither. Few dared to venture towards their own habitations. The greatest part took shelter with their friends; and where the meanest of their dependants lived, that place they thought the safest refuge.

LXXXII. The madness of the soldiers was not to be controlled. They burst the palace-gates, and rushed forward to the banqueting-room, with outrageous clamour demanding a sight of Otho. Julius Martialis, one of the tribunes, and Vitellius Saturninus, the prefect of the legion, endeavoured to oppose the torrent, and were both wounded in the fray. Nothing was to be seen but the flash of arms, and nothing heard but threats and denunciations of vengeance, now against the centurions, and, at times, against the whole body of the senate. The soldiers neither knew the cause nor the object of their phrensy, and, having no particular victim in view, they resolved to lay a scene of general slaughter. They forced their way into the apartment of the prince. Otho, forgetting his own rank and the majesty of empire, stood up on his couch, with tears and supplications imploring the soldiers to desist. He prevailed at length. The men retired to the camp, with a sullen spirit, and guilt at their hearts. On the following day Rome had the appearance of a city taken by assault. The houses were shut, the streets deserted, the populace in a general panic. The soldiers wandered about in a sullen mood, with looks of discontent, rather than repentance. The two prefects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, went round to the several companies, and harangued the men, each according to his own peculiar temper, in soothing terms, or in a style of reproach. A distribution of five thousand sesterces to each man concluded the business. The tumult overcome, Otho ventured to enter the camp. The tribunes and centurions gathered round him, but without the military ornaments of their rank, praying to be dismissed from the service, that they might retire to live in ease and safety. The soldiers felt the request as a reproach for their own conduct. Remorse and sorrow took possession of every mind. They expressed their willingness to return to their duty, and, of their own motion, desired to see the authors of the insurrection brought to punishment.

LXXXIII. In this delicate conjuncture, when the times were big with danger, and a discordant soldiery heightened the distraction, Otho felt that he had a difficult game to play. All who wished well to the service, called for an immediate reform of the army: while on the other hand, the loose and profligate, always the greatest number, liked nothing so well as tumult and insurrections, under the conduct of an ambitious leader. To such minds, Otho knew that the strongest motives to a civil war are the hopes of growing rich by the spoils of the public; nor was he to learn, that power obtained by guilt, is incompatible with a new system of laws and the rigour of ancient manners. But still the danger that hung over the city and the Roman senate filled him with anxiety. In this alarming situation, he spoke to the following effect:

"I come not now, my fellow-soldiers, to excite your zeal for me and the cause in which we are engaged; much less do I come to add new ardour to your courage. Both are too well known: they need no incentive. Perhaps some restraint may be necessary; perhaps the zeal, that pervades you all, requires a degree of moderation. In the late tumult, it was not the love of plunder, nor ill-will to any man, or any set of men, that urged you on. From those motives, discord and mutiny have often broke out in various armies; but upon your conduct they had no effect. Nor was there in that transaction any fear of danger, or so much as a wish to renounce your duty. It was your regard for me, sincere indeed, but generous to excess, that hurried you on to acts of intemperance, and even violence. You listened to your passions, but not to your judgment; and where judgment does not direct and guide, the best counsels and the best cause are often ruined. We are going forth to a great and important war. And must all intelligence be communicated to the army? Must every secret be disclosed? And must councils of war be held in a public assembly of the soldiers? The reason of things, and the opportunity, which must be seized at once or lost for ever, will not allow a mode of proceeding so slow and dangerous to the service. To know some things is the duty of the soldier; in others, not to be informed is his happiness, and submission is his virtue. Even the tribunes and centurions must often receive their orders, without a reason assigned: to know the motives that weigh with the general, is not their province; to obey is the duty of the inferior officer. If every subaltern may discuss the operations of war, and

cavil with the commander in chief, subordination ceases, discipline is at an end, and the best concerted enterprise may be defeated. And are we now to imagine, that the soldier, when the enemy is at hand, may seize his arms, and, as caprice or fancy prompts, sally forth in the dead of night? Shall two or three drunken men (in the last night's fray, I do not believe there were more) imbrue their hands in the blood of their officers? Shall they murder the centurions, and, in a fit of frenzy, rush to the pavilion of their general?

LXXXIV. "You, my fellow-soldiers, have transgressed the bounds of your duty; the fact must be admitted; but your zeal for me was the cause. And yet, reflect for a moment, what might have been the consequence. Amidst that general uproar, in the gloom of midnight darkness, the assassin's blow might have been aimed at me, whom you wished to defend. Give Vitellius his option; let him and his rebel soldiers have the power of choosing, and what greater curse could they invoke? what calamity could they call down upon us, so much to be dreaded, as a turbulent and factious spirit, and all the evils of discord and sedition? Let the soldier refuse to obey his centurion; let the centurion shake off the authority of the tribune; let the cavalry and the foot soldiers be intermixed, without order or distinction; and let us all, in one promiscuous body, go forward to the war. Need our enemies wish for more? We should rush on sure destruction. It is obedience, my fellow-soldiers, implicit, prompt obedience,[1] without pausing to wrangle with our superior officer, that gives to military operations all their energy. The army that shows itself, in time of peace, attentive to discipline and good order, is sure to be the most formidable in the day of battle. It is yours to arm in the cause of your country, and to face the enemy with heroic valour: be it mine to form the plan of operations, and, in the execution, to direct and guide the courage of the army. The guilt of last night extends to a few only; and of those few, two only shall expiate the offence. That done, let us bury in oblivion the horrors of that shameful tumult; and may no other army hear those dreadful imprecations uttered against a Roman senate! Against that venerable body, the head of the empire, and the fountain, from which justice flows through the provinces, not even Vitellius, nor his rash-levied crew of Germans, would dare to meditate so vile a deed.

"And can there be in Italy a race of men, the genuine offspring of Roman citizens, who are capable of so foul a parricide? who can lift their impious hands against the sacred order, from whom our cause derives so much lustre, to the confusion of Vitellius and the scum of nations that follow him to the field? Some states, it is true, have been induced to join his standard; he has the appearance of an army; but the senate is on our side. The commonwealth is with us; our enemies are the enemies of Rome. And when I mention Rome, when you yourselves behold that magnificent city, do you imagine that it consists in walls, and buildings, and a pile of stones? Inanimate structures and mute and senseless edifices may moulder away, and rise again out of their ruins; but the stability of empire depends upon the senate: upon the safety of that august assembly, the welfare of the community, the peace of nations, your fate and mine, are grafted. It was Romulus, the founder of the city, and the father of the Roman state, who instituted, with solemn auspices, that sacred order. It has subsisted in vigour from that time; from the expulsion of Tarquin, to the establishment of the Cæsars, it has been preserved inviolate. We received it from our ancestors; let us transmit it to our posterity, unshaken, unimpaired, immortal. From your order, from the people at large, the senate is supplied with its brightest ornaments: and from the senate you derive a succession of princes."

LXXXV. This speech, seasoned with reproof, yet tempered with conciliating language, was favourably received; and the moderation of the prince, who punished only two of the mutineers, gave general satisfaction. By that lenient measure, the soldiers, too fierce to be controlled, were quieted for the present. Rome, however, was not in a state of tranquillity. A constant din of arms was heard, and warlike preparations were seen in every quarter. The soldiers did not, as before, riot in tumultuous bodies; but, being dispersed throughout the city, they found means, in various shapes, to insinuate themselves into houses, where they watched, with sufficient malignity, the motions and words of all, who by their nobility, their wealth, or their talents, were eminent enough to be objects of calumny. A report prevailed at the same time, that Vitellius had a number of emissaries dispersed among the populace, to act as spies, and watch the state of parties. Hence jealousy, mistrust, and fear. No man thought himself safe under his own roof. Abroad and under the eye of the public the alarm was still greater. Whatever was the rumour of the day, all degrees and ranks were obliged to set their faces for the occasion: if bad, they were afraid of seeming to despond; and, if propitious, unwilling to be thought backward in demonstrations of joy. With events of either kind, their features were taught to comply.

1 This rule of military subordination stands confirmed by experience in every age and country. We read in Livy a speech of Paulus Æmilius to the same effect, *Unum imperatorem in exercitu providere et consulere, quid agendum sit, debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in consilium. In quo exercitu, milites, consul, et emperator, rumoribus vulgi circumagunlur, ibi nihil salutare esse.* Livy, lib. xliv. s. 34.

The fathers had the hardest task. Silence in the senate might be thought sullen discontent, and liberty of speech might be deemed a crime. Adulation itself was at a stand. Who could deceive a prince, who was but lately a private man, and, in that station, practised flattery till he became a perfect master of that insidious art? The fathers were driven to little stratagems; they tortured every sentence into a thousand forms, and, to diversify one and the same thought, all the colours of rhetoric were exhausted. All agreed to call Vitellius A PUBLIC ENEMY AND A PARRICIDE. This was the burden of every speech. Cautious men, who looked forward to their own security, avoided entering into particulars, content with hackneyed declamation: others, without reserve or management, poured out a torrent of virulent invective, but generally chose to rise in the midst of noise and clamour, when nothing could be distinctly heard, and the speaker could mouth and bellow, without the danger of being understood or remembered.

LXXXVI. A number of prodigies, announced from different quarters, diffused a general panic. The goddess of victory, in the vestibule of the capitol, let the reins of two horses, harnessed to her chariot, fall from her hand. A form of more than human size was seen to issue from the chapel of Juno. In an island in the Tiber,[2] the statue of Julius Cæsar, without any apparent cause, on a day perfectly serene and calm, turned round from the west to the east. In Etruria an ox was said to have spoken: animals brought forth monstrous births: and to these were added a variety of preternatural appearances, such as in rude and barbarous ages were the coinage of superstition; and, even in profound peace, made an impression on vulgar credulity, though of late years they have so far lost their effect, that, unless it be a time of public distress, they pass away unheeded and forgotten. Amidst the omens, which seemed to threaten impending danger, an inundation of the Tiber was the most alarming. The waters swelled above their banks, and overflowed the adjacent country. The Sublician bridge was carried away by the flood; and the ruins, that fell in, obstructing the course of the river, the torrent was driven back with such impetuous violence, that not only the level parts of the city, but even the higher grounds, were covered with a general deluge.[3] The people in the streets were swallowed up, and numbers were drowned in their shops, and in their beds. The corn in the public granaries was destroyed; a famine ensued, and the common people were reduced to the last distress. The waters, that lay for some time in the streets of Rome, sapped the foundation of several insulated houses; and when the flood fell back into its channel, the superstructure tumbled to the ground. The disaster was no sooner over than a new occurrence spread a general terror. Otho was preparing to set out on his expedition. His way was over the field of Mars, and the Flaminian road; but both places were impassable. This circumstance, though accidental, or the effect of natural causes, was magnified into a prodigy, by which the gods denounced the slaughter of armies and a train of public calamities.

LXXXVII. The emperor ordered a lustration,[4] and, having purified the city, turned his thoughts to the conduct of the war. The Penine and the Cottian Alps, with all the passes into Italy, were in the possession of Vitellius and his armies. Otho resolved, therefore, to make a descent on the coast of Narbon Gaul, with a fleet well manned; and in force to keep the command of those seas. All who survived the massacre at the Milvian bridge, and had been, by Galba's orders, thrown into prison, were released by Otho, and incorporated with the legions. He depended on the fidelity of those men, and by giving to others the like hopes of preferment, he inspired the whole body with zeal and ardour. In order to strengthen his fleet, he embarked the city cohorts, and a considerable detachment from the prætorian guards; a body of men capable of defending their generals by their courage, and of assisting with their advice. The conduct of the marine was committed to three officers; namely, Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, both centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, a tribune degraded by Galba, but, since the death of that emperor, restored to his rank. A freedman of the name of Oscus was appointed to direct the operations of the fleet, and act as a spy on better men than himself. The land forces, both horse and infantry, were put under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus. To them was added Licinius Proculus, the præfect of the prætorians, and in him Otho reposed his whole confidence. This officer, in time of peace, discharged the functions of his station with sufficient ability; but he had seen no service, and had therefore no skill in military affairs. He had talents for mischief, and knew how to obstruct the authority of Paulinus, to check the ardour of Celsus, and to thwart the judgment of Gallus. An enemy to every excellence of those three officers, he found, as usually happens, that worth and modest merit were no match for malice and left-handed policy.

LXXXVIII. Before Otho set out from Rome,

2 The isle in the Tiber, now called *Isola di St Bartolomeo.*

3 The Sublician Bridge, so called, because built with wood. A foundation of solid marble was laid afterwards, but nothing remains at present but the ruins.

4 See Annals, xiii. s. 24.

Cornelius Dolabella was, by his order, conveyed under a guard to the Aquinian colony,[1] there to be kept out of the way, but not in close confinement. His only crime was the antiquity of his family, and his affinity to Galba. Several magistrates, and others of consular rank, had it in command to attend Otho on his expedition, not to assist in the war by their counsels or their valour, but to swell the pomp of the emperor's retinue. In the number was Lucius Vitellius, who was suffered to mix with the rest of the train, undistinguished either as the brother of one emperor, or the enemy of another. During these preparations, Rome presented a scene of hurry and confusion. No order of men was exempt from fear or danger. The principal senators, enfeebled by age, or softened by a long peace; the nobility, sunk in sloth; and the Roman knights, who had lost their warlike spirit; were all obliged to put themselves in readiness. They assumed an air of courage, but their fears were seen through the vain disguise. Some affected to make a display of their alacrity. They bought with vain ostentation the most splendid armour, horses for parade, and all the conveniences of a luxurious table, as if such implements were a necessary part of their camp-equipage. The wise and moderate thought of nothing but their own safety and the public welfare; while the vain and senseless, whose views did not extend to remote consequences, filled their minds with chimerical expectations; and all who were bankrupts both in fame and fortune, hoped to find in the distractions of their country that security, which in quiet times, they had never known.

LXXXIX. The people at large, unacquainted with the secrets of state, and of course free from solicitude, began, however, to feel the ill effects of the impending war. They saw the public revenue exhausted in the service of the army; they laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and the price was rising every day; whereas in the troubles stirred up by Vindex, none of those inconveniences affected the city of Rome. That commotion was at a distance, a war in the remote parts of Gaul, decided between the legions and the provincial insurgents. The Roman citizens looked on in perfect tranquillity, as if it were no more than a foreign quarrel. From the reign of Augustus, when that emperor established the power of the Cæsars, this had constantly been the case. The issue of every war affected the sovereign only. Under Tiberius and Caligula, the evils of peace were the worst calamities. The attempt of Scribonianus[2] to shake the authority of Claudius was crushed as soon as discovered. Nero was undone by rumours and vague intelligence, not by force of arms. In the present juncture, the face of things was changed. The pressure was felt at home. The fleets and legions were in motion, and beyond all example, the prætorian bands and city cohorts were obliged to take the field. The east and west were engaged in the contest; the several provinces, which the leading chiefs left behind them, were up in arms; and, under better generals, there were ample materials for a long and difficult war. Otho was now on the point of beginning his march. A scruple was started to deter him from proceeding, till the ceremony of depositing the sacred shields called the ANCILIA[3] was performed with due rites and ceremonies. He rejected the advice. Delay had been the ruin of Nero, and Cæcina by this time had passed the Alps. The time called for vigour and expedition.

XC. On the day preceding the ides of March, Otho called a meeting of the senate. He recommended the care of the commonwealth to the wisdom of that assembly, and ordered the property of such as had been recalled from banishment, since the death of Nero, to be restored to the respective owners. To this liberality nothing could be objected: it was an act of justice, in appearance magnificent, but of little use, as the public officers had already seized the whole into their own hands. From the senate Otho proceeded to harangue the people; he talked in a pompous style of the fathers, and the majesty of the Roman citizens. He mentioned the adverse party in managed terms, imputing to the legions error in judgment rather than a turbulent and factious spirit. Of Vitellius he made no mention; perhaps from motives of delicacy, or, more probably, because the writer of the speech, looking forward to his own safety, thought it prudent to exclude all personal invective. For the

1 See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 Furius Camillus Sribonianus commanded in Dalmatia, A. U. C. 795. Being a man of enterprise and bold ambition, he induced the soldiers to swear fidelity to himself, and went into open rebellion. His letters to the emperor Claudius were written in a tone of menace, requiring him to abdicate, and live a private citizen. In the mean time, the rebel legions, with the versatility common to the military mind, returned to their duty; Scribonianus fled to a small island of the Adriatic, on the coast of Illyricum, and there was seized and put to death by Volaginius, a common soldier, on the fifth day of his revolt. Suetonius, in Claudio, s. 35. See Tacitus, Hist. ii. s. 75.

3 Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies, made the Romans believe, that as long as they preserved the celestial arms, called *Ancilia*, which, he said, were sent down by the gods, Rome would prove invincible, and triumph over all her enemies. Accordingly we read in Livy the procession of the Salian priests, on stated days, attending the Ancilia with song and dance through the streets of Rome. *Salios cælestia arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solemnique saltatu jusserat Numa.* Livy, lib. i. s. 20. This institution was neglected by Otho. Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 8.

last opinion there seems to be some foundation. In all military operations, Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus were Otho's confidential advisers; but in matters that concerned the civil administration, Galerius Trachalus[4] was the person on whose talents he relied. That minister had gained reputation at the bar; and those who were best acquainted with his mode of eloquence, and the harmony of his copious periods, discovered, in the composition of the speech, the style and manner of that celebrated orator. Otho was received with acclamations: the populace, according to custom, yielded to the impulse of the moment, full of sound and servile adulation, but nothing from the heart. You would have thought that it was Cæsar the dictator, or Augustus the emperor, for whom they contended with so much emulation. And yet, in all this show of zeal, there was at the bottom neither love nor fear; servility was the motive; all courted the yoke, and all rushed headlong into slavery. The public, at this time, presented no better spectacle than what is seen every day in a family of domestic slaves; each individual had his own private views; and for the public interest, or the honour of the state, no care remained. Otho was now ready to depart; he left the government of Rome, and the whole weight of empire, to his brother Salvius Titianus,[5] and proceeded on his expedition.

4 M. Valerius Trachalus was joint consul with Silius Italicus, A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

5 Otho left the city of Rome on the 24th day of March, as appears from Suetonius, who mentions his neglect of the institutions relating to the Ancilia, as an inauspicious beginning of the war. Suetonius adds, that he set out on the day when all who paid their worship to the mother of the gods began the usual ceremonies. Now that day was the 9th of the kalends of April, which answers to the 24th of March. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 8.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

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These transactions passed in a few months after the death of Galba, and Vinius his colleague in the consulship.

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
822	69	M. Salvius Otho, Salvius Otho Titianus.
		L. Vergiuius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
		Cælius Sabinus, T. Flavius Sabinus.
		T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celsus.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK II.

I. FORTUNE was already preparing, in another quarter of the world, to open an important scene, and to produce to mankind a new imperial family, destined, at first,[1] to flourish in prosperity, and, in the end, after a disastrous reign, to fall by a dreadful catastrophe. While Galba still possessed the sovereign power, Titus, by order of Vespasian, his father, set out from Judæa, with congratulations to that emperor, and, as was natural, with the ambition of a young man eager to begin the career[2] of public honours. The common people, according to their custom, found deeper reasons for the journey. Titus, they believed, was to be adopted heir to the empire, and what they believed they took care to circulate. The advanced age of Galba, and his want of issue, gave colour to the story; and the busy spirit of the populace relied on vain conjecture, impatient to decide what still remained in suspense. The character and personal accomplishments of Titus added weight to the report. He had talents for the highest station, and to the dignity of his stature united a graceful mien and amiable countenance. The success, that attended the exploits of the father, threw a lustre round the son: oracular responses[3] foretold the grandeur of the family; and, while the minds of men stood ready for the reception of every rumour, even trifling incidents, the mere result of chance, confirmed the popular opinion. At Corinth in Achaia, Titus received intelligence of the death of Galba, and, at the same time, undoubted assurances, that Vitellius, at the head of powerful armies, was in motion to claim the empire. In this posture of affairs, he called a council of select friends. The conjuncture was alarming, and to choose among difficulties was all that was left. "If he proceeded on his way to Rome, the homage intended for a prince now no more, would have no merit with his successor; and to remain a hostage in the custody of Otho, or Vitellius, would, most probably, be his lot. On the other hand, if he returned to Judæa, that cold indifference would give umbrage to the conqueror; and yet, while the issue of the war was still uncertain, the conduct of a young man would admit of alleviating circumstances in the opinion of the prince whom Vespasian should think proper to join. Above all, it was possible that Vespasian might declare himself a candidate: in that case, petty offences would be of little consequence, when all were to be involved in a general war."

II. After balancing the motives on every side, and fluctuating for some time between opposite passions, hope, at length, prevailed, and Titus returned to Judæa. A change so sudden was by some imputed to his love of queen Berenice.[4] It is true, that princess had engaged his affections; but the business of his heart never interfered with the duties of his station. Youth being the season of pleasure, Titus gave a loose to those desires, which he afterwards so well knew how to regulate. In his own reign he was remarkable for that self-control, which he never practised under his father. He set sail from Corinth, and after steering along the coast of Achaia and Asia, which lay to the left, he

1 Tacitus says that fortune was then laying the foundation of a new imperial house, which proved to be beneficial and disastrous to the people, and also to the very family that was raised to that pre-eminence. This is perfectly clear, when we consider, that Rome was happy under Vespasian and Titus, but groaned under Domitian, till the tyrant was destroyed, and the Flavian line was extinguished.

2 Titus, at this time, was in his twenty-eighth year. By the favour of Narcissus, to whom Vespasian paid his court, Titus was educated in the palace with Britannicus, the son of Claudius. The prince, then destined by his father to succeed to the empire, was cut off by the villany of Nero: and Titus, whose elevation was not then foreseen, lived to be the delight of the Roman people.

3 Suetonius tells us that Narcissus, the favourite freedman, consulted a fortune-teller about the destiny of Britannicus: the answer was unfavourable to the young prince, but assured Titus that he was born to the imperial dignity. Suetonius, in Tito, s. 2.

4 Berenice was sister to Agrippa II. and wife of Herod, king of Chalsis, in Syria. For more of her, and her connexion with Titus, see Appendix to Hist. v. s. 21.

directed his course towards Rhodes and Cyprus. From those islands he went, by a more bold navigation,[1] across the open sea to the coast of Syria. At Cyprus curiosity led him to visit the temple of the Paphian Venus, famous for the worship paid by the inhabitants, and the confluxof strangers who resorted thither from all parts. If we take this opportunity to trace the origin of that singular worship,[2] and to describe the situation of the temple, and the form of the goddess, differing entirely from what is seen in any other place, the digression will, perhaps, be neither tedious, nor unacceptable to the reader.

III. The founder of the temple, if we believe ancient tradition, was king ÆRIAS; a name ascribed by some writers[3] to the goddess herself. According to a more recent opinion, the temple was built and dedicated by king Cinyras,[4] on the spot where the goddess, after emerging from her native waves, was gently wafted to the shore. The science of divination, we are told, was of foreign growth, imported by Thamyras,[5] the Cicilian, and by him established with mysterious rites and ceremonies. In consequence of this institution, it was settled by mutual compact, between the priest and Cinyras, the king of the island, that the sacerdotal function should be hereditary in the descendants of their respective families. In process of time, the race of Thamyras, willing that the sovereign should be distinguished by a superior prerogative, resigned into the hands of Cinyras the whole conduct of the mysteries, of which their ancestors were the original founders. A priest of the royal line is, at present, the only person consulted. For victims, to be offered as a sacrifice, animals of every species are allowed, at the option of the votarist, provided he chooses from the male kind only. Discoveries made in the fibres of kids are deemed the best prognostics. The altar is never stained with blood, and, though exposed to the open air, never moistened[6] by a drop of rain. Supplications and the pure flame of fire are the only offerings. The statue of the goddess bears no resemblance to the human form. You see a round figure, broad at the base, but growing fine by degrees, till, like a cone, it lessens to a point. The reason,[7] whatever it be, is not explained.

IV. Titus viewed the wealth of the temple, the presents of eastern kings, and the collection of rarities, which the genius of the Greeks, fond of tradition and the decorations of fabulous narrative, affected to trace from remote antiquity. He then consulted the oracle about his future voyage. A calm sea and a safe passage were promised. He slew a number of victims, and, in terms properly guarded, attempted to pry into his own destiny. The priest, whose name was Sostratus, explored the entrails of various animals, and, finding that the goddess was propitious, answered, for the present, in the usual style, but afterwards, at a secret interview, laid open a scene of glory. Titus, with a mind enlarged, and swelling with vast ideas, proceeded on his voyage, and joined his father. The armies and provinces of the East were at that time wavering; but the presence of Titus inspired them with vigour and alacrity. Vespasian had almost brought the Jewish war to a conclusion. Nothing remained but the siege of Jerusalem;[8] an arduous enterprise, which threatened great toil and difficulty, not on account of the strength or resources of the enemy, but by reason of a hill almost inaccessible, and, what was still more hard to conquer, the stubborn genius of superstition. Vespasian, as already mentioned, had three legions under his command, all inured to the service, and eager against the enemy. Mucianus, in a province where profound tranquillity was established, was at the head of four legions, not, as usual in time of

1 When Titus no longer sails along the coast, but puts off to sea, Tacitus calls it a bolder voyage, *audentioribus spatiis;* an expression, which in the present state of navigation, may provoke the smile of a mariner. The compass was not invented, and men did not like to lose sight of the shore.

2 At the town of Paphos, which stood on the western side of the isle of Cyprus, a temple was dedicated to Venus thence called the Paphian Venus. The account of the rites and ceremonies, which Tacitus gives us, has been condemned by some critics as an idle digression; but when it is considered that the history of superstition was not uninteresting to the Romans, this passage will not be thought improper. The great historian has been charged with irreligion; but the attention shown on this occasion, and many others, to the various modes of worship, may serve to vindicate his character.

3 Ærias has been mentioned in another place, as the founder of the Paphian temple; Annals, iii. s. 63. Tacitus adds, that the name of *Ærias* was applied by many to the goddess herself; and accordingly, Pausanius, lib. i. cap. 14, calls her Ουρανίαν.

4 Cinyras is said by Apollodorus to have been one of the kings of Assyria.

5 Thamyras introduced the science of augury, which was founded altogether in deceit and fraud. Accordingly, we find that care was taken to keep it in the hands of two families, that the secret of the art might not transpire.

6 This circumstance is mentioned by Pliny, in his Natural History. *Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphiæ, in cujus quandam aram non impluit.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 96.

7 The worship paid to Venus, as the parent of the whole animal creation, was of ancient date, and known for ages to the Assyrians. The rude state of sculpture may, perhaps, account for the representation of the goddess, as described by Tacitus. Clemens of Alexandria makes that observation. The statuary, he says, had not the skill to give the elegance of symmetry and proportion; he therefore left the form and delicacy of Venus to the imagination. As Ovid says, *si qua latent, meliora putat.*

8 The rapid success of Vespasian had well nigh ended the Jewish war. Jerusalem was the only place that held out. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10; and the Appendix to Hist. v. s. 3.

peace, relaxed in indolence, but animated by the gallant exertions of the army under Vespasian, and fired with a spirit of emulation. Having no enemy to oppose, they were not made soldiers in the field; but their spirit was roused, and, being unimpaired by fatigue, they were ready for a vigorous campaign. The two commanders had an additional force of auxiliary horse and foot, besides a naval armament on the coast, and the support of all the neighbouring kings. Add to this, their own military character was a tower of strength. Both stood high in reputation, but for different reasons, and for qualities peculiar to each.

V. Vespasian possessed all the requisites that form a soldier and an officer. Prompt and zealous in the service, he was often seen at the head of a march; he went in person to mark out the ground of his camp, and, by night as well as day, he kept the enemy in a constant alarm, planning his measures with judgment, and executing with vigour. To his diet he paid no regard, content with whatever came before him. In his apparel, plain and simple, he was scarce distinguished from the common men. With all this he had a leaven of avarice. Forgive that vice, and he was equal to the best generals of antiquity.

Mucianus was of a different cast. Rich and magnificent, he appeared with an air of elevation above the rank of a private citizen. An able orator, and versed in civil business, he laid his schemes with judgment: the politician appeared in all his measures. In the two men was seen a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities. By weeding out the vices of each, and uniting their virtues, the commonwealth would have had an accomplished prince. Situated as they were in contiguous provinces, Vespasian in Judæa, and Mucianus in Syria, they beheld each other, for some time, with the jealousy of rivals. The death of Nero put an end to their dissensions. From that time they began to act in concert. Their mutual friends made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and, by the address of Titus, a mere cessation of animosities was turned into a lasting peace. The power of winning the affections of men was in an eminent degree the talent of that young officer. Nature and art conspired to render him acceptable to all; and even Mucianus could not resist his influence. The tribunes, the centurions, and the common men were, by various artifices, fixed in the interest of the two commanders. The diligent met with encouragement, the licentious with indulgence, and, according to the bent of each man's disposition, all were secured by their virtues or their vices.

VI. Before the arrival of Titus, both armies had sworn fidelity to Otho, with the precipitation of men who had quick intelligence of all that passed at Rome. They were not, in that juncture, ripe for a revolt. Preparations for a civil war are in their nature slow and difficult. The East had been composed by a long peace, and now, for the first time, began to think of mixing in the feuds that shook the empire. They had hitherto seen the convulsions of the state at a distance only. The quarrel always broke out in Gaul or Italy, and was there decided by the forces of the West. It is true, that Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, and Antony, carried the war across the Mediterranean, and had reason to repent. Syria and Judea heard of the Cæsars, but seldom saw them. The legions, undisturbed by sedition, had no war upon their hands. Embroiled at different times with the Parthians,[9] they had a few slight conflicts, with doubtful success, and passed the rest of the year in profound tranquillity. In the late civil war,[10] when every part of the empire was in motion, the East was perfectly quiet. Galba obtained the sovereignty, and the oriental legions acquiesced; but it was no sooner known that Otho and Vitellius were engaged in an impious war against their country, than they began to shake off their pacific temper. They saw the supreme authority in the hands of other armies, who granted it away at their own pleasure, and reaped the profits of every revolution, while the soldiers of the East had nothing but a change of servitude, condemned, at the will of others, to submit to new masters.

Discontent and loud complaints were heard throughout the army. The common men began to survey their strength and numbers. They reckoned seven legions,[11] besides a large body of

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9 The Parthians were originally a people from Scythia: in process of time, when their empire grew in strength, they became the grand rivals of the Romans. The overthrow of Crassus is well known. Both nations experienced alternate disasters in the course of their various wars. See Annals, xv. s. 24 and 27.

10 The last civil war was that between Vindex and Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

11 It will be proper, in this place, to state the names of the Roman legions, and the places where they were stationed. A short, but clear, account of this matter will help to remove the difficulties which might otherwise occur in the sequel of the history. Brotier has performed this useful task with his usual accuracy. See quarto edition, vol. iii. p. 408. A compendious view of what he has said on the subject will, perhaps, be acceptable; as it will show the whole strength of the empire in the important crisis now before us.

The names of the several legions were as follow:

1. Legio Prima, the first legion.
2. Legio Prima Italica, the first Italic legion, raised by Nero, as appears in Dio, lib. lv.
3. Legio Prima Adjutrix, an additional legion, according to Dio raised by Nero from the marines, and for that reason, called *Legio Prima Adjutrix Classicorum*.
4. Legio Secunda, the second legion.
5. Legio Secunda Adjutrix, raised by Vespasian during the war with Vitellius.
6. Legio Tertia, the third legion; stationed in Syria.
7. Legio Tertia; another, called also the third, in Egypt.

auxiliaries. Syria and Judæa were in their possession. Ægypt had two legions at their service. Cappadocia and Pontus afforded ample resources; and the forces that lined the frontier of Armenia stood ready at their beck. Asia, and the rest of the provinces, were provided with men and money. In a word, the islands, and the sea that surrounds them, were under their command; and the Mediterranean, while it separated them from the rest of the empire, left them at leisure to prepare for war.

VII. The zeal of the soldiers was no secret to the commanders in chief; but they judged it best to wait the issue of the war in Europe; aware that, between the victor and the vanquished, a sincere coalition never can succeed, and whether fortune favoured the arms of Otho or Vitellius, the consequence in either event would be the same. And if the pride of victory is apt to corrupt the ablest generals, from the present chiefs what was to be expected? Their own vices would destroy them. Discord, sloth, and luxury would be the ruin of both: one would be undone by the fate of war, and the other by success. For these reasons it was agreed to suspend all military operations. Vespasian and Mucianus, lately reconciled to each other, concurred in this opinion, which had been beforehand adopted by their friends. Men of principle gave their advice with a view to the public good; others looked for their own private advantage; and public confusion was the only

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8. Legio Tertia; another, stationed in Africa.

9. Legio Quarta, the fourth legion, called, to distinguish it from another fourth legion, *Legio Quarta Macedonica.*

10. Legio Quarta, another fourth legion, called, for the sake of distinction, *Legio Quarta Scythica.*

11. Legio Quinta, the fifth legion.

12. Legio Quinta Macedonica, the fifth legion, called the *Macedonian.*

13. Legio Sexta, the sixth legion, sometimes called *Legio Sexta Victrix.*

14. Legio Sexta Ferrata; another sixth legion, with the addition of *Ferrata*, to distinguish it from the former.

15. Legio Septima Claudiana, the seventh, called also the *Claudian.*

16. Legio Septima Galbiana, the seventh, called the *Galbian.*

17. Legio Octava, the eighth legion, sometimes called *Invicta.*

18. Legio Nona, the ninth legion; sometimes called *Gemina*, because it was one legion formed out of two.

19. Legio Decima, the tenth legion, quartered in Spain.

20. Legio Decima, another tenth legion, quartered in Judæa.

21. Legio Undecima, the eleventh legion, sometimes with the additional title of *Claudiana.*

22. Legio Duodecima, the twelfth legion, sometimes called *Legio Duodecima Fulminea.*

23. Legio Tertia Decima, the thirteenth legion, called also Gemina, because composed of two united into one. Legio Quarta Decima, the fourteenth legion.

24. Legio Quinta Decima, the fifteenth legion, stationed in the Lower Germany.

25. Legio Quinta Decima, another fifteenth legion, quartered in Judæa, sometimes called *Legio Quinta Decima Apollinaris.*

26. Legio Sexta Decima, the sixteenth legion.

27. Legio Septima Decima, the seventeenth legion, thought to be one of those that suffered in the slaughter of Varus.

28. Legio Duodevicessima, the eighteenth legion, another of the legions under Varus.

29. Legio Undevicessima, the nineteenth legion, another legion under Varus.

30. Legio Vicessima, the twentieth legion, called by Dio *Valeria Victrix.*

31. Legio Una-et-vicessima, the twenty-first legion, sometimes with the addition of *Rapax.*

32. Legio Duo-et-vicessima, the twenty-second legion, stationed in Germany.

33. Legio Duo-et-vicessima, another twenty-second legion, quartered in Egypt.

34. Legio e Classicis, a legion formed out of the marine soldiers by Vitellius in his last distress, but soon received into Vespasian's party, and never more distinguished.

Such were the names of the legions that occur in Tacitus. If, from the whole number, we deduct the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, which were all cut off under Varus, and also the last, formed out of the marines by Vitellius, and heard of no more, it will appear, that, in the beginning of the ensuing wars, the military establishment, exclusive of the forces in Italy, consisted of Thirty Legions. Their stations were as follow:

In Britain.
The second, ninth, twentieth.
In Spain.
The first Adjutrix, the sixth, the tenth.
In Gaul.
The first Italic.
In Lower Germany.
The first, fifth, fifteenth, sixteenth,
In Upper Germany.
The fourth, twenty-first, twenty-second.
In Pannonia.
The seventh Galbian, the thirteenth.
In Dalmatia.
The eleventh, the fourteenth.
In Mœsia.
The seventh Claudian, the eighth.
In Syria.
The third, fourth, sixth, twelfth.
In Judæa.
The fifth, tenth, fifteenth.
In Egypt.
The third, the twenty-second.
In Africa.
The third.

That so small a number of legions should be able not only to conquer but to keep in subjection the wide extent of the Roman world, might be matter of wonder if we did not know the wisdom with which the legions were established, and the military discipline that was, for a number of ages, strictly maintained throughout the Roman armies. Brotier observes, that Marshal Saxe, whose extraordinary genius and great experience are universally known, was of opinion that France would do well to adopt the system of the Roman legions, and new model her armies on that admirable plan of discipline. See *Memoires sur l'Infanterie, ou Traite des Legions, suivant l'Exemple des anciens Romains, par M. le Marechal de Saxe.*

resource of such as, in their domestic affairs, saw nothing but distress and ruin. One mind, one spirit pervaded the whole army. Good and evil motives conspired, and, for different reasons, war became the passion of all.

VIII. About this period of time, a report that Nero was still alive, and actually on his way to the provinces of the East, excited a general alarm through Achaia and Asia. The accounts of that emperor's death[1] had been so various, that conjecture had ample materials. Hence numbers asserted that Nero survived the fury of his enemies, and they found credulity ready to believe them. In the course of this work the reader will hear of various pretenders, and the fate that attended them. The impostor who now took upon him to personate that emperor, was a slave from Pontus, or, according to some writers, a freedman from Italy, who played with skill on the harp, and had a musical voice. With those talents, and a countenance that resembled Nero, he was able to impose on vulgar minds. By the force of promises he drew to his party a number of deserters, whom their poverty induced to lead a vagrant life. With this crew he put to sea, but was thrown by adverse winds on the isle of Cythnus. At that place he fell in with a party of soldiers on their return from the East. Some of these he listed; and such as refused, he ordered to be put to death. Having plundered the merchants, and armed the stoutest of their slaves, he endeavoured to seduce Sisenna, a centurion from Syria, who happened to land on the island of Cythnus, on his way to greet the prætorian bands in the name of the Syrian army, and, in token of friendship, to present two right hands clasping each other. Apprehending danger from so bold an adventurer, Sisenna made his escape from the island. A general panic seized the inhabitants. Numbers rejoiced to find the name of Nero once more revived, and, hating the new system, wished for nothing so much as another revolution.

IX. The fame of this pretended Nero gained credit every day, when by a sudden accident the illusion vanished. It happened that Calpurnius Asprenas, whom Galba had appointed governor of Galatia and Pamphylia, arrived, on his way to those provinces, at the isle of Cythnus, with two galleys from the fleet that lay at Misenum. The commanders of the ships were summoned, in the name of Nero, to attend their lawful prince. The impostor continued to act his part. He received the naval officers with an air of dejection, and, by the duty which they owed him, implored their assistance, and safe conduct either to Syria, or to Ægypt. The masters of the galleys, alarmed at the proposal, or intending to deceive, desired time to prepare the minds of their sailors, faithfully promising to return without delay. Asprenas, duly informed of all that passed, gave orders to attack the impostor and his crew of adherents. The ship was seized, and the pretended emperor, whoever he was, suffered death. The air of the man, his eyes, his hair, and the ferocity of his countenance,[2] bore a strong resemblance to Nero. His body was conveyed to Asia, and afterwards sent to Rome.

X. In a city, distracted by internal discord, and, after so many revolutions, fierce with a spirit of liberty that led to the wildest anarchy, no transaction, however trifling in itself, could pass, without exciting violent commotions. Vibius Crispus, a man, for his wealth, his power, and his talents, always ranked among the most eminent citizens, but never for his virtues numbered with the good, cited to the bar of the senate, Annius Faustus, a Roman knight, and in the reign of Nero an informer by profession. In the beginning of Galba's reign, it was ordained by a decree, that all causes against the race of public accusers should be fairly heard. This law, however salutary, was forced to yield to the temper of the times; it was enforced, or relaxed, as the person accused happened to be of weight and consequence, or poor and friendless: it was, notwithstanding, still in force; and Crispus, availing himself of it, exerted all his influence to ruin the man who had been the prosecutor of his brother.[3] In the senate his party was strong and powerful. Without hearing the criminal, the fathers were for condemning him to immediate execution. The violence of this proceeding stirred up an opposition. A party was formed against the overgrown power of the prosecutor. They insisted that the specific charge should be exhibited, and a day fixed, when the delinquent, however guilty, should be allowed the common right of being heard in his defence. This motion was carried, and the hearing of the cause was adjourned for a few days. The trial, at length, came on, and Faustus was condemned, but not with that universal assent of the people which a life of iniquity might have warranted. The accuser, it was well known, had been concerned in the conduct of prosecutions, and received the profits of his trade. Men rejoiced to see the punishment of a crime so dangerous and detestable; but the triumph of a notorious offender gave disgust.

XI. Meanwhile the affairs of Otho wore a favourable aspect. The armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia were on their march to join him. A detachment of two thousand advanced by rapid marches, while the main body followed at moderate distances. The legions that composed this

1 A number of impostors, at different times, assumed the name of Nero. See Suetonius, in Nero, s. 57.

2 The same ferocity appeared in Nero's countenance after he was dead. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 13.

3 His brother was Vabius Secundus; a man convicted of extortion, Annals, xiv. s. 28.

force were the seventh, which had been raised by Galba; the eleventh, the thirteenth, and fourteenth, all veterans in the service, and the last in great renown for the vigour with which they quelled the insurrection in Britain,[1] and still more famous for the choice made by Nero, who had selected that corps as the best in the empire. They remained to the last, faithful to that emperor, and, after his death, declared with equal zeal in favour of Otho. Knowing their own strength, they were inspired with confidence, but a confidence that made them judge for themselves, and proceed on their march by slow journeys, as their humour prompted. The cavalry and auxiliary cohorts came forward with more alacrity.

The troops that marched from Rome were a formidable body. They consisted of five prætorian cohorts, several squadrons of horse, and the first legion. To these were added two thousand gladiators; a resource altogether ignoble, but in civil commotions often employed by generals of the first reputation. Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna[2] were sent at the head of this whole force, with orders to take post on the banks of the Po. The first intention was to keep the enemy locked up in Gaul; but that project proved abortive, Cæcina having already passed the Alps. Otho followed with a select body of the prætorian guards, and all the veterans of that corps, with the city cohorts, and a prodigious number draughted from the marines. On the march he betrayed no symptom of sloth,[3] no passion for luxury: he advanced on foot, at the head of the colours, covered with an iron breastplate, rough and soldier-like, exhibiting a striking contrast to his former character.

XII. In this posture of affairs, fortune seemed to open a flattering prospect. Otho was master of the greatest part of Italy, and his fleets had the command of the sea. To the foot of the maritime Alps[4] the country was in his possession. To pass over those mountains, and make a descent on Narbon Gaul, was the measure which he had projected. To conduct that expedition he appointed Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacencis. The last was loaded with irons by his own soldiers. Antonius Novellus lost all authority; and Suedius Clemens, proud of his rank, but not knowing how to maintain it, yielded too much to the humours of the men. He preserved no discipline, and yet was eager for action. His army presented no appearance of men marching through their own country. They forgot that Italy was their native soil, and that the lands and houses belonged to their fellow-citizens. Regardless of the Roman name, they laid waste the country with fire and sword; they pillaged, destroyed, and plundered, as if the war had been in a foreign realm, against the enemies of their country. The wretched inhabitants were oppressed by men, against whom, having entertained no fear, they had prepared no defence. The fields were covered with grain and cattle; the houses were open; and the owners, with their wives and children, went forth, in the simplicity of their hearts, to meet the army. In the midst of peace, they were surrounded with all the horrors of war. Marius Maturus was, at that time, governor of the maritime Alps. He resolved to dispute the passage with Otho's troops, and, for that purpose, armed the youth of the country. In the first encounter, the mountaineers were either cut to pieces or put to the rout. A band of rustics, suddenly levied, and ignorant of military discipline, could not make head against a regular army. Expecting no fame from victory, they feared no disgrace from an ignominious flight.

XIII. An opposition so rash and feeble served only to exasperate the Othonian soldiers. They fell with fury upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town. The late victory was a fruitless advantage, affording neither spoil nor plunder. The peasants had no property, and their arms were of no value. Even prisoners of war could not be made. The fugitives knew the course of the country, and were too swift of foot. Enraged at the disappointment, the soldiers wreaked their vengeance on the innocent inhabitants of Intemelium, and glutted their avarice with the effects of innocent men. Amidst the barbarities committed on this occasion, a Ligurian woman gave a noble example of courage and maternal affection. She had concealed her child from the fury of the slaughtering sword. The soldiers, fully persuaded that she had deposited her treasure in the same place, stretched her on the rack, and pressed the unhappy mother to tell where she had secured her son. She laid her hand on her womb, and, "here," she said, "here my child is sheltered." From that moment, unmoved by menaces, and unsubdued by torture, she never changed her tone. Nothing could conquer that generous obstinacy. She died a bright example of undaunted virtue.

XIV. Meanwhile, Fabius Valens received intelligence that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul, with intent to invade that province, which had already embraced the interest of Vitellius. The adjacent colonies, by their deputies, sued for protection. Valens despatched two Tungrian cohorts, four squadrons of horse,

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1 See Annals, xiv. s. 29; Suetonius, in Nero. s. 39, 40.

2 For the excellent character of Vestricius Spurinna, see Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7; and lib. iii. epist. 1 and 10.

3 Juvenal has given a different description of Otho on his march, sat. ii. ver. 99. But poetic license cannot weigh against the truth of history.

4 For the maritime Alps, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume; and see Annals, xv. s. 32, note.

with the whole cavalry of the Treviri, under the command of Julius Classicus; reserving, however, a sufficient detachment from those forces, to garrison the port of Forojulium, that the colony might not, while the troops marched up the country, lie exposed to sudden incursions from the fleet. This arrangement being made, Classicus marched in quest of the enemy, at the head of twelve troops of horse, and a select body from the cohorts. To these were added the Ligurian cohort, which had been usually quartered at Forojulium, and five hundred men from Pannonia, not yet ranged in companies under distinct and regular colours. Neither side declined an engagement. The disposition made by Otho's officers was as follows: A body of marines, intermixed with the peasantry, took post on the heights near the sea. The level space between the hills and the coast was ocupied by the prætorian soldiers; and, to support them, the fleet stood in close to the shore, drawn up in order of battle, and presenting a formidable line. The strength of the Vitellians, consisting in cavalry, was stationed in front; the infantry close embodied in their rear, and their Alpine mountaineers on the ridge of the neighbouring hills. The Trevirian squadrons began the attack with less skill than courage. The veterans of Otho's army received the attack in front, while their peasants, from the high grounds, discharged a volley of stones, and, being expert slingers, annoyed the enemy in flank. They mixed in the lines with the regular soldiers, and performed feats of valour. In the moment of victory, there was no distinction between the coward and the brave; all pursued their advantage with equal ardour. The Vitellians were thrown into disorder; and being driven towards the margin of the sea, they were there attacked in the rear by the soldiers belonging to the fleet. This was a danger unforeseen. Hemmed in on every side, they must have been to a man cut off, if the night had not come on in time to favour their retreat, and restrain the victorious army from pursuing them in their flight.

XV. The Vitellians, though defeated, still retained their warlike spirit. With a reinforcement drawn together in haste, they returned to the charge; and, finding the enemy elate with joy, and by success lulled into security, they assaulted the outposts, put the advanced guard to the sword, and forced their way into the camp. The Othonians were struck with terror, and near the fleet all was tumult and disorder. The surprise, however, soon began to subside. The Othonians betook themselves to an adjacent hill, and, having there collected their strength, rushed down with impetuous fury. A dreadful slaughter followed. The Tungrian cohorts stood the brunt of the action, till their commanding officers fell under a shower of darts. The Othonians conquered, but their victory was dearly bought. They pursued the flying enemy with more rage than prudence, when the Treverian cavalry, wheeling round, attacked them in the rear, and put a large party to the sword. From this time the two armies remained inactive. As if a truce had taken place, and both sides had agreed by compact to suspend hostilities, and no more molest each other by sudden incursions, the Vitellians retired to Antipolis, a municipal town of Narbon Gaul, and the Othonians to Albingaunum, in the island part of Liguria.

XVI. Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the islands in those seas, were overawed by the victorious fleet, and kept in subjection to Otho. Corsica, indeed, suffered a sudden convulsion from the temerity of the governor. The name of this officer was Decimus Pacarius. Though the island, in a war carried on by such powerful adversaries, was of no importance, he endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants to the interest of Vitellius. The project, which would have decided nothing, ended in his own ruin. He summoned a council of the leading men, and communicated his design. Claudius Phirricus, who commanded the galleys on that station, and Quinctius Certus, a Roman knight, objected to the measure, and were put to instant death. The rest of the assembly, terrified by this act of violence, swore fidelity to Vitellius. The populace, as usual, blind and ignorant, but by contagion catching the fears of others, followed the example of the leading chiefs. Pacarius began to muster his men, and train them to the use of arms. A race of rude and vulgar peasants, who had no relish for the fatigue of military discipline, began to consider the nature of their situation, and their inability to support a war. "They were islanders, remote from Germany, and out of the reach of the legions. The fleets of Otho commanded the seas, and had lately ravaged the maritime countries, though defended by the cohorts and cavalry of Vitellius." This reflection produced a sudden change in every mind. They resolved to assert their independence, not with open force, but by covert stratagem; and, for that purpose, to lie in wait for their opportunity. Pacarius, as soon as his train of visitors left him, retired to his bath. In that moment the conspirators fell upon him, naked and disarmed. He was put to instant death, and his attendants suffered the same fate. Their heads, like those of traitors, were conveyed to Otho. And yet the assassins were neither rewarded by that prince, nor punished by Vitellius. In the mass of atrocious deeds that disgraced the times, petty villanies were suffered to pass with impunity.

XVII. The cavalry, called the Syllanian squadron, had, as already mentioned,[5] forced

5 For Sylla's cavalry, see Hist. i. n. 70.

their way into Italy, and there fixed the seat of war. In the conduct of these men nothing proceeded from principle. They had no regard for Otho, nor so much as a wish to serve Vitellius; but their vigour being relaxed by a long peace, and their minds debased and prepared for slavery, they stood ready to stretch their necks to the yoke, whatever hand imposed it, in their choice of a master wholly indifferent. The fairest portion of Italy,[1] extending from the Po to the Alps, with all its fertile plains and flourishing cities, was in the possession of Vitellius: the forces sent forward by Cæcina having already penetrated into that quarter. At Cremona a Pannonian cohort laid down their arms; and between Placentia and Ticinum a party of a hundred horse, with a thousand marines, were made prisoners. In this tide of success nothing could withstand the vigour of the Vitellians. The Po opposed its stream and its banks in vain. To the Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, the river was no more than a new motive to inflame their ardour. They passed over with their usual rapidity under the walls of Placentia, and in sight of the enemy. Having gained a footing on the land, they intercepted the enemy's scouts, and spread such a general panic, that all who escaped their fury fled with precipitation, announcing the arrival of Cæcina and his whole army.

XVIII. Spurinna, who commanded at Placentia, was well informed of Cæcina's motions. He knew him to be still at a distance; and, if at any time he should show himself before the place, he had taken his measures. Three prætorian cohorts, and no more than a thousand vexillaries, with a small body of horse, would be ill opposed to a veteran army. He resolved, therefore, to remain within his fortifications. But an unruly soldiery, fierce and unskilled in military operations, was not to be restrained. They seized the colours, and sallied forth in a body. The general endeavoured in vain to check their violence; the men pointed their weapons at his breast; they spurned at the tribunes and centurions, who extolled the wisdom of their superior officer; they rejected all advice, declaring aloud that treason was at work; they were betrayed: and Cæcina was invited to take possession of the place. Spurinna was obliged to yield to this sudden phrensy, and even to proceed on the march. He went forth against his will, but with a show of approbation, in hopes, if the sedition died away, that he might then resume his former authority.

XIX. The soldiers pushed on with spirit, till the Po appearing in sight, and night coming on, they halted for the first time. It was now judged necessary to fortify a camp. Labour and castrametation were new to men who had only served within the walls of Rome. Their ferocity abated, and they began to see their error. The veterans in the service condemned their own credulity, and pointed out to their comrades the common danger of all, if Cæcina with a numerous army had come up in time to surround them in a wide champaign country. Throughout the ranks nothing was heard but penitence and submission. The tribunes and centurions regained their influence, and all were loud in praise of their general, who had, with judgment, chosen a strong and powerful colony for the seat of war. Spurinna seized his opportunity, choosing rather to convince by reason, than to irritate by reproof. Having quelled the sedition, he left some flying parties to watch the motions of the enemy, and, with an army now disposed to obey his orders, marched back to Placentia. The fortifications of the place were repaired; new works were added; towers were constructed; the soldiers were provided with arms; and, what was of greater moment, a spirit of discipline and prompt obedience was diffused through the army. This was, no doubt, an essential service. Want of courage could not be imputed to Otho's party. Inattention to their superior officers was the disadvantage under which they laboured.

XX. Cæcina advanced into Italy with a well-conducted army, observing in his march the strictest discipline, as if on the other side of the Alps he had left his cruelty and love of plunder. His dress gave offence to the colonies through which he passed. His mantle, decorated with various colours, passed for a mark of arrogance; and his drawers,[2] used only by savage nations, did not agree with the ideas of a Roman citizen. Besides this, the splendid appearance of his wife, Salonina, mounted on a superb horse, adorned with purple ornaments, though in itself a matter of no importance, and certainly injurious to no person whatever, was held to be a public insult. Such is the nature of the human mind, disposed at all times to behold with jealousy the sudden elevation of new men, and to demand, that he, who has been known in an humble station, should know how to rise in the world with temper and modest dignity. Cæcina passed the Po, and by negotiation and artful promises endeavoured to seduce the leaders of Otho's party. The like insidious game was played against himself. Both sides talked of peace and concord, but they amused each other with words of specious sound, importing nothing. Tired of fruit-

1 The country between the Po and the Alps, comprising *Piedmont*, *Montferrat*, the Milanese: the principal cities were, *Mediolanum*, *Novaria*, *Eporedia*, *Vercellæ*. See Hist. i. s. 70, and see the Geographical Table.

2 Cæcina wore the *sagum*, which was the German dress (see the Manners of the Germans, s. 17), and the *braccæ*, or breeches, which distinguished the *Gaule*. The southern part of Gaul was called *Gallia Narbonensis* and also *Braccata*.

less artifices, Cæcina began to concert his measures for the reduction of Placentia. He determined to invest the place; and knowing how much the fame of the general, and, by consequence, the events of war, depend on the first exploit, he made every preparation to carry on the siege with vigour.

XXI. The first approach to the town displayed the bravery, but nothing of the skill, which might be expected from a veteran army. The soldiers, intoxicated with liquor, advanced to the foot of the walls, without shelter, or due precaution. In this attack, a magnificent amphitheatre, which stood on the outside of the fortifications, was set on fire, and levelled to the ground. Whether this was occasioned by the flaming brands and other combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, or by the like missive weapons discharged from the works, cannot now be ascertained. The vulgar herd of the city, apt and willing, like the populace in every quarter, to believe whatever malignity can invent, imputed the disaster to the neighbouring colonists, who saw with envy a spacious and magnificent structure, that surpassed every monument of art and labour throughout Italy. The sense of this misfortune, however begun, was lost in the pressure of immediate danger; but the enemy was no sooner withdrawn from the walls, than the inhabitants, in the moment of security, lamented the loss of their amphitheatre, as the worst calamity that could befall them. Cæcina was repulsed with considerable loss. The night, on both sides, was employed in necessary preparations. The Vitellians provided themselves with moving penthousse, and other warlike machines, under which the men might advance to sap the foundation of the walls. The besieged were busy in preparing stakes and rafts of timber, with huge heaps of stone and lead and brass, in order to crush the assailants under their own works. Both armies felt every motive that could rouse their valour. The love of glory, and the fear of shame, throbbed in every breast. In the camp of the Vitellians, nothing was heard but the vigour of the legions, and the fame of the German armies; within the town, the honour of the city cohorts, and the dignity of the prætorian bands, were the topics that inflamed their minds with heroic ardour. They considered the Vitellians as a set of desperate adventurers, and despised them as Barbarians, foreigners, and aliens in Italy; while, in their turn, they were held in contempt by the besiegers, as a weak enervate band, who had lost every warlike principle in the circus and the theatres of Rome. Otho and Vitellius were the subject of alternate praise and calumny; but praise was soon exhausted, and for abuse each party found abundant materials.

XXII. At the return of day, the city and the country round displayed a scene of warlike preparation: the walls and ramparts were covered with Othonian soldiers, and the fields glittered with the blaze of hostile arms. The legions in close array advanced to the assault, and the auxiliaries in separate divisions. The attack began with a volley of stones and darts aimed at the highest part of the fortifications; and where the works were either impaired by time, or thinly manned, the Vitellians attempted a scalade. The German auxiliaries, rending the air with their savage war-songs, and, according to the custom of their country, waving their shields over their shoulders, advanced with impetuous fury; while the garrison, with deliberate aim, discharged a volley of stones and darts. In the mean time, the legionary soldiers, under their covered way, battered the foundation of the walls, and, having thrown up mounds of earth, attempted to force the gates. A pile of massy stones, which had been prepared by the besieged, was instantly rolled down with prodigious ruin: the Vitellians, crushed under the weight, or transfixed with darts, lay wounded, maimed, and mangled at the foot of the ramparts. Horror and confusion followed. The Othonians were inspired with fresh courage. The slaughter increased; and the assailants, finding all their efforts defeated, with great precipitation, and no less dishonour, sounded a retreat. Cæcina saw the folly of an enterprise rashly undertaken. To avoid further disgrace, he resolved to raise the siege, and leave a camp, where he had nothing to expect but reproach and shame. He repassed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. He had not proceeded far, when he was joined by Turullius Cerealis, a centurion of principal rank, who had served under him in Germany, and also by Julius Briganticus, a Batavian by birth: the former deserted with a strong body of marine soldiers, and the latter, with a small party of horse.

XXIII. Spurinna, as soon as he was informed of the movements of the enemy, sent despatches to Annius Gallus, with the particulars of the siege, the gallant defence of Placentia, and the measures concerted by Cæcina. Gallus was then on his march, at the head of the first legion, to the relief of the place, little imagining that a few cohorts would be able to hold out against the strength and valour of the German army. It was, however, no sooner known that Cæcina had abandoned his enterprise, and was then proceeding to Cremona, than the spirit of the legion blazed out at once. They desired to be led against the enemy. Their impatience rose to a pitch little short of sedition. It was with difficulty that Gallus appeased the tumult. He made halt at Bedriacum,[3] a village situated

3 This village, which, according to Cluverius, stood at the distance of twenty miles from Cremona, and is now called *Canelo*, has been rendered famous by the defeat of

between Verona and Cremona, and unhappily famous for the slaughter of two Roman armies. About the same time the Othonians gained a second advantage over the enemy. Martius Macer fought with success near Cremona. That officer, with the spirit of enterprise that distinguished him, embarked the gladiators on the Po, and, making a sudden descent on the opposite bank, fell with fury on the auxiliaries of Vitellius. All who attempted to make head against him were put to the sword; the rest fled with precipitation to Cremona. Macer was not willing to lose by rashness the fruit of his victory. He knew that, by the arrival of fresh forces, the fortune of the day might be changed, and, for that reason, recalled his men from the pursuit. This measure spread a general discontent amongst the soldiers. It was the misfortune of Otho's party to be on all occasions infected with suspicion, and, with a strange perversity, to put the worst construction on the conduct of their officers. The base of heart and petulant of tongue combined together, and with virulent invective defamed and blackened every character without distinction. Even Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, three eminent generals, did not escape the shafts of calumny. They were charged with various crimes. But the murderers of Galba were the worst incendiaries. Conscious of their guilt, and finding no respite from remorse and fear, these miscreants made it their business to embroil, to distract, and throw every thing into confusion. They gave vent to their seditious designs with open insolence, and by clandestine letters infused their venom into the mind of Otho; a mind too susceptible, always hearkening to every malignant whisper, and only guarded against men of worth and honour: in prosperity weak and irresolute; in distress collected, firm, determined; misfortune made him a better man. In his present situation, easily alarmed, and suspecting all his officers, he sent to Rome for his brother Titianus, and committed to him the whole conduct of the war. The interval was filled by Celsus and Paulinus with active enterprise and brilliant success.

XXIV. Cæcina felt the disgrace of his late defeat, and saw with anxiety the fame of his army mouldering away. He had been roughly handled at Placentia, his auxiliaries were cut to pieces, and in every skirmish, not worthy of a particular detail, the enemy had the advantage. He likewise knew by sure intelligence that Valens was advancing with his army, and that commander might reap the laurels of the war. To prevent a circumstance so humiliating, he resolved, with more courage than judgment, to redeem his glory. With this intent he marched to a village called Castorum,[1] distant about twelve miles from Cremona. At that place, in a wood that overhangs the road, he stationed the flower of his auxiliaries in ambuscade. His cavalry had orders to take an advanced post, and, after provoking an engagement, to give ground at once, and draw the enemy forward, till an unexpected sally could be made from the woods. The stratagem was betrayed to the generals of Otho's army. Paulinus took the command of the infantry, while Celsus led on the cavalry. Their men were ranged in order of battle. In the left wing were placed the vexillaries of the thirteenth legion, four auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. The high road was occupied by three prætorian cohorts, who formed the centre. The left wing consisted of the first legion, two auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. Besides these, a thousand of the cavalry, selected from the prætorian and auxiliary bands, were kept as a body of reserve to support the broken ranks, or, if the enemy gave way, to rush on at once and complete the victory.

XXV. Before the two armies came to action, the Vitellians feigned a flight. Aware of the stratagem, Celsus checked the ardour of his men, and in his turn pretended to give ground. The adverse party, as they lay in ambush, thought they saw their opportunity, and, rushing forward inconsiderately, fell into a snare. The legions flanked them from both wings; the cohorts attacked in front; and the cavalry, wheeling round with rapidity, charged in the rear. Suetonius Paulinus still kept his infantry out of the engagement. By his natural temper slow and deliberate, he chose to take his measures with precaution, rather than hazard a sudden conflict, and owe his success to the chance of war. He ordered the hollows to be filled up, the ground to be cleared, and his ranks to be extended; wisely judging that it would then be time to think of victory, when he had taken care not to be conquered. During this delay the Vitellians seized the opportunity to shift their ground. They betook themselves to the adjacent vineyards, thick with interwoven branches, and, by consequence, difficult of access. Having there, and in a wood that lay contiguous, found a safe retreat, they recovered their courage, and sallied out to attack the prætorian cavalry. The best and bravest officers of that corps were

Otho, and afterwards, as will be seen in the third book of this History, by that of Vitellius.

1 It appears in Suetonius, that the place which is called *Castorum* by Tacitus, was a spot where the Temple of Castor was built: *Otho tribus quidem, verum mediocribus prœliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, et ad Castoris* (SUPPLE TEMPLUM) *quod loco nomen est, vicit.* Sueton. in Othone, s. 9. It was about twelve miles from Cremona, between the Po and the Addua (now *Adda.*)

cut to pieces. Epiphanes,[2] the eastern king, who in support of Otho's cause faced every danger, was wounded in the engagement.

XXVI. At length the infantry, under the command of Paulinus, entered into the action. The front line of the enemy gave way at once, and the parties that came to support them were in like manner put to the rout. Cæcina had not the judgment to act with his whole strength at once. He brought up his men in detachments; and the consequence was, that, coming forward in succession, and no where strong enough, they soon gave way and fled with the ranks already broken. During this confusion, a violent tumult broke out in Cæcina's camp. The soldiers were enraged that the whole army was not drawn out. They seized Julius Gratus, the præfect of the camp, and loaded him with irons, on a suspicion that he held secret intelligence with his brother Julius Fronto, at that time a tribune in Otho's army, and, under a similar accusation, then confined in prison by the adverse party. Nothing now could equal the disorder and consternation that covered the whole Vitellian army. In the camp, in the field of battle, in the flight, and amongst the parties that came to support the fugitives, the confusion was such, that, if Paulinus had not sounded a retreat, it was the general opinion that Cæcina, with his whole army, might have been cut to pieces. In defence of his conduct, Paulinus answered, that, seeing how much toil and labour still remained, he was not willing to expose his men, already spent with the fatigue of the day, to fresh forces kept in reserve, and ready to issue from the adverse camp. An exhausted soldiery might, in that case, be overpowered; and, if once broken, no post, no station remained behind. With this reasoning the judicious few were satisfied, but in the lower ranks of the army discontent and murmuring still prevailed.

XXVII. The loss sustained in this engagement had no other effect on the vanquished Vitellians, than to reduce their turbulent spirit to a sense of military duty. Cæcina threw the whole blame of his defeat upon the ungovernable temper of the army, at all times more disposed to mutiny than to face the enemy. The men now saw their error, and began to submit to authority. Nor was this the case with regard to Cæcina only: the same reformation showed itself in the camp of Fabius Valens, who was now advanced as far as Ticinum.[3] The soldiers under his command were taught, by the late event, no longer to despise the enemy. To retrieve the honour of the army, they now were willing to behave with due submission to their general. They had been, not long before, guilty of a bold and dangerous tumult, of which, at the exact point of time, no notice could be taken, without breaking the thread of the narrative, and departing too much from the transactions under Cæcina.

It may now be proper to give an account of that insurrection. The reader will remember, that, in the war between Nero and Vindex, the cohorts of the Batavian nation separated from the fourteenth legion, then on its way to Britain; and having heard, in the city of the Lingones, of commotions in favour of Vitellius, went over to the standard of Fabius Valens. Their arrogance, from that time, knew no bounds. They paraded the camp, in every quarter, and in the tents of the legions, making it their boast, "that by them the fourteenth legion had been overawed: by them Italy was wrested out of the hands of Nero; and upon their swords the issue of the war depended." The Roman soldiers heard these speeches with indignation; disputes and quarrels filled the camp, and discipline was at an end. Valens saw his authority lessened, and knew too well, that, from clamour to actual mutiny the transition is short and sudden.

XXVIII. In this posture of affairs, Valens received advice that the Tungrians and Treverians had met with a defeat, and that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul. He took that opportunity to order a detachment of the Batavians to march to the relief of the province; intending, at the same time, by a stroke of policy, to divide the mutinous troops, whom, in their collective body, he found impatient of control. This measure gave umbrage to the rest of his army. The auxiliaries murmured, and the legions complained aloud, "that they were now to lose the bravest troops in the service. The enemy was near at hand, and was that a time to withdraw a body of gallant soldiers, who had so often fought with undaunted courage, and so often returned crowned with victory? If a single province is of more moment than the city of Rome, and the empire is but a secondary consideration, why not march

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2 Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus IV. king of Commagene, a district of Syria.

3 Ticinum, a city built by the Transalpine Gauls on the river Ticinus, which is beautifully described by Silius Italicus in the following lines:

> Cæruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadoso
> Perspicuus servat turbari nescia fundo,
> Et nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem;
> Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
> Argutos inter, volucrum certamina, cantus
> Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.
>
> De Bello Punico, lib. iv. ver. 83.

It may be doubted, however, whether this description is strictly true. Mr. Addison says, he does not know why the poet has represented it as so very gentle and still a river, as the bishop of Salisbury ran down with the stream thirty miles in an hour, by the help of but one rower.

with the united strength of the whole army? On the other hand, if Italy must be the theatre of war; if there, and there only, a decisive victory can be obtained; why separate from the army those gallant veterans, like the soundest limbs cut off from the body?"

XXIX. To allay this ferment, Valens went forth, preceded by his lictors. The men paid no regard to their general; they pelted him with stones; they forced him to fly before them; they pursued him with opprobrious language, accusing him of having embezzled, to his own private use, the spoils of Gaul, the gold of Vienne,[1] and the recompense due to the soldiers for all their toil and labour. They rushed to his pavilion, pillaged his camp-equipage, and, in hopes of finding hidden treasure, pierced the ground with their spears and javelins. Valens in the mean time, disguised like a slave, lay concealed in the tent of an officer of the cavalry. Alphenus Varus, the prefect of the camp, saw the phrensy subsiding, and, in the ebb of their passions, thought it best to let repentance take possession of them by degrees. With that intent, he gave orders to the centurions neither to visit the night watch, nor suffer the usual signals to be given by sound of trumpet. A dead silence followed. The mutineers stood covered with astonishment, wondering that no one assumed the command; they gazed at each other, and trembled at being left to themselves. By silence and resignation they hoped to give a proof of returning virtue. In the end they burst into tears, and with humble supplications implored forgiveness. Valens ventured to appear. As soon as the soldiers saw him beyond expectation safe, unhurt, in a sordid dress, with tears starting from his eye, a mingled tumult of joy and sorrow and affection swelled in every breast. With the quick transition of passions common with the multitude, they poured forth their congratulations; and with shouts of applause placed their general amidst the eagles and standards, on his tribunal. Valens acted with well-timed moderation. No man was singled out for punishment. Afraid, however, that, by too much coolness, he might make them suspect some deep design, he thought fit to reprimand a few by name, and his resentment went no further. In the distractions of a civil war, he knew that the power of the general is never equal to the liberty claimed by his soldiers.[2]

XXX. While Valens employed his army in throwing up intrenchments at Ticinum, an account of Cæcina's defeat reached the camp. The flame of sedition was ready to break out a second time. All agreed, that by the treachery of Valens they were detained from the field of battle. They resolved to linger no longer; they scorned to wait the motions of an inactive commander: they marched before the colours, and, ordering the standard-bearers to push on with alacrity never halted, till, by a rapid march, they joined Cæcina's army. In that camp Valens was in no kind of credit. The vanquished soldiers complained, that with an inferior force they were left exposed to the enemy; and, by extolling the strength and valour of their new friends, they hoped to conciliate esteem, and throw from themselves the imputation of cowardice. Valens was at the head of an army which exceeded that of Cæcina by almost double the number, and yet the latter was the favourite of the men. His liberal spirit gained him friends, and his generosity was praised by all. To the vigour of youth he united a graceful figure, and he possessed those nameless qualities,[3] which, though of no solid value, conciliate favour, men know not why. Hence a spirit of emulation between the two commanders. Cæcina objected to his rival the sordid vices that disgraced his character; and, in return, Valens laughed at a man elate with pride and vain ostentation. And yet the two chiefs acted towards each other with disguised hostility. In their zeal for the common cause, their mutual animosities were suppressed, though not extinguished. In their letters, they treated Otho and his licentious practices in a style that showed they scorned all terms of future reconciliation. The conduct of the officers in the opposite army was very different. They spoke of Vitellius with reserve; and though his manners afforded ample materials for invective, they chose to contain themselves within the bounds of prudence.

XXXI. It may be here observed, that, whatever were the shades of vice in the opposite characters of the contending chiefs, death, in the end, made the true distinction between them: Otho fell with glory, and Vitellius with disgrace and infamy. During their lives, men dreaded greater mischief from the unbridled passions of Otho, than from the sluggish debauchery of Vitellius. The murder of Galba made the former an object of detestation; while the latter was never charged with being the author of the war.[4] Vitellius,

1 The people of Vienne were obliged to purchase the protection of Valens. Hist. i. s. 66.

2 In an army, where all alike from the highest to the lowest committed the most violent outrages, the soldiers knew no subordination. Guilt, when widely spread, levels all distinction. Lucan truly observes,

——Facinus, quos inquinat, æquat.

PHARSAL. lib. v. ver. 290.

3 Cæcina was admired by his soldiers for those agreeable secondary qualities, which often gain the affections of the multitude. Corbulo, the great commander, who is so much extolled by Tacitus, united to his superior talents the specious trifles that conciliate favour, *Super experientiam sapientiamque, etiam specie inanium validus.* Annals, xiii. s. 8.

4 Vitellius was of so sluggish a disposition, that he seemed to act under the direction of others, not from the impulse of his own mind.

by his gluttony and sensual appetites, was his own enemy; Otho, by his profusion, his cruelty, and his daring spirit, was the enemy of his country. As soon as the forces under Cæcina and Valens had formed a junction, the Vitellian party wished for nothing so much as a decisive action. Otho was not determined which was most for his interest, a speedy engagement or a lingering war. In this state of irresolution, he called a council, when Suetonius Paulinus, an officer surpassed by no man of that age, judged it consistent with his high military character, to weigh all circumstances, and upon the whole to give a decided opinion. He contended, that to bring the dispute to an immediate issue, was the business of Vitellius; and, on the contrary, to draw the war into length was the game that Otho ought to play. He argued as follows:

XXXII. "The whole collected force of Vitellius is now in Italy: the resources which he has left behind him are inconsiderable. From Gaul he has nothing to expect. The spirit of that fierce and turbulent people is still in agitation; and while Germany, with hostile numbers, is ever ready to invade the Roman provinces, the banks of the Rhine cannot be left naked and defenceless. The legions in Britain have the natives on their hands, and they are divided by the sea. Spain cannot boast of resources. The province of Narbon Gaul has been harassed by Otho's fleet, and is still covered with consternation. The part of Italy which lies beyond the Po is shut in by the Alps, deprived of all relief by sea, and the armies that passed that way have made the whole country a scene of desolation. There is no place from which Vitellius can hope to be supplied with grain; and he who wants provisions, in a short time will want an army. The Germans, a brave and warlike people, constitute the strength and bulwark of the Vitellian party: protract the war, and will they be able to go through a summer campaign? The change of soil, and the heat of the climate, will relax their vigour. The war, that by strenuous efforts may be pushed to a prosperous issue, grows languid when drawn into length, and in a state of tedious suspense whole armies have mouldered away.

"On the other hand, Otho's party is in no want of supplies; their friends are firm, and great resources are still in reserve. Pannonia, Mæsia, Dalmatia, and the eastern provinces, are able to send numerous armies into the field. All Italy declares for Otho: Rome, the capital of the empire, is still in his possession; and, above all, he has on his side the senate and the Roman people; illustrious names, and always of the first importance, though their glory in some conjunctures has been eclipsed. There is still in reserve a store of wealth, both public and private; and riches at all times are the sinews of war, in public dissensions more powerful than the sword. The soldiers in the service of Otho are in good condition, inured to Italy, or seasoned to the heat in warmer climates. In their front the river Po is a barrier, and there are fortified cities, strongly garrisoned, all determined to hold out to the last. Of this the gallant defence of Placentia is a sufficient proof. For these reasons, a slow and lingering war is the best expedient. Pass but a few days, and the fourteenth legion, famous for its bravery, will arrive with a strong reinforcement of auxiliaries from Mæsia. A council of war may then be called; and should it be thought advisable to hazard a battle, Otho, in that event, may take the field with a superior army."

XXXIII. Marius Celsus concurred in this opinion. Annius Gallus was not present. He had been hurt by a fall from his horse a few days before, and was not yet recovered; but, being consulted by persons sent for the purpose, he acceded to the counsels of Paulinus. Otho was for trying the issue of a battle. His brother Titianus, and Proculus, the prefect of the prætorian guards, though neither of them had any military experience, did what in them lay to incite a temper of itself rash and precipitate. The gods, they said, and the tutelar genius of Otho, were present in council, and would not fail to guide and animate the battle. Such was the language of flattery. They made their poison palatable, and no man presumed to administer an antidote.

To offer battle was the result of the debate; but whether the emperor should command in person, or withdraw to a place of safety, was a question still to be discussed. Celsus and Paulinus gave no opinion. To expose the prince to the dangers of the field, was more than they chose to hazard. That point was left to the authors of the pernicious counsel already given. By their advice Otho retired to Brixellum, there to reserve himself for the good of the people and the majesty of empire. From this day the ruin of Otho may be dated. He took with him a considerable detachment of the prætorian cohorts, the body-guard, and a strong party of horse. After their departure, the spirit of the army began to droop. They suspected their officers. The prince, to whom the soldiers were faithfully attached, and who, in return, confided in them, and them only, abandoned his cause, without having a head to direct, or a general to whose authority the men were willing to submit.

XXXIV. During these transactions, nothing of all that passed was a secret in the camp of Vitellius. From the deserters, who in civil wars are always numerous, and also from the spies, whose genius it is, while they pry into the secrets of others, to betray their own, every thing transpired. Cæcina and Valens lay in wait for the motions of an enemy, whom they saw contriving their own destruction. To plan

an enterprise was unnecessary, where the best wisdom was to succeed by the folly of others. In order, however, to give jealousy to the gladiators[1] on the opposite bank of the Po, and at the same time to keep their own soldiers employed, they began to throw a bridge over the river. As a foundation for the work, they ranged in proper order a number of boats, made fast at equal distances by strong timbers, with their prows turned against the current, and by their anchors secured from driving from the spot. The cables were of a length to play in the water, in order, when the stream increased, that the vessels might be gently lifted up and down without danger or confusion. In the boat at the further extremity of the bridge, they caused a tower to be erected, which served at once to close the passage, and give the men a station, where they might, with their battering engines, prevent the approach of the enemy.

XXXV. The Othonians also raised a tower on the opposite bank, and thence were able to annoy the enemy with massy stones and flaming brands. A small island stood in the middle of the water. The gladiators attempted to pass over in boats; but the Germans, expert in swimming, dashed into the stream, and took possession of the place. In order to dislodge them, Macer put off with a strong party of gladiators on board his galleys: but the gladiators were not able to cope with regular soldiers; and the motion of the vessels not allowing them a firm footing, they fought at a disadvantage with men, who from the land were able to discharge their missive weapons with surer aim and more certain effect. On board the vessels all was hurry and confusion. The rowers and combatants obstructed each other. The Germans plunged into the river, and, seizing hold of the boats, boarded several, and sunk others to the bottom. The whole passed under the eye of both armies. The Vitellians looked on with joy, while the adverse party, stung with indignation, railed at Macer, whom they called the author of their disgrace.

XXXVI. The gladiators, in such vessels as they could save, retreated from the island, and by their flight put an end to the engagement. Macer was devoted to destruction. The soldiers clamoured for his blood. One of them darted his lance, and actually wounded him; while the rest rushed on sword in hand, and would have killed him on the spot, if the tribunes and centurions had not interposed to save him from their fury. In a short time after, Vestricius Spurinna, having, by order of Otho, left a moderate garrison at Placentia, came up to the main body with the cohorts under his command. Macer was superseded, and in his place Flavius Sabinus, consul elect, was appointed; to the great joy of the common men, who saw with pleasure every change of their officers. The commanders, in their turn, saw the unruly spirit of the army, and, with reluctance, accepted a service so often disturbed by tumult and sedition.

XXXVII. I find it asserted as a fact, and by authors of credit, that the two armies, dreading the calamities of war, and at the same time detesting the two rival princes, whose flagitious deeds grew every day more notorious, were disposed to lay down their arms, and either to name a person worthy of the succession, or to refer that matter to the choice of the senate. This, we are told, was the consideration that weighed with Otho's generals, when they proposed to draw the war into length, and, in particular, that Paulinus acted with that motive. He was the first and most distinguished of the consular rank, the highest in military reputation, and his conduct in Britain[2] had given superior lustre to his name. But though it may be reasonable to admit, that a few, in that juncture, had the public good at heart, and wished to see two vile competitors, the most abandoned of mankind, postponed to a virtuous prince; it is, notwithstanding, highly improbable that Paulinus, a man of experience and consummate understanding, should, in an age so corrupt and profligate, amuse himself with hopes of finding one spark of virtue. He knew the madness of the times; and could he expect, that the same infatuated multitude, whose wickedness had kindled the flame of war, would on a sudden prefer the blessings of peace, and consent, for the repose of the world, to sheath the destructive sword? Can it be imagined, that the armies then in the field, dissonant in language, and in their manners still more discordant, could ever be brought to coalesce in one opinion? Above all, can it be supposed that the leading chiefs, a set of men immersed in luxury, overwhelmed with debts, and conscious of their crimes, would submit to any master who was not, like themselves, plunged in vice, and by gratitude for his elevation obliged to be the patron of the most pernicious citizens?

XXXVIII. The love of power and domination seems to be an instinct of the human heart,[3]

1 It has been already mentioned, that Otho had in his army two thousand gladiators; a disgraceful expedient, says Tacitus, but in civil wars adopted by the ablest generals. *Deforme auxilium, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum.* See this book, s. xi.

2 For the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, and the brilliant success of his arms in Britain, see Annals, xiv. from section 29 to 40.

3 Sallust has a similar observation: *Natura mortalium avida imperii, et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem.* De Bell. Jugurth. s. 6. The sequel of this section, in which the progress of the human passions and the causes of civil commotion are unfolded, has some resemblance to a passage in Lucan, which has been quoted in a former note.

implanted by the hand of nature. Coeval with the foundation of Rome, it grew with the growth of the empire, and, in the hour of pride and grandeur, broke out with resistless violence. Before that period, while the republic was in its infancy, the equality of conditions was easily preserved. In process of time, when the pride of foreign kings was humbled, and rival nations submitted to the Roman arms, avarice began to accumulate riches, and contentions arose between the senate and the people. Factious tribunes prevailed at one time, and ambitious consuls at another. In the heart of the city, and even in the forum, the sword of discord was drawn, and those dissensions were a prelude to the rage of civil war. Caius Marius, a man sprung from the dregs of the populace, and Lucius Sylla, fierce and cruel beyond the rest of the nobility, overturned the constitution of their country, and on the ruins of public liberty established a system of tyranny and lawless power. Pompey came soon after, with passions more disguised, but no way better. From that time, the struggle has been for supreme dominion. The legions that filled the plains of Pharsalia, and afterwards met at Philippi, though composed of Roman citizens, never once thought of laying down their arms. And are we to believe that the armies of Otho and Vitellius were of a more pacific temper? They had instigations equally powerful; the same wrath of the gods pursued them; the same popular phrensy kindled the flame of discord; and the same vices conspired to urge them on to mutual slaughter. Their war, it is true, was ended by a single battle; but for that speedy issue the world was indebted, not to the virtue of the armies, but to the abject spirit of the contending princes. But these reflections on the spirit of ancient and modern times have betrayed me into a long digression. I resume the thread of my narrative.

XXXIX. From the time when Otho withdrew to Brixellum, his brother Titianus assumed all the pride and pomp of commander-in-chief, but the power and real authority remained in the hands of Proculus. Celsus and Paulinus were no more than mere nominal generals. No man sought their advice. They were, in fact, superseded; serving no purpose but that of screening the folly of others, and bearing the blame of blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions could render no effectual service, while ignorance and insufficiency were preferred, and real talents lay neglected. The common men appeared with an air of alacrity, but more disposed to cavil with their generals, than to execute their orders. A sudden resolution was taken to shift their ground, and encamp within four miles of Bedriacum.[4] They conducted their march, and chose their station, with such want of skill, that, though it was then the spring of the year, and the country round abounded with rivers, the army was distressed for want of water. The expediency of hazarding a battle became again the subject of debate. Otho, by frequent despatches, insisted on the most vigorous measures: the soldiers called for their emperor, and with clamour demanded his presence on the day of battle. Many were of opinion, that the forces beyond the Po should be called in to reinforce the army. History has not materials to decide what would have been the most prudent measure; but it is certain, that of all possible evils they chose the worst.

XL. They resolved to march to the conflux of the Po[5] and the Addua, at the distance of sixteen miles. In this movement the soldiers presented no appearance of an army going to offer battle. They marched as if going to open a campaign, not to decide it. The measure was in direct opposition to the advice of Celsus and Paulinus. Those officers represented the danger of exposing the soldiers, fatigued by their march, and bending under the weight of their baggage, to the attack of an enemy unincumbered, and fresh from a march of four miles only. An army in that condition would seize their opportunity, and begin a general assault before Otho's men could form the line of battle; perhaps they were dispersed in small parties, or employed at the intrenchments. Titianus and Proculus were not to be convinced. When overcome by argument, they resorted to their orders, and the will of the prince was a decisive answer. About the same time a Numidian horseman,[6] posting at full speed, arrived with letters from Otho, in a style of sharp reproof condemning the tedious operations of the army, and, in a peremptory tone commanding his generals to bring on a decisive action. To a mind like his the interval of suspense was dreadful. Delay kept him in

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto
Intulit, &c.
Et cum consulibus turbantes jura tribuni.
* * * * * * * Pharsal. lib. i. ver. 160.

4 Brotier observes, that the place to which the Othonians advanced is now called *Tor Anzolini*, between the rivers *Ollio* and *Dermona*.

5 The Addua (now *Adda*) falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona.

6 The taste for show and splendour was so great, that none, who, in that age, were what we now call people of fashion, chose to appear on the Appian or Flaminian road, or to make an excursion to their villas, without a train of Numidians mounted on the swift horses of their country, to ride before their carriages, and give notice, by a cloud of dust, that a great man was on the road. For this fact we are indebted to Seneca, who says, *Omnes jam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat equitatus, atque ut agmen cursorem antecedat: turpe est, nullos esse, qui occurrentes via dejiciant; qui honestum hominem venire magno pulvere ostendant.* Seneca, epist. 123.

restless anxiety, and hope and fear distracted him.

XLI. On the same day, while Cæcina was employed in throwing a bridge over the Po, two prætorian tribunes arrived to demand an interview. They were admitted to an audience, when a sudden alarm from the scouts announced the enemy at hand. The business broke off abruptly, and the intention of the tribunes was left in the dark. What their design was, whether to betray their own party, to lay a snare for the Vitellians, or to make a fair and honourable proposal, cannot now be known. Cæcina dismissed the tribunes, and made the best of his way to the camp. He found that Valens had lost no time: the signal for battle was already given, and the men were drawn out under arms. While the legions were eagerly employed in settling by lot the order in which they were to take their stations in the field, the cavalry advanced to charge the enemy, and, contrary to all expectation, were put to the rout by an inferior number. The Othonians pursued with vigour, and would have forced them to fly for shelter to their intrenchments, had not the Italic legion opposed the runaways, and sword in hand compelled them to return to the charge. Meanwhile, the rest of the army, without hurry or confusion, drew up in order of battle, unmolested by the enemy, and, in fact, without being seen: as a thick coppice, that stood between both parties, intercepted their view.

In Otho's army nothing was seen but tumult and distraction; the chiefs without courage, or authority; the men mistrusting the officers; the ground not cleared of the baggage, and the followers of the camp mixing in the ranks. The road which they occupied was rendered so narrow, by a ditch on each side, that, even though no enemy were at hand, a march over the causey would have been performed with difficulty. Their whole army was in confusion; some crowding about their colours; others at a loss and running to and fro to find their proper post; all in a confused clamour, roaring for their comrades, answering to their names, and confounding one another with noise and uproar. Some, still shifting their ground, advanced to the front line; others fell into the rear; none remaining in one spot, but shifting their ground, as fear or courage happened to prompt them.

XLII. The Othonians had scarce recovered from their surprise, when a sudden incident diffused a general joy; but a joy that tended to lull them into security, and relax their courage into languor and stupid amazement. A report was spread, that the forces of Vitellius had abandoned his cause: but from what quarter it took its origin; whether by design or chance;[1] from the emissaries of the Vitellians, or the adverse party, has never been explained. The effect on the minds of the Othonians was altogether extraordinary. Laying aside all thoughts of coming to action, they saluted the opposite army, who stood astonished, and returned a deep and hollow murmur. Those in Otho's ranks, who did not know the cause of the civility shown by their friends, thought themselves betrayed. In that moment the Vitellians began the attack. Their army was in regular order, and their numbers were superior. The Othonians, still in disorder, and fatigued by their march, received the first impression with undaunted firmness. The place where the action grew warm being thick with trees and interwoven vine-branches, the combat varied according to the nature of the ground. They fought man to man; they engaged at a distance; they discharged their darts and missive weapons; they brought forward separate battalions, or advanced in the form of a wedge. On the high road the engagement was close and obstinate. Darts and lances were of no use. They fought hand to hand, foot to foot, and buckler against buckler. With their swords and axes they cut through helmets and breastplates. They knew one another; each individual was conspicuous to his friends and enemies; his exploits were seen by all; and every man fought, as if the issue of the war depended upon his single arm.

XLIII. Upon an open plain of considerable extent, that lay between the Po and the high road, two legions met in fierce encounter; on the part of Vitellius, the one and twentieth, famed for its valour, and commonly known by the name of RAPAX;[2] on the side of Otho, the first legion, entitled ADJUTRIX, which had never been in action, and now panted for an opportunity to flesh their maiden swords. Their first attack was not to be resisted. They broke through the ranks of the one and twentieth, and carried off their eagle. Roused by this disgrace, the Vitellians added rage to bravery, and bore down all before them. Orphidius Benignus, who commanded Otho's legion, fell in the conflict. His men were driven back with great slaughter, and the loss of several standards. In another part of the field, the thirteenth legion was routed by the fifth, and the fourteenth was hemmed in by superior numbers. Otho's generals had long since fled the field, while Cæcina and Valens continued to exert themselves, watching every turn of the battle, and supporting the ranks in every quarter. Fresh forces came to their assistance. The Batavians, under Varus Alphe-

1 Suetonius expressly says, that Otho, in the last engagement at Bedriacum, was defeated by a stratagem. His soldiers were called out to be present at a general pacification, and, in the very act of saluting the Vitellian army, were suddenly attacked. Sueton. Life of Otho, s. 9.

2 For the twenty-first legion, called *Rapax*, see this book, s. 6, note.

nus, having cut to pieces the gladiators attempting in boats to cross the Po, came into the field, flushed with success, and charged the enemy in flank.

LXIV. The centre of Otho's army gave way, and fled with precipitation towards Bedriacum. A long space lay before them; the road was obstructed with heaps of slain, and the enemy hung upon their rear. In civil wars no prisoners are reserved for sale: the slaughter, for that reason, was the more dreadful.[3] Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus fled different ways, both resolved not to return to the camp. Vedius Aquila, who commanded the thirteenth legion, by his own indiscretion exposed himself to the fury of the soldiers. He entered the camp, while it was yet broad day-light; and the very men, who were the first to turn their backs on the enemy, were now the foremost in sedition. They crowded round their superior officer with a torrent of abusive language, and offered violence to his person. They charged him with treachery, and desertion, in the true spirit of vulgar minds, transferring to others their own guilt and infamy. Titianus and Celsus owed their safety to the darkness of the night. They did not venture into the camp, till the sentinels were stationed at their posts, and the tumult was appeased by the entreaties, the advice, and authority of Annius Gallus, who had the address to make the men sensible of the folly and madness of adding to the havoc of the field by their own destructive fury. Whether the war was at an end, or to be once more renewed with vigour, he represented, in either case, the necessity of union among themselves. A face of sorrow and dejection covered the camp. All were hushed in silence; all but the prætorians, who still grumbled discontent, asserting that they were defeated by treachery, not by the valour of the enemy. "The Vitellians," they said, "could not boast of a cheap victory. Their cavalry was routed, and one of their legions lost their eagle. Otho still survived, and the troops beyond the Po were ready to advance; the legions from Mæsia were on their march; and a considerable part of the army, detained at Bedriacum, had no share in the action. These were still in reserve; they were not conquered; and if a total overthrow was to be their lot, they might fall with glory in the field of battle." With these and such like reflections the prætorians kept their minds in agitation, by turns inflamed with anger, or depressed with fear. They saw their ruined condition; despair succeeded, and from despair they derived courage and a spirit of revenge.

3 In the civil wars no prisoners were made, to be afterwards sold to slavery; and, by consequence, no quarter was given. Plutarch, in his account of this battle, describes a most dreadful carnage. See the Life of Otho.

XLV. The victorious army halted at the distance of five miles from Bedriacum. The generals did not think it advisable on the same day to attempt the enemy's camp. Expecting a voluntary surrender, they were willing to give their men some time to repose. To encamp was not in their power. The soldiers took the field, prepared for battle, unincumbered, and of course without the means of throwing up intrenchments. Their arms and their victory were their only fortification. On the following day the Othonians showed a pacific disposition; and even those, who the night before breathed nothing but war and vengeance, with one consent agreed to send a deputation to the enemy. The Vitellian leaders were willing to hearken to terms of accommodation. The deputies not returning immediately, the suspense occasioned an awful interval in Otho's camp. Peace was at length announced, and the intrenchments were thrown open. A tender scene ensued. The conquerors and the conquered embraced each other, and with mingled joy and sorrow lamented the horrors of civil war. In the same tents, relations, friends, and brothers, dressed each other's wounds. They now perceived that their hopes were a mere delusion, and that slaughter, sorrow, and repentance, were their certain lot. Nor was there in the two armies a single person who had not the death of a friend or relation to lament. The body of Orphidius, the commander of a legion, after diligent search, was found among the slain, and burned with the usual solemnities. A few of the common men were buried by their friends: the rest were left to welter on the bare earth.

XLVI. Otho, in the mean time, having taken his resolution, waited, without fear, or dejection of mind, for an account of the event. Vague and uncertain rumours reached his ear. At length the fugitives, who escaped from the field, brought sure intelligence that all was lost. The soldiers, who stood near his person, did not stay to hear the sentiments of the emperor, but broke out with impatient ardour, exhorting him to summon up his best resolution. There were forces still in reserve, and, in their prince's cause, they were ready to brave every danger. In this declaration there was no flattery; they spoke from the heart. In a fit of instinctive fury they desired to be led against the enemy; by their example the drooping spirit of their friends would be once more excited to deeds of valour. The men, who stood at a distance, stretched forth their hands in token of their assent, while such as gathered round the prince fell at his feet, and clasped his knees. Plotius Firmus distinguished himself by his zeal. This officer commanded the prætorian guards. He implored his master not to abandon an army devoted to his interest, nor to renounce a brave and generous soldiery, who had undergone so

much, and were still ready to face every danger. "The noble mind,"[1] he said, "stands a siege against adversity, while the little spirit capitulates at once. True courage grapples with misfortune, and, in the last distress, still makes head against every difficulty. The mean and abject sink down in despair, and yield without a struggle." The soldiers fixed their eyes on the prince, and with every symptom in his countenance, their passions varied. If he assented, they thundered forth their applause; if he seemed inflexible, a groan expressed the anguish of their hearts. Nor was the spirit confined to the prætorians, who were properly the soldiers of Otho: it extended to the detachment sent forward by the Mæsian legions. Those men with one voice declared for Otho; they assured him, that the same zeal pervaded their comrades, who were coming forward by rapid marches, and even then had entered Aquileia. Hence it is evident, that great resources still remained, and that a fierce and obstinate war, uncertain in the event, and big with danger to all parties, might have been renewed, and carried on with vigour.

XLVII. Otho had weighed all circumstances: ambition was at an end, and he prepared to close the scene.[2] He addressed the soldiers to the following effect: "When I behold the ardour that glows in every breast; when I consider the virtue that inspires so many gallant friends, I cannot think of exposing you again to the destructive sword; nor do I value my life at such a price. The views which you display to me, were I disposed to live, are bright and tempting; by renouncing them, I fall with greater glory. I have made acquaintance with fortune; we have tried each other, for what length of time is not material; but the felicity, which does not promise to last, cannot be enjoyed with moderation. Vitellius began the war; he claimed the empire, and, by consequence, I was obliged to have recourse to arms. That we fought once, his ambition was the cause; to end the dispute by the event of one battle, and stop the effusion of Roman blood, shall be my glory. By this conduct let posterity judge of Otho. I restore to Vitellius his brother, his wife and children. I want no revenge, I seek no lenitives to soothe calamity. Others have held the sovereign power longer than I have done; with equal calmness no man has resigned it. Can I give to the edge of the sword so many gallant soldiers? Can I see the armies of Rome devoted to mutual slaughter, and for ever cut off from their country? It is enough for me, that in my cause you are ready to shed your blood. Let that generous zeal attend me to my grave. I thank you for it: but you must still survive to serve the commonwealth. For this great end, let us agree to remove all obstacles; I will be no bar to your preservation; nor will you attempt to frustrate my resolution. When death approaches, to linger in vain discourse is the sign of a little spirit. The temper, with which I meet my fate, will be seen and known by this circumstance: I complain of no man. He who, in his last moments, can look back to arraign either gods or men, still clings to life, and quits it with regret."

XLVIII. Having thus declared his sentiments he talked apart with his friends, addressing each of them in gracious terms, according to his rank, his age, or dignity, and advising all to depart without loss of time, and make their terms with the conqueror. He entreated the old men, and with the young exerted his authority. Calm and undisturbed, serenity in his countenance, and firmness in his voice, he saw his friends weep, and endeavoured to repress their tears. He ordered boats or carriages for those who were willing to depart. He selected all such papers and letters as happened to contain expressions of duty towards himself, or ill will to Vitellius, and committed them to the flames. He distributed money in presents, but not with the profusion of a man quitting the world. Observing that his brother's son, Salvius Cocceianus, a youth in the flower of his age, was dissolved in tears, he endeavoured to assuage his sorrows. He commended the goodness of his heart, but his fears, he said, were out of season. "Could it be supposed that Vitellius, finding his own family safe, would refuse, with brutal inhumanity, to return the generosity shown to himself? My death will leave him without a rival, and that very act will be a demand upon his clemency; especially, since it is not an act of despair, but a voluntary resignation, made at a time when a brave and generous army calls aloud for another battle. For the good of the commonwealth I am a willing victim. For myself I have gained ample renown, and I leave to my family an illustrious name. After the Julian race,[3] the Claudian, and the Servian, I am the first who transferred the sovereignty to a new family. It becomes you, young man, to act with courage; you must dare to live. Remember that Otho was your uncle, but remember it with modesty, and without resentment."

XLIX. After this, he desired his friends to withdraw. Being left alone, he composed himself to rest, and, in a short time, began to pre-

1 We have here a noble sentiment, in direct opposition to the stoic doctrine of suicide.

2 Tacitus has told us, that Otho's mind was not, like his body, dissolved in luxury. *Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus.* Hist. i. s. 22. His speech upon this occasion shows that he could think with dignity. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 10.

3 Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, were of the Julian line; Claudius, and [illegible] ion), were of the Claudian; Galba w[illegible] vius; Otho, of the Salvian family

pare for the last act of his life. In that moment he was interrupted by a sudden uproar. The soldiers, he was told, threatened destruction to all who offered to depart, and in particular to Verginius,[4] whom they kept besieged in his house. Otho went forth to appease the tumult. Having reproved the authors of the disturbance, he returned to his apartment, and received the visits of all that came to bid the last farewell: he conversed with them freely and cheerfully, and saw them depart without let or molestation. Towards the close of day, he called for a draught of cold water, and, having quenched his thirst, ordered two poniards to be brought to him. He tried the points of both, and laid one under his pillow. Being informed that his friends were safe on their way, he passed the night in quiet. We are assured, that he even slept. At the dawn of day, he applied the weapon to his breast, and fell upon the point. His dying groans alarmed his freedmen and slaves. They rushed into the chamber, and with them Plotius Firmus, the prætorian prefect. They found that with one wound he had despatched himself. His body was burned without delay. This had been his earnest request, lest his head[5] should fall into the hands of his enemies, and be made a public spectacle. He was borne on the shoulders of the prætorian soldiers to the funeral pile. The men, during the procession, paid all marks of respect to his remains. They printed kisses on his hands, and on the mortal wound, and, in a flood of tears, poured forth their warmest praise. At the funeral pile some of the soldiers put an end to their lives; not from any consciousness of guilt, nor yet impelled by fear; but to emulate the example of their prince, and to show themselves faithful to the last. At Bedriacum, Placentia, and other camps, numbers followed the example. A sepulchre[6] was raised to the memory of Otho, but of an ordinary structure, protected by its meanness, and therefore likely to last.

L. Such was the end of Otho, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He was born in the municipal city of Ferentum. His father was of consular rank; his grandfather had discharged the office of prætor. By the maternal line his descent was respectable, though not illustrious. The features of his character, as well in his earliest days[7] as in the progress of his youth, have been already delineated. By two actions of his life he stands distinguished; one, atrocious and detestable; the other, great and magnanimous: the former has consigned his name to eternal infamy, and the last will do honour to his memory. History cannot descend to the frivolous task of collecting vague reports, in order to amuse the reader with a fabulous detail; but there are traditions, which have been handed down with an air of authenticity, and these I shall not take upon me to suppress or to refute. On the day when the battle was fought at Bedriacum, a bird of unusual appearance was observed to perch in a grove near Regium Lepidum,[8] and, notwithstanding the great concourse of people, and a numerous flight of other birds, never to move from its place till Otho put an end to his life. That event no sooner happened, than it waved its wings, and vanished out of sight. The people of the village aver the fact; and according to curious observers, who made an exact computation of the time, this extraordinary phenomenon tallied exactly with the beginning of the battle and the prince's death.[9]

LI. The grief of the soldiers, at the funeral ceremony, drove them, in a fit of distraction, to another mutiny. No officer assumed the command; no one interfered to allay the ferment. The men demanded a sight of Verginius; one moment calling upon him to accept the sovereignty, and the next, with mingled prayers and menaces, pressing him to undertake an embassy on their behalf to Valens and Cæcina. Verginius, seeing them determined to enter his house by force, made his escape at the back door. The cohorts that lay encamped at Brixellum, deputed Rubrius Gallus with terms of submission. That officer obtained their pardon. At the same time Flavius Sabinus made terms for himself, and, with the troops under his command, submitted to the conqueror.

LII. Though the war was now at an end, a great part of the senate, who accompanied Otho from Rome, and by him were left at Mutina, found themselves involved in the utmost danger. They received an account of the defeat at Bedriacum, but the soldiers treated it as a false alarm. Suspecting the integrity of the fathers,

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4 This was Verginius Rufus, who conquered Vindex in Gaul, and had the moderation to decline the imperial dignity when offered to him by the legions. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

5 Nero, in his last distress, fearing that his head would be exhibited as a public spectacle, gave directions for his funeral. Otho did the same: though tainted with Nero's vices, he closed the scene with dignity.

6 Plutarch tells us, that he himself visited Otho's tomb at Brixellum. Those perishable materials have long since mouldered away; but the epitaph, written by Martial, will never die. The poet admits that Otho led a dissolute life; but adds, that in his end, he was no way inferior to Cato.

Dum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho;
Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem,
Et fodit certa pectora nuda manu.
Sit Cato dum vivit, sane vel Cæsare major;
Dum moritur, numquid major Othone fuit.
Lib. vi. epig. 31.

7 See Annals, xiii. s. 46; Hist. i. s. 13; and Suetonius and Plutarch.

8 Regium was about fifteen miles from Brixellum, where Otho breathed his last.

9 See Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 5.

and fully persuaded that they were, in secret, enemies to Otho and his cause, they watched their motions, listened to their words, and, with their usual malignity, gave to every thing that passed the worst construction. They proceeded to reproach and every kind of insult, hoping to find a pretence for an insurrection and a general massacre. The senators saw another cloud gathering over their heads: they knew that the Vitellian party triumphed; and, if they were tardy with their congratulations, the delay might be thought a spirit of disaffection. In this dilemma they called a meeting of the whole order. No man dared to act alone. In the conduct of all, each individual hoped to find his own personal safety. At the same time an ill-judged compliment from the people of Mutina increased the apprehensions of the senators. The magistrates of the city made a tender of arms and money for the public service, and, in the style of their address, gave to a small party of senators the appellation of conscript fathers; a title always applied to the collective body.

LIII. In the debate that followed in a thin meeting of the fathers, a violent dispute broke out between Licinius Cæcina and Eprius Marcellus; the former, with warmth and vehemence, charging it as a crime against Marcellus, that he spoke in ambiguous terms and with studied obscurity. The case was by no means singular; all were equally dark and mysterious: but the name of Marcellus, who had conducted so many prosecutions,[1] was universally detested; and Cæcina, a new man lately admitted into the senate, thought to rise by encountering powerful enmities. The dispute was ended by the interposition of wiser men. The senate adjourned to Bononia, intending there to meet again, when they hoped to have more certain intelligence. They stationed messengers on all the public roads to interrogate every man that passed. One of Otho's freedmen came in their way. Being asked why he had left his master, he made answer, "I have with me the directions and last will of the prince, who is still alive, but he renounces all the joys of life: his thoughts are fixed upon posterity, and he has now no other care." This account made an impression on every mind: all stood astonished, and soon after, without asking any further questions, went over to Vitellius.

LIV. Lucius Vitellius, brother of the new emperor, attended the meeting of the senate. The fathers began to address him in a flattering strain, and he was willing to receive their incense. His joy was soon interrupted. One Cænus, a freedman of Nero's, by a bold and impudent falsehood, threw the assembly into consternation. He affirmed it as a fact, that the fourteenth legion, with the forces from Brixellum, attacked the victorious party, and gained a complete victory. The motive of this man for framing a story so false and groundless, was because he saw Otho's orders for road-horses[2] and carriages no longer in force, and he wished to revive their former authority. By this stratagem he gained a quick conveyance to Rome, and in a few days was put to death by order of Vitellius. In the mean time, the Othonian soldiers gave credit to the fiction, and even believed that the fathers, who had departed from Mutina to deliberate at Bononia, were gone over to the enemy. From this time the senate was convened no more. Every man acted with his own private views, till letters arrived from Fabius Valens, and put an end to all their fears. Besides this, the death of Otho was universally known. The velocity of fame was equal to the glory of that heroic action.

LV. Meanwhile, at Rome a general calm prevailed. The games sacred to Ceres[3] were celebrated according to annual custom. In the midst of the public spectacle, intelligence arrived that Otho was no more, and that all the military then in the city had, at the requisition of Flavius Sabinus, sworn fidelity to Vitellius: the people heard the news with transport, and the theatre shook with applause. The audience, crowned with laurel wreaths, and strewing the way with flowers, went forth in procession, and, with the images of Galba displayed in a triumphant manner, visited the several temples, and afterwards with their chaplets raised a fancied tomb to his memory, on the spot, near the lake of Curtius, where that emperor breathed his last. The various honours which flattery at different times had lavished on former princes, were decreed by the senate to the new sovereign. They passed a vote of thanks to the German armies, and despatched special messengers to congratulate Vitellius on his accession to the imperial dignity. A letter from Fabius Valens to the consuls was read in the senate; and though there was nothing of arrogance in the style, the respectful modesty of Cæcina, who remained silent, gave greater satisfaction.

LVI. Peace was now established throughout Italy; but it was a peace more destructive than the calamities of war. The Vitellian soldiers, quartered in the colonies and municipal cities, were still bent on spoil and rapine. They committed the most horrible outrages, deflouring the women, and trampling on all laws human and divine. When they refrained from injury, they received a bribe for their forbearance. Nothing sacred or profane was spared. Innocent men

1 Eprius Marcellus was the inveterate enemy of Pætus Thrasea. Annals, xvi. s. 22 and 28.

2 The passports, called *Diplomata Othonis*, were granted for the protection of travellers and messengers. See Pliny, lib. x. epist. 14 and 54.

3 The festival of Ceres began on the 19th of April. See Annals, xv. s. 53.

were marked out as soldiers of Otho's party, and under that pretence, murdered by their private enemies. The soldiers who best knew the country, fixed upon the opulent farmers as their devoted prey. Where the lands were rich, they laid waste and plundered without control. All who resisted were put to the sword. The general officers had no power to check the mischief. What they had done themselves, they could not oppose in others. Cæcina had not the avarice of his colleague; popularity was his passion. Valens, on the contrary, had made himself infamous by his rapacity, and was therefore obliged to connive, when he saw his own vices practised by others. Italy was long since exhausted, and, in that impoverished state, obliged to maintain numerous armies, and to bear the superadded grievances of riot, insult, and devastation.

LVII. Vitellius, in the mean time, advanced towards Italy with the remainder of the German armies, ignorant of his victory, and still conceiving that he was to meet the whole weight of the war. A few of the veteran soldiers were left behind in winter quarters; and to recruit the legions, which retained little more than their name, hasty levies were made in Gaul. On the frontiers bordering on the Rhine the command was given to Hordeonius Flaccus. To his own army Vitellius added eight thousand men from Britain. Having marched a few days, he received intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and the conclusion of the war by the death of Otho. He called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a public harangue, extolled the valour of the troops that conquered in his service. He had with him a freedman of the name of Asiaticus.[4] The army wished to see him raised to the dignity of a Roman knight. Vitellius knew that the request was a flight of adulation, and had the spirit to reject it: but such was his natural levity, that what he refused in public, he granted in private over his bottle. And thus a despicable slave, who was goaded on by ambition, and had nothing to recommend him but his vices, was honoured with the equestrian ring.

LVIII. About the same time Vitellius received advices that the two Mauritanias[5] had acceded to his party. This event was occasioned by the murder of Lucceius Albinus, the governor of that country. The province which was called Cæsariensis had been by Nero committed to Albinus; and the other, called Tingitana, was afterwards added by Galba. In consequence of his extensive command, the governor was master of a considerable force; not less than nineteen cohorts, five squadrons of horse, and a numerous body of Moors, accustomed to live by depredation, and by their hardy course of life prepared for the fatigues of war. Albinus, on the death of Galba, declared in favour of Otho, and, not content with his power in Africa, began to form an enterprise against Spain, which was separated by a narrow channel.[6] Cluvius Rufus presided in Spain. Alarmed at the projects of the commander in Africa, he ordered the tenth legion to march to the sea-coast, with a design, as he gave out, to cross the sea. In the mean time he dispatched a few chosen centurions to tamper with the Moors, and draw them over to the interest of Vitellius. This was not a difficult task. The fame of the German armies resounded through all the provinces. A report prevailed, at the same time, that Albinus, disdaining the title of procurator, had usurped the regal diadem, and the name of Juba.

LIX. The currents of popular opinion were by these circumstances entirely changed in Africa. Asinius Pollio, who commanded a squadron of horse in that country, and professed himself devoted to Albinus, was immediately murdered. Festus and Scipio, each the prefect of a cohort, shared the same fate. Albinus himself, after a short voyage from the province of Tingitana to that of Cæsariensis, was put to death as soon as he landed. His wife, attempting to oppose the assassins, perished with her husband. These transactions passed without the notice of Vitellius. Nothing awakened his curiosity. Even in matters of the highest importance, the attention of a moment was all that could be expected from a man who had neither talents nor application to business. He ordered his army to pursue their march into Italy, while he himself sailed down the Arar;[7] not with the pomp and grandeur of a prince, but still exposing to public view the distress and poverty[8] of his former condition. At length Junius Blæsus, at that time governor of the Lyonese Gaul, a man of a large and liberal mind; by his birth illustrious, and of a spirit equal to his vast possessions, supplied Vitellius with a train suited to the imperial dignity, and attended in person to do honour to the new emperor. Vitellius saw this display of magnificence with an evil eye, but under specious and even servile caresses took care to hide his jealousy. At Lyons the general officers of both parties, as well the vanquished as the victorious, attended to do homage to the prince. Vitellius in a public speech pronounced the panegyric of Valens and Cæcina, whom he placed on each side of his curule chair.

4 For more of Asiaticus, see Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 12.

5 For Mauritania, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

6 The Straits of Gibraltar.

7 The Arar, now the Soane. See Annals, xiii. s. 53.

8 For the extreme poverty of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. s. 7.

He then ordered out the whole army to receive his son, then an infant of tender years. The soldiers obeyed. The father took the child in his arms, and, having adorned him with a purple robe, and other marks of princely grandeur, saluted him by the title of GERMANICUS; in this manner bestowing extravagant honours, even in the tide of prosperity ill judged and out of season; but, perhaps, in the reverse of fortune that happened afterwards, some source of consolation.

LX. The centurions who had signalized themselves in Otho's service, were by order of Vitellius put to death. By this act of cruelty he lost the affections of the forces from Illyricum. The rest of the legions caught the infection, and, being already on bad terms with the German soldiery, began to meditate a revolt. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus were kept for some time in a wretched state of suspense. Being at length admitted to an audience, they made a defence, which nothing but the necessity of the times could excuse. They charged themselves with treachery to Otho, and to their own sinister designs ascribed the march of the army on the day of battle, the fatigue of the troops, and the confusion in the ranks, occasioned by not removing the baggage, with many other incidents, from which, though accidental, they derived to themselves the merit of fraud and perfidy. Vitellius gave them credit for their guilt, and pardoned, though they had been in arms against himself, their attachment to his enemy. Salvius Titianus was exempt from danger. Natural affection made him join his brother, and his despicable character sheltered him from resentment. Marius Celsus, consul elect, was suffered to succeed to his honours, though Cæcilius Simplex, as was generally believed, endeavoured by bribery to supplant him. His ambition aimed at the consulship, and would fain have risen on the ruins of an Othonian officer. The attempt was afterwards objected to him in open senate. The emperor, however, withstood his solicitations, but, in time, raised him[1] to that high office, without the guilt of bribery or murder. Trachalus was attacked by his enemies, but owed his safety to the protection of Galeria, the wife of Vitellius.

LXI. Amidst the dangers that involved the first men of the age, it may be thought beneath the dignity of history to relate the wild adventure of one Mariccus, a Boian by birth, and sprung from the dregs of the people. This man, however mean his condition, had the presumption to mix his name with men who fought for the empire of the world. In a fit of enthusiasm, pretending to have preternatural lights, he called himself the tutelar deity of Gaul, and, in the character of a god, dared to defy the Roman arms. He played the impostor so well, that he was able to muster eight thousand men. At the head of that deluded multitude, he made an attempt on the adjacent villages of the Æduans. The people of that nation were not to be deluded. They armed the flower of their youth, and, with a reinforcement from the Roman cohorts, attacked the fanatics, and put the whole body to the rout. Mariccus was taken prisoner, and soon after given to the wild beasts.[2] The populace, astonished to see that he was not immediately torn to pieces, believed him to be sacred and inviolable. Vitellius ordered him to be executed under his own eye; and that catastrophe cured the people of their bigotry.

LXII. From this time the partisans of Otho were no longer persecuted. Their persons and their effects remained inviolable. The last wills of such as fell in that unfortunate cause were allowed to be valid, and, where no will was made, the law in cases of intestacy took its course. In fact, it was the luxury of Vitellius that oppressed mankind: from his avarice there was nothing to fear. His gluttony[3] knew no bounds. To administer to his appetite, Rome and Italy were ransacked for rarities. The roads from both the seas rung with a din of carriages, loaded with whatever was exquisite to the palate. To entertain him on his march, the principal men of every city were obliged to lavish all their wealth, and the country was exhausted. The soldiers, degenerating into a band of epicures, lost all regard for military duty. They despised their prince, yet followed his example. Vitellius, by an edict sent forward to Rome, signified his pleasure to postpone for the present the title of Augustus; and for that of Cæsar, he declined it altogether. The prerogative of the prince was sufficient for his ambition. He ordered the mathematicians to be banished out of Italy, and, under heavy penalties, restrained the Roman knights from disgracing themselves by fighting prizes like common gladiators, and by exhibiting their persons on the public stage. That infamous practice was introduced by former princes, who did not scruple to allure men to the theatre by donations of money, and, when bribery failed, to drive them to it by force and violence. The contagion

1 Cæcilius Simplex was consul when Vitellius, finding his affairs utterly ruined, was willing to abdicate. Hist. iii. s. 68. For an account of the consuls in the course of this year, see Hist. i. s. 77, note.

2 The seditious were generally given to be devoured by wild beasts. That was deemed the punishment due to pernicious citizens.

3 Whoever desires to know more of Vitellius's gluttony, may find a number of particular instances collected by Brother, in his 4to edition of Tacitus, vol. iii. page 433.

reached the municipal towns and colonies, where it became the general practice to lie in wait for the young and profligate, in order, by the temptation of money, to invite them to disgrace and infamy.

LXIII. The character of Vitellius, soon after the arrival of his brother[4] and other courtiers from Rome, came forth in the blackest colours. That pernicious crew began to teach their maxims of despotism, and the prince displayed his cruelty and his arrogance. He gave orders for the execution of Dolabella, who, as already stated, on the first breaking out of the war, was banished by Otho to the colony of Aquinum. Being there informed of that emperor's death, he ventured to return to Rome. That step was objected to him as a crime by his intimate friend, Plancius Varus, a man of prætorian rank. He preferred his accusation, in form, before Flavius Sabinus, the prefect of the city. The specific charges were, that Dolabella broke from his place of confinement, to offer himself as a leader to the vanquished party, and with that view, had endeavoured to seduce to his interest the cohort stationed at Ostia. In the course of the trial, Dolabella heard the whole of the evidence with undaunted firmness, never showing the smallest symptom of anxiety: but sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and he then found it too late to sue for mercy. The business, however, seemed to Flavius Sabinus of such importance, that he began to hesitate, till Triaria, the wife of Lucius Vitellius, a woman fierce and cruel beyond her sex, advised him not to seek the fame of clemency by sacrificing the interest of the prince. Sabinus did not want humanity; but, when danger threatened himself, his resolution failed. With a sudden change of mind he began to temporise, and, in order to secure his own personal safety, lent his aid to precipitate the fall of a man, whom he did not dare to protect.

LXIV. By this business Vitellius was alarmed for himself, and he had motives of inveterate hatred. Petronia, his former wife,[5] was no sooner divorced, than Dolabella married her. Hence that unhappy man was an object of the emperor's fixed resentment. By letters despatched to Rome, he invited him to his presence, advising him, at the same time, to shun the Flaminian road, and come more privately by the way of Interamnium. At that place, he ordered him to be put to death. The assassin thought he should lose too much time. Impatient to do his work, he attacked Dolabella at an inn on the road, and, having stretched him on the ground, cut his throat. Such was the beginning of the new reign, a prelude to scenes of blood that were still to follow. The furious spirit of Triaria, who took so active a part in this affair, was the more detested, as it stood in contrast to the mild character of Galeria, the emperor's wife, and also to that of Sextilia,[6] his mother, a woman of virtue and benevolence, formed on the model of ancient manners. On receipt of the first letters from the emperor, wherein he assumed the title of Germanicus, she is said to have declared, that she had no son of that name, but was the mother of Vitellius.[7] She persevered with the same equal temper, never elated by the splendour of her family, nor deceived by the voice of flattery. In the prosperity of her sons she took no part; in their distress, she grieved for their misfortunes.

LXV. Vitellius set out from Lyons, but had not proceeded far, when he was met by Marcus Cluvius Rufus, who came from his government in Spain to congratulate the emperor on his accession. That officer appeared with joy in his countenance, and anxiety in his heart. He knew that an accusation had been prepared against him by Hilarius, one of the emperor's freedmen, importing that, during the war between Otho and Vitellius, Rufus intended to set up for himself, and convert both the Spains into an independent state; and that, with this view, he had issued various edicts, without inserting the name of any prince whatever, and also made public harangues, to blacken the character of Vitellius, and recommend himself to popular favour. The interest of Rufus was too powerful. He triumphed over his adversary, and the freedman was condemned to punishment. Rufus, from that time, ranked among the emperor's intimate friends. He continued in favour at court, and, at the same time, retained his government of Spain; during his absence carrying on the administration of the province by his deputies, according to the precedent left by Lucius Arruntius,[8] whom Tiberius, from suspicion and the jealousy of his nature, never suffered to depart from Rome. Trebellius Maximus[9] had not the good fortune to meet with equal favour. He had been the governor of Britain, but by a mutiny among the soldiers was obliged to escape out of the island. Vettius Bolanus,[10] then a follower of the court, succeeded to the command.

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4 This was Lucius Vitellius, whom we have seen with the senators of Bononia. This book, s. 54.

5 Petronia was the first wife of Vitellius. Suet. in Vitel. s. 6.

6 For Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. s. 3.

7 See Suetonius in the place last quoted.

8 Lucius Arruntius was appointed governor of Spain by Tiberius, and for ten years after detained at Rome. Annals, vi. s. 27.

9 Trebellius Maximus commanded in Britain, and was obliged to save himself by flight from the fury of the soldiers. Hist. i. s. 60.

10 For Vettius Bolanus, see the Life of Agricola, s. 8. and 16.

LXVI. Vitellius heard, with deep anxiety, that the vanquished legions still retained a fierce and unconquered spirit. Dispersed through Italy, and in every quarter intermixed with the victorious troops, they talked in a style of disaffection, breathing vengeance and new commotions. The fourteenth legion took the lead, denying, with ferocity, that they were ever conquered. It was true, they said, that at Bedriacum a vexillary detachment from their body was defeated, but, the legion had no share in the action. To remove such turbulent spirits, it was judged proper to order them back into Britain, where they had been stationed till recalled by Nero. The Batavian cohorts were ordered to march at the same time; and, as an old animosity subsisted between them and the soldiers of the fourteenth legion, orders were given that they should all be quietly quartered together. Between men inflamed with mutual hatred a quarrel soon broke out. It happened, at the capital of the Turinians,[1] that a Batavian soldier had words with a tradesman, whom he charged with fraud and imposition. A man belonging to the legion took the part of his landlord. A dispute ensued; their comrades joined them; from abusive language they proceeded to blows; and, if two prætorian cohorts had not overawed the Batavians, a bloody conflict must have been the consequence. Vitellius, satisfied with the fidelity of the Batavians, incorporated them with his army. The legion had orders to proceed over the Graian Alps,[2] and by no means to approach the city of Vienne, where the inhabitants were suspected of disaffection. The legion marched in the night, and left their fires burning. The consequence was a conflagration, by which a great part of the Turinian city was destroyed. The loss sustained by the inhabitants, like many other calamities of war, was soon obliterated by the ruin of other cities. The soldiers had scarce descended from the Alps, when they ordered the standard-bearers to march towards the colony of Vienne. The attempt, however, was prevented by the good sense of such as were observers of discipline, and the whole legion passed over into Britain.

LXVII. The prætorian cohorts gave no less disquietude to Vitellius. To break their force, he separated them first into small parties, and soon after discharged them from the service; professing, however, in order to soften resentment, that they were, by their length of service, entitled to an honourable dismission. They delivered up their arms to the tribunes; but, being informed that Vespasian was in motion, they assembled again, and proved the best support of the Flavian cause. The first legion of marines was ordered into Spain, that in repose and indolence their spirit might evaporate. The seventh and eleventh returned to their old winter-quarters. For the thirteenth employment was found in the building of two amphitheatres; one at Cremona, and the other at Bononia. In the former Cæcina was preparing to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and Valens in the latter; both wishing to gratify the taste of their master, whom, in the midst of arduous affairs, nothing could wean from his habitual pleasures.

LXVIII. By these measures the vanquished party was sufficiently weakened; but the spirit of the conquerors could not long endure a state of tranquillity. A quarrel broke out, in its origin slight and ridiculous, but attended with consequences that kindled the flame of war with redoubled fury. The occasion was as follows: Vitellius gave a banquet at Ticinum, and Verginius was of the party. The manners of the chiefs are ever sure to set the fashion for the tribunes and centurions. From the example of the officers, vice or virtue descends to the soldiers. In the army of Vitellius, all was disorder and confusion; a scene of drunken jollity, resembling a bacchanalian rout, rather than a camp, or a disciplined army. It happened that two soldiers, one belonging to the fifth legion, the other a native of Gaul, serving among the auxiliaries of that nation, challenged each other to a trial of skill in wrestling. The Roman was thrown; his antagonist exulted with an air of triumph; and the spectators who had gathered round them, were soon divided into parties.

The legions, provoked by the insolence of the Gaul, attacked the auxiliaries sword in hand. Two cohorts were cut to pieces. The sudden danger of another tumult put an end to the fray. A cloud of dust was seen at a distance, and, at intervals, the glittering of arms. A report was instantly spread, that the fourteenth legion was returning to offer battle; but the mistake was soon discovered. It was found, that the men who brought up the rear of the army were approaching. That circumstance being known, the tumult subsided, till one of the slaves of Verginius was observed by the soldiers. They seized the man, and, in their fury charged him with a design to assassinate Vitellius. With this notion in their heads, they rushed directly to the banqueting-room, and with rage and clamour demanded the immediate execution of Verginius. The emperor, though by nature addicted to suspicion, entertained no doubt of Verginius. He interposed to save his life, and with difficulty restrained the men, who thirsted for the blood of a consular commander, at one time their own general. It had ever been the fate of Verginius, more than of any other officer, to encounter the seditious spirit of the army. His character,

1 See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 For the Graian Alps, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

notwithstanding, was held in great esteem; his brilliant talents extorted admiration even from his enemies; but the moderation, with which he rejected the imperial dignity, was considered as an affront. The soldiers thought themselves despised, and from that moment resented the injury.

LXIX. On the following day, the deputies from the senate, who according to order attended at Ticinum, were admitted to an audience. That business over, Vitellius visited the camp, and, in a public harangue, expressed a lively sense of the zeal which the soldiers had exerted in his service. This proceeding roused the jealousy of the auxiliaries. They saw the insolence of the legionary soldiers, and the impunity with which they committed the most outrageous actions. It was to prevent the consequences of this dangerous jealousy, that the Batavian cohorts had been ordered back to Germany, the Fates even then preparing the seeds of a foreign [3] and a civil war. The allies from Gaul were also dismissed to their respective states; a vast unwieldy multitude, drawn together in the beginning of the revolt, not for actual service, but chiefly for vain parade, and to swell the pomp of a numerous army. The imperial revenues being well nigh exhausted, there was reason to apprehend a want of funds to answer the largesses of the prince. To prevent that distress, Vitellius ordered the complement of the legions and auxiliaries to be reduced, and no new levies to be made. Dismissions from the service were granted indiscriminately to all who applied. The policy was of the worst consequence to the commonwealth, and, at the same time, a grievance to the soldiers, who felt themselves oppressed by returns of military duty, too frequent for the scanty numbers that remained. Their fatigue increased, while their manners were debauched, and their vigour wasted, by the vices of a luxurious life, so different from the institutions of the old republic, when money was despised, and virtue was the energy of the state.

LXX. Vitellius proceeded to Cremona. Having there attended a spectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina, he was led by curiosity to the field of Bedriacum, in order to see on the spot the vestiges of his recent victory. The fields around presented a mournful spectacle. Forty days [4] had elapsed, and the plain was still covered with bodies, gashed and mangled; with broken limbs, and men and horses in one promiscuous carnage; clotted gore, and filth, and putrefaction; the trees cut down, and the fruits of the earth trampled under foot; the whole a dreary waste, the desolation of nature. The view of the high road was no less shocking to humanity. The people of Cremona, amidst the horrors that covered the face of the country, had strewed the way with roses and laurels, and had even raised altars, where victims were slain, as if a nation of slaves had been employed to adorn the triumph of a despotic prince. But these servile acts, with which an abject people rejoiced over human misery, in a short time after brought on their own destruction. Valens and Cæcina attended the emperor to the field. They pointed to the particular spots, where the stress of the battle lay: "Here the legions rushed on to the attack; there the cavalry bore down all before them; from that quarter the auxiliaries wheeled about, and surrounded the enemy." The tribunes and prefects of cohorts talked of their own exploits: and the truth, if they mingled any, was warped and disfigured by exaggeration. The common soldiers quitted the road, to mark the places where they had fought, and to survey the arms and dead bodies of the vanquished piled up in heaps. They viewed the scene with brutal joy, and wondered at the destruction they had made. Some, with generous sympathy, felt the lot of humanity, and tears gushed from every eye. Vitellius showed no symptom of compassion. He saw, without emotion, the bodies of Roman citizens unburied on the naked ground, and, with fell delight, offered a sacrifice to the deities of the place, little then suspecting the reverse of fortune which was soon to overtake himself.

LXXI. At Bononia, Fabius Valens exhibited a show of gladiators, with a pompous display of decorations, which he had ordered to be brought from Rome. In proportion as the emperor advanced towards the capital, riot and licentiousness grew still more outrageous. Players of interludes and a band of eunuchs mixed with the soldiers, and revived all the vices of Nero's court. Vitellius admired the manners of that shameful period; and wherever Nero went to display his voice and minstrelsy, he was sure to be one of his followers, not by compulsion, as was the case with men of integrity, but of his own motion, a willing sycophant, allured by his palate, and bribed by gluttony. In order to open the way for Valens and Cæcina to the honours of the consulship, the time of those in office [5] was abridged. Martius Macer,[6] who had been a general in Otho's party, was passed over in silence; and Valerius Marinus, who had been put in nomination by Galba, was also set aside, not for any charge alleged against him, but because, being a man of a passive temper, he was willing to acquiesce under every injury without

3 The foreign war was with the Batavians, under Civilis; the domestic, with Vespasian.

4 This was the 24th of May.

5 Valens and Cæcina entered on their joint consulship on the kalends of November. See Hist. i. s. 77, and note.

6 Martius Macer commanded Otho's gladiators on the banks of the Po. This book, s. 33.

a murmur. Pedanius Costa shared the same fate. He had taken an active part against Nero, and even endeavoured to excite the ambition of Verginius. He was, in fact, rejected for that offence, though other reasons were pretended. For this proceeding, Vitellius received public thanks: to acts of oppression, the servility of the times gave the name of wisdom.

LXXII. About this time a daring fraud was attempted, at first with rapid success, but in a short time totally defeated. A man of low condition thought he might emerge from obscurity, by taking upon him the name of Scribonianus Camerinus.[1] His story was, that, during the reign of Nero, to elude the fury of the times, he had lain concealed in Istria, where the followers of the ancient Crassi still occupied the lands of their former masters, and retained their veneration for that illustrious house. To carry on this ridiculous farce, the impostor engaged the vile and profligate in his interest. The vulgar, with their usual credulity, and the soldiers, either led into an error or excited by their love of innovation, joined in the plot. Their leader was seized, and brought into the presence of Vitellius. Being interrogated who and what he was, he was found to be a fugitive slave, of the name of Geta, recognised, as soon as seen, by his master. He was condemned to suffer the death of a slave,[2] in the manner inflicted by the law.

LXXIII. Advice was at length received from Syria and Judæa, that the East submitted to the new emperor. The pride with which Vitellius was bloated upon this occasion, is scarcely credible. Intelligence from that part of the world had been hitherto vague and uncertain; but Vespasian was in the mouths of men, and the rumour of the day filled the world with reports, that sometimes roused Vitellius from his lethargy. He started at the name of Vespasian. At length the cloud was blown over, and a rival was no longer dreaded. The emperor and his army plunged into every excess of cruelty, lust, and rapine, as if a foreign tyranny and foreign manners had overturned the empire.

LXXIV. Meanwhile Vespasian took a view of his own situation, and weighed with care all possible events. He considered the importance of the war, and made an estimate of his strength, the resource in his power, and the forces at a distance, as well as those that lay near at hand. The legions were devoted to his interest, insomuch that, when he showed himself the first to swear fidelity to Vitellius, and offer up vows for the prosperity of his reign, the soldiers marked their displeasure by a sullen silence. Mucianus was the friend of Titus, and by no means averse from the father. The prefect of Egypt, whose name was Alexander, was ready to promote the enterprise. The third legion, which had been removed from Syria to Mœsia, Vespasian considered as his own, and had, besides, good reason to hope, that the forces in Illyricum would enter into the confederacy. In fact, the armies, wherever stationed, were every day more and more incensed against the soldiers that came amongst them from the Vitellian party; a set of men, rough and horrid in their appearance, savage in their manners, and in their brutal discourse affecting to treat the legions of the East with contempt and derision. But, in an enterprise of such importance, it was natural to doubt, and hesitate. Vespasian remained for some time in a state of suspense, now elate with hope, and soon depressed with fear. "What an awful day must that be, when he should unsheath the sword, and commit himself, at the age of sixty, with his two sons[3] in the prime season of life, to the danger of a civil war! In undertakings of a private nature, men may advance or retreat, as they see occasion; but when the contest is for sovereign power, there is no middle course. You must conquer, or perish in the attempt."

LXXV. An officer of his experience was no stranger to the strength and valour of the German armies. "The legions under his command had not been tried in a war against their fellow-citizens, while, on the other hand, the Vitellians added to their experience all the pride of victory. The vanquished would, undoubtedly, be dissatisfied; but to murmur discontent was all that fortune left in their power. In the rage of civil war the common soldier renounces every honest principle; treachery becomes habitual; and every man who sets no value on his own life, holds the chief in his power. Cohorts of foot, and squadrons of horse, make a vain parade, if one intrepid villain, for the reward promised by the adverse party, may strike a sudden blow, and by a murder terminate the war. Such was the fate of Scribonianus[4] in the reign of Claudius: he was murdered by Volaginius, a common soldier, and the highest posts in the service were the wages of that desperate assassin. An army may be drawn up in order of battle, and to animate them to deeds of valour is not a difficult task: but the private ruffian is not easily avoided."

LXXVI. Such were the reflections that presented themselves to the mind of Vespasian. His friends and the principal officers endeavoured to fix his resolution. Mucianus lent his

1 Sulpicius Camerinus and his son were put to death by order of Helius, Nero's freedman, A. U. C. 820. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 9.

2 The slaves were condemned to suffer death on a cross.

3 Vespasian's two sons, Titus and Domitian.

4 Furius Camillus Scribonianus raised a rebellion in Dalmatia, in the reign of Claudius, and was soon after slain, A. U. C. 795.

aid, and, not content with private conferences, took a public opportunity to declare his sentiments, in effect as follows: "In all great and arduous undertakings, the questions of importance are, Is the enterprise for the good of the commonwealth? Will it do honour to the man who conducted it? And are the difficulties such as wisdom and valour may surmount? Nor is this all: the character of the man who advises the measure should be duly weighed: Is he willing to second the counsel which he gives, at the hazard of his life? What are his views? And who is to reap the reward of victory? It is Mucianus who now calls upon Vespasian; Mucianus invites you to imperial dignity; for the good of the commonwealth he invites you; for your own glory he exhorts you to undertake the enterprise. The gods are with you, and under them the rest depends upon yourself. The advice which I give is honest: there is no flattery in it. For let me ask, can it be flattery to prefer you to Vitellius? To be elected after such an emperor is rather a disgrace. With whom are we to contend? Not with the active mind of Augustus, nor with the craft of the politic Tiberius. Nor is it against Caligula, Claudius, or Nero, that we propose to rise in arms. They had a kind of hereditary right: their families were in possession of the sovereignty.

"Even Galba could boast of an illustrious line of ancestors, and for that reason you were willing to acknowledge his title. But in the present juncture, to remain inactive, and leave the commonwealth a prey to vice and infamy, were a desertion of the public, which nothing can excuse. Do you imagine that in a state of servitude you can find your own personal safety? Even in that case, submission would be attended with disgrace and infamy. But ambition is not now imputed to you for the first time: you have been long suspected, and nothing remains but vigorous enterprise. The sovereign power is your only refuge. Have we forgot the fate of Corbulo?[5] It may be said that the nobility of his birth (superior, it must be confessed, to you as well as myself) exposed him to danger. It may be so; but let it be remembered, that Nero towered above Vitellius: and remember besides, that, in the eyes of the person who lives in fear, the man who makes himself dreaded is illustrious. Do we doubt whether the armies can create an emperor? Vitellius furnishes the proof; a man without military fame, who never served a campaign, but owes his elevation, not to his own merit, but to Galba's want of popularity. His victory was not obtained by the ability of his generals, or the valour of his troops: Otho was conquered by his own hand: That precipitate action made Vitellius master of the Roman world, and, in return, the infamy of Vitellius gives a lustre to the name of Otho, insomuch that men regret that unfortunate prince.

"At present what is the conduct of our new emperor? He disbands the legions; he disarms the cohorts, and every day furnishes arms against himself. The ferocity of his soldiers, whatever it may have been, has long since evaporated in victualling-houses and drunken revelry. After the example of their master, the soldiers are dissolved in sloth and luxury. On the other hand, you have in Syria, Judea, and Egypt, no less than nine legions, all high in spirit, unimpaired by war, and not yet taught by sedition to renounce all regard for discipline. You have an army inured to the operations of war, and crowned with victory over the enemies of their country. You have a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, a naval armament, and powerful kings, all devoted to your cause. Above all, you have your own talents and your renown in arms.

LXXVII. "To myself I arrogate nothing: yet let me not be thought inferior to Valens or Cæcina. If Mucianus does not aspire to be your rival, you will not therefore think meanly of him. Willing to yield to Vespasian, I claim precedence of Vitellius. Your house has been distinguished by triumphal honours;[6] you have two sons, and one of them[7] is already equal to the weight of empire. The German armies saw him give an earnest of his future character. Were I this very moment possessed of the sovereign power, I should call Titus my son by adoption; with propriety, therefore, I yield to his father. The enterprise, to which I exhort you, will not, in its consequences, be the same to us both. If we succeed, the honours which I may receive must flow from you: in toil and danger I am willing to be your rival; or, if you will (and it is the best expedient), remain here to issue your orders, and leave me to conduct the war.

"The troops that lately conquered are by no means formidable. In the vanquished party there is more order and better discipline. The latter, stung with shame and indignation, are burning for revenge. All motives conspire to inflame their ardour. The Vitellians, on the contrary, intoxicated with success, and elate with pride, disdain all rules of subordination. They are undone by luxury. Their wounds, as yet scarcely closed, will open in a new war and bleed afresh. My dependence, it is true, must be upon your vigilance, your economy, your wisdom; but I expect no less advantage from the

5 Corbulo was put to death by Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 11.

6 In the reign of Claudius, Vespasian had obtained triumphal ornaments for his conduct in Britain. Suet. in Vesp. s. 4.

7 Titus had served in the rank of military tribune in Britain as well as Germany, and gave early proofs of the modest merit that distinguished his character. Suet. in Tito, s. 4.

ignorance, the stupidity, and cruel disposition of Vitellius. In a word, war must be our choice; to us it is safer than peace, for we have already deliberated; and he who deliberates, has rebelled."

LXXVIII. By this animating speech all who assisted at the council were inspired with new confidence. They pressed round Vespasian, exhorting him to undertake the enterprise; they recalled to his memory the responses of oracles,[1] and the predictions of men skilled in judicial astrology. Nor was Vespasian untinctured with that superstition. Even afterwards, when possessed of the supreme authority, he retained a mathematician named Seleucus, to assist his councils with his insight into future events. A number of prognostics, that occurred to him in his youth, came fresh in his mind. He recollected a cypress-tree of prodigious size, on his own estate, that fell suddenly to the ground, and, on the following day, rose on the same spot, and flourished in new strength and verdure. This was considered by the interpreters of prodigies as an early prelude to future grandeur. At length, having obtained triumphal honours, together with the consular rank, when he had conducted the war against the Jews with such rapid success, the prediction seemed to be verified; and, thus encouraged, he looked from that eminence to higher elevation, and even to the imperial dignity. Between Syria and Judea stands a mountain, known by the name of MOUNT CARMEL,[2] on the top of which a god is worshipped, under no other title than that of the place, and, according to ancient usage, without a temple, or even a statue. An altar is erected in the open air, and there adoration is paid to the presiding deity. On this spot Vespasian offered a sacrifice. In the midst of the ceremony, while his mind expanded with vast ideas, Basilides, the officiating priest, examined the entrails of the victims, and, in his prophetic manner addressing himself to Vespasian, "Whatever," he said, "are your designs, whether to build a mansion, to enlarge your estate, or increase the number of your slaves, the Fates prepare for you a vast and magnificent seat, with an immense territory, and a prodigious multitude of men." This prediction, though involved in mysterious language, was spread abroad at the time, and now received a favourable interpretation. The story gathered strength among the populace, and in conversation with Vespasian was the favourite topic of his friends, who thought they could not enlarge too much on the subject, while the passions of the hearer stood ready to receive their advice.

LXXIX. Mucianus and Vespasian settled their plan, and took leave of each other: the former went to Antioch, the capital of Syria, and the latter to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Judæa. The first public step towards creating Vespasian emperor of Rome, was taken at Alexandria in Egypt: Tiberius Alexander, the prefect of the province, eager to show his zeal, administered the oath to the legions under his command. The ceremony was performed on the calends of July, and that day was ever after celebrated as the first of Vespasian's reign, though the army in Judea swore fidelity on the fifth before the nones of the same month, in the presence of Vespasian himself. Titus was then on his way from Syria with despatches from Mucianus, but the impatience of the men could not brook the delay of waiting for the emperor's son. The whole transaction originated with the soldiers, and was hurried on with such violent impetuosity, that the business was finished without any public harangue, and even without a previous assembly of the legions.

LXXX. For this great revolution no arrangement was made; no time, no place was fixed; nor was it known who was to be the author of the measure. In this state of uncertainty, while every bosom panted with hope and fear, and the motives to the revolt, with all the dangers that might ensue, kept the army in agitation, a small number of soldiers, who mounted guard near the apartment of the general, no sooner saw him coming forth from his chamber, than with one voice they saluted him by the title of Emperor. The whole body followed their example. They pressed forward in crowds, calling him by the name of Cæsar, styling him Augustus, and conferring every other title of imperial grandeur. Vespasian balanced no longer. His fears subsided, and he now resolved to pursue the road of ambition. Even in this tide of his affairs he still preserved the equal tenour of his mind, free from arrogance, and such in his manners as he had always been. The new man never appeared. The change, as was natural, dazzled his imagination; but he took time to allay the hurry of his spirits, and then calmly addressed the men in the language of a soldier. He was heard with shouts of applause. Mucianus waited for this event. On the first intelligence, he declared for Vespasian, and the soldiers with alacrity took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor. That business over, Mucianus went to the theatre of Antioch, where the inhabitants were used to hold their public debates. He found a crowded meeting, and was received with acclamations.

He harangued the multitude, and his speech, though in Greek, was eloquent. In that language he had acquired sufficient facility, and he possessed, besides, the happy art[3] of giving grace

1 For a number of oracles and prodigies, see Suet. in Vesp. s. 5 and 7.

2 For Mount Carmel, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

3 In this passage Tacitus perhaps had his eye upon

and dignity to whatever he uttered. He inflamed the passions not only of the army, but also of the province, by asserting roundly, "that it was a fixed point with Vitellius, to quarter the German troops in the delightful region of Syria, that, in a rich and plentiful province, they might grow wanton in ease and luxury; while, in exchange, the legions of Syria were to be removed to cold encampments in Germany, there to endure the inclemency of the weather, and the rigours of the service." The natives of the province had lived in habits of friendship with the legions, and, by intermarriages, had formed family connexions. The soldiers, on their part, were naturalized in the country, and the stations to which they were accustomed, were, by long residence, grown as dear to them as their native home.

LXXXI. Before the ides of July, the whole province of Syria acceded to Vespasian. His party was further strengthened by Sohemus,[4] who joined the league with the whole weight of his kingdom, and also by Antiochus, who inherited immense treasures from his ancestors, and was, of all the kings who submitted to the authority of Rome, the most rich and powerful. Agrippa, who was then at Rome, received private expresses from the East, requesting his presence in his own country. He departed, before Vitellius had any intelligence, and by a quick navigation passed over into Asia. Queen Berenice, at that time flourishing in the bloom of youth, and no less distinguished by the graces of her person, espoused the interest of Vespasian, to whom, notwithstanding his advanced age, she had made herself agreeable by magnificent presents. The several maritime provinces, with Asia and Achaia, and the whole inland country between Pontus and the two Armenias, entered into the general confederacy; but from the governors of those provinces no forces could be expected, as they were not, at that time, strengthened by the legions stationed in Cappadocia. To settle the plan of operation, a grand council was held at Berytus.[5] Mucianus attended. He was accompanied by a train of officers tribunes, and centurions, and a considerable body of soldiers, selected to swell the pomp and grandeur of the scene. From Judæ the most distinguished officers went to the meeting, with the flower of their troops. An assembly, consisting of such a numerous train of horse and foot, and of eastern kings, who vied with each other in splendour and magnificence, presented a spectacle worthy of the imperial dignity.

LXXXII. The first and most important object was to raise recruits, and recall the veterans to the service. In all the strong and fortified cities, workmen were appointed for the forging of arms, and a mint for gold and silver coin was established at Antioch. The whole was carried on with diligence, under the direction of proper inspectors. Vespasian visited every quarter, by his presence giving spirit and animation to the cause. He encouraged the industrious by the warmth of his commendations; he roused the inactive by his example, and succeeded more by gentle methods than by the rigour of authority. To the failings of his friends he was often blind, but never to their virtues. He advanced some to the administration of provinces, and others to the rank of senators; all men of distinguished character, who rose afterwards to eminence in the state. There were others who owed their success more to their good fortune, than to their merit. Mucianus in his first harangue made incidental mention of a donative, but in guarded terms; nor did Vespasian, though engaged in a civil war, grant at any time a larger bounty than had been usual in times of profound peace. He chose that his soldiers should act on principles of honour, not from motives of bribery and corruption. To that firmness he owed the good order and regular discipline of his army. Ambassadors were sent to the courts of Parthia and Armenia in order to settle a mutual good understanding, that, when the legions marched forward to open the campaign, the back settlements should not be exposed to sudden incursions of the enemy. Titus was to remain in Judæa,[6] to complete the conquest of that country, while Vespasian made himself master of the passes into Egypt. To make head against Vitellius, part of the army was deemed sufficient, under the conduct of such a general as Mucianus, with the additional terror of Vespasian's name, and the Fates on his side superior to every difficulty. Letters were despatched to the several armies, and the officers in command, with instructions to conciliate the prætorian soldiers, who had been disbanded by Vitellius, and, by a promise that all should be restored to their rank, to invite them once more into the service.

LXXXIII. Mucianus, with the appearance rather of an associate in the sovereign power, than of a general officer, advanced at the head of a light-armed detachment, never lingering in the course of his progress, that delay might not be thought a symptom of irresolution; and, on

the character of Scipio, as drawn by Livy. *Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quadam ab juventa in ostentationem earum compositus.* Livy, lib. xxvi. s. 19.

4 Sohemus, king of the country called *Sophene.* Annals, xiii. s. 7. Antiochus, king of Commagene. Annals, xii. s. 55. Agrippa II. king of part of Judæa. Annals, xiii. s. 7. Berenice, sister to Agrippa, famous for her love of Titus. See Appendix to Hist. v.

5 For Berytus, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

6 For the conduct of Titus, and the progress of his arms against the Jews, see Appendix to Hist. v. s. 21.

the other hand, not proceeding by rapid marches, that fame might fly before him, and spread the terror of his approach. He knew the weakness of his numbers, and that danger at a distance is always magnified. He was followed by the sixth legion, and thirteen thousand veterans, forming together a considerable army. The fleet at Pontus had orders to assemble at Byzantium. That station was thought convenient, as Mucianus had not yet determined, whether he should not avoid the territory of Mæsia, and proceed in force to Dyrrhachium; while his naval armament commanded the seas of Italy, and, by consequence, protected the coasts of Achaia and Asia against the attempts of Vitellius, who, in that case, would not only see Brundisium and Tarentum in danger, but also the whole coast of Calabria and Lucania kept in a constant alarm.

LXXXIV. Throughout the provinces nothing was heard but the din and bustle of warlike preparations. Soldiers were assembling, ships were preparing for sea, and the clink of armourers resounded in every quarter. How to raise supplies of money was the chief difficulty. Pecuniary funds, Mucianus used to say, were the sinews of war. For this purpose, in all questions touching the sum demanded, he regarded neither the truth nor the justice of the case. To be rich was to be liable to taxation, and money was to be raised in all events. Informations followed without number, and confiscations without mercy. Oppressive as these proceedings were, the necessity of the times gave a colourable excuse; but the misfortune was, the practice did not cease with the war, but continued, in the season of profound peace, to harass and oppress mankind. Vespasian, in the beginning of his reign, showed no disposition to enrich his coffers by acts of injustice; but, being corrupted afterwards by the smiles of fortune, and listening to pernicious counsels, he learned the arts of rapacity, and dared to practise them.[1] Mucianus, from his own funds, contributed to the exigencies of the war, generous from his private purse, that he might afterwards indemnify himself at the expense of the public. The rest of the officers, following his example, advanced sums of money, but were not, in like manner, repaid with usury.

LXXXV. Vespasian, in the mean time, saw his affairs assume a promising aspect. The army in Illyricum went over to his interest. In Mæsia the third legion revolted, and drew after them the eighth, and also the seventh, called the Claudian; both devoted to Otho, though not engaged in the action at Bedriacum. Before the battle, they had advanced as far as Aquileia; and being at that place informed of a total overthrow, they assaulted the messengers who brought the news; broke to shivers the standards that displayed the name of Vitellius; plundered the military chests; and, having divided the spoil, proceeded to every act of outrage and sedition. Conscious of that offence, and dreading the punishment that might follow, they consulted together, and clearly saw, that what they had done required a pardon from Vitellius, but with Vespasian stood in the light of real merit. To strengthen their cause, they sent despatches to the army in Pannonia, inviting them to join the league; determined, if they did not comply, to compel them by force of arms. In this juncture, Apronius Saturninus,[2] governor of Mæsia, conceived the design of perpetrating a barbarous murder. Under colour of public zeal, but with malice festering at his heart, he despatched a centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, who commanded the seventh legion. That officer had timely notice. He provided himself with guides, who knew the course of the country, and escaped through devious tracks as far as Mount Hæmus. From that time, he took no part in the civil war. He affected often to be on the point of setting out to join Vespasian; but delayed his journey, at times seeming eager to depart, then doubting, hesitating, waiting for intelligence, and, during the whole war, resolving without decision.

LXXXVI. In Pannonia, the thirteenth legion, and the seventh, called the Galbian, embraced the interest of Vespasian. They still remembered, with indignation, their defeat at Bedriacum, and the influence of Antonius Primus proved a powerful instigation. That officer, convicted of forgery[3] in the reign of Nero, remained obnoxious to the laws, till, among the evils that spring from civil dissension, he rose from infamy to his senatorian rank. He was advanced by Galba to the command of the seventh legion, and, according to report, offered himself to Otho, desiring, by letters, the rank of general against his benefactor. Otho paid no attention to the proposal, and, by consequence, Antonius remained inactive. In the present juncture, seeing a storm ready to burst upon Vitellius, he veered round to Vespasian, and became the grand support of the party. To his vices he united great and useful qualities: brave and valiant, he possessed uncommon eloquence; an artful and insidious enemy, he had the art of involving others in danger; in popular insurrections, a bold and turbulent leader; at once a

1 Vespasian, in the height of his power, did not scruple to raise large sums of money by severe exactions; but the apology for his avarice was the liberal spirit with which he adorned Rome and Italy with grand and useful works. See Suet. in Vesp. s. 16.

2 For Apronius Saturninus and Tertius Julianus, see Hist. i. s. 79.

3 Primus Antonius, now the leader of Vespasian's armies, was formerly convicted of extortion. See Annals, xiv. s. 18.

plunderer and a prodigal, what he gained by rapine he squandered in corruption; during the calm season of peace, a pernicious citizen; in war, an officer not to be neglected.

The armies of Mæsia and Pannonia formed a junction, and drew the forces of Dalmatia into the revolt. The consular governors of those provinces were neutral on the occasion; they took no share in the business, nor did the soldiers wait for their direction. Titus Ampius Flavianus ruled in Pannonia, and Poppæus Silvanus in Dalmatia; both rich, and advanced in years. Cornelius Fuscus, descended from illustrious ancestors, and then in the vigour of life, was, at the same time, imperial procurator. In his youth he had resigned his senatorian rank, to seek in solitude a retreat from public business. Joining afterwards with Galba, he drew forth, in support of that emperor, the strength of his own colony, and for his services obtained the post of procurator. In the present commotions, he declared for Vespasian; and, by his ardent spirit, gave life and vigour to the cause. Self-interest did not mix with the motives that determined his conduct. His pride was in the field of action. He gloried in facing danger, and despised the reward of merit. War was his passion; and, though possessed of an ample fortune, he preferred a life of enterprise to indolence and his own personal safety. He acted in concert with Antonius Primus, and both exerted themselves to kindle the flame of war in every quarter. Where they saw a discontented spirit, they were sure to increase it by infusions of their own venom. They sent despatches to the fourteenth legion in Britain, and to the first in Spain, knowing that both had favoured the cause of Otho against Vitellius. Their letters were spread all over Gaul, and, by their joint efforts, the Roman world was roused to arms. The forces in Illyricum declared for Vespasian; and in other parts, as soon as the first blow was struck, the troops stood ready to take the field.

LXXXVII. While Vespasian and the leaders of his party were thus employed in concerting measures throughout the provinces, Vitellius, sunk in sloth, and growing every day more contemptible, advanced by slow marches towards the city of Rome. In all the villas and municipal towns through which he passed, carousing festivals were sufficient to retard a man abandoned to his pleasures. He was followed by an unwieldy multitude, not less than sixty thousand men in arms, all corrupted by a life of debauchery. The number of retainers and followers of the army was still greater, all disposed to riot and insolence, even beyond the natural bent of the vilest slaves. To these must be added a train of officers and servile courtiers, too haughty to be restrained within due bounds, even though the chief had practised the strictest discipline. The crowd was still increased by a conflux of senators and Roman knights who came from Rome to greet the prince on his way; some impelled by fear, others to pay their court, and numbers, not to be thought sullen or disaffected. All went with the current. The populace rushed forth in crowds, accompanied by an infamous band of pimps, of players, buffoons, and charioteers, by their utility in vicious pleasures all well known and dear to Vitellius. Such were the disgraceful connexions of the emperor, and he enjoyed them without a blush. To supply so vast a body with provisions, the colonies and municipal cities were exhausted; the fruits of the earth, then ripe and fit for use, were carried off; the husbandman was plundered; and his land, as if it were an enemy's country, was laid waste and ruined.

LXXXVIII. The fierce animosity that broke out at Ticinum between the legions and the auxiliaries, was not yet extinguished. Frequent quarrels occurred, and ended always in mutual slaughter. Against the peasants and farmers they were sure to be unanimous, but agreed in nothing else. The most dreadful carnage happened within seven miles of Rome. At that place Vitellius ordered victuals, ready dressed, to be distributed among the soldiers, as if he had prepared a feast to pamper a band of gladiators. The common people, who had come in crowds from Rome, were dispersed through the camp. To divert themselves with what they thought an arch and pleasant trick, they cut away the belts of the soldiers, and with an air of humour asked, whether they were properly accoutred. The soldiers had no taste for raillery. They retaliated with their weapons, and fell with fury on the defenceless multitude. Among the slain was the father of one of the soldiers, killed as he stood engaged in conversation with his son. The unhappy victim was soon known; and, by that incident, the further effusion of blood was prevented. Rome, in the meantime, was thrown into consternation. A number of soldiers entered the city in a tumultuous manner, and rushed forward to the forum, impatient to see the spot where Galba perished. Covered with the skins of savage beasts, and wielding large and massy spears, the spectacle which they exhibited to the Roman citizens was fierce and hideous. Unused to crowded streets, they had not the skill to conduct themselves amidst a vast concourse of people, but with rude force pushed against the passengers; and sometimes slipping down, or, as might happen, thrown by the pressure of the throng, they rose hastily to resent what was no more than an accident, and from abusive language proceeded sword in hand to the most violent outrages. The tribunes and centurions, at the head of their troops of cavalry, paraded the streets in a warlike

manner, and spread a general panic through the city.

LXXXIX. Vitellius himself, in his military apparel, mounted on a superb horse, advanced from the Milvian bridge, while the senate and the people pressed on before him to make way for their new master. His friends, however, remonstrated against his making a public entry in a military style, like a conqueror marching into a city taken by storm. He conformed to their advice, and, having put on his senatorian robe, made his entry in a pacific manner. His troops followed in regular order. The eagles of four legions led the way, with an equal number of standards on each side. The colours of twelve squadrons of horse were displayed with great pomp. The infantry followed, and after them the cavalry. The procession was closed by four and thirty cohorts, distinguished by the arms and habits of their respective nations. The prefects of the camp, the tribunes, and principal centurions, arrayed in white, preceded their several eagles. The rest of the officers marched at the head of their companies. The blaze of arms and rich apparel added splendour to the scene. The burnished collars of the common men, and the trappings of the horses, glittered to the eye, while the whole presented a magnificent spectacle, worthy of a better emperor. In this manner Vitellius proceeded to the capitol, and there, embracing his mother, saluted her by the name of Augusta.

XC. On the following day, Vitellius delivered a public harangue, and spoke of himself in magnificent terms, as if he had for his audience the senate and people of a foreign city. He assumed the virtues of industry and temperance; never considering, that he was in the hearing of men who had seen his vices, and that every part of Italy, through which he had passed, had known and felt his abandoned profligacy. The populace, as usual, knowing neither truth nor falsehood, and indifferent about both, paid their tribute of flattery with noise and uproar. They pressed him to accept the title of Augustus; he declined it for some time, but the voice of the rabble prevailed. He yielded to their importunity; but his compliance was useless, and the honour was of short duration.

XCI. In a city where superstition interpreted every thing, the first act of Vitellius, in the character of sovereign pontiff, was considered as an omen that portended mischief. He issued an edict concerning the rites and ceremonies of religion, dated the fifteenth before the calends of August, a day rendered inauspicious by two victories formerly obtained over the armies of Rome; one at Cremera;[2] and the other at Allia. But Vitellius was unacquainted with the antiquities of his country. He knew nothing of laws, either human or divine. The same stupidity possessed his friends and his band of freedmen. The whole court seemed to be in a state of intoxication. In the assemblies held for the election of consuls,[3] Vitellius assumed nothing above the rights of a citizen. He behaved to the candidates on a footing of equality. He attended in the theatre, giving his applause as a common spectator, and in the circus mixing with the factions of the populace. By those arts he tried to gain the suffrages of the electors; arts, it must be acknowledged, often practised, and, when subservient to honest purposes, not to be condemned. But in a man like Vitellius, whose former life was too well known,[4] the artifice served only to sink him into contempt.

He went frequently to the senate, even on frivolous occasions, when the subject of debate was altogether uninteresting. In that assembly Helvidius Priscus,[5] prætor elect, happened to differ from the opinion of the emperor. Vitellius took fire in the moment, but checking himself in time, called upon the tribunes of the people to support his authority. His friends, apprehending the consequences of a deep and smothered resentment, interposed their good offices to soften prejudices. His answer was, "Nothing new has happened: two senators have differed in opinion: and is not that a common occurrence? I have myself often opposed the sentiments of Thrasea."[6] The allusion to a character so truly eminent provoked a smile of contempt. Some, however, were glad to find, that, instead of the men who glittered in the sunshine of a court, he chose Thrasea for the model of true greatness.

XCII. Publius Sabinus, the prefect of a cohort, and Julius Priscus, a centurion, were advanced from those inferior stations to the command of the prætorian guards. The former owed his elevation to the friendship of Valens, and the latter to that of Cæcina. By those two ministers, though always at variance with each other, the whole power of the state was usurped

1 Vitellius's mother, Sextilia. See this book, s. 64.

2 The defeat at Cremera, a river in Tuscany (now *La Varca*), was A. U. C. 277. At Allia (now *Terrenti di Catino*) the Roman army was put to the sword by the Gauls, under Brennus, A. U. C. 364. The slaughter was so great, that the day on which it happened (*Dies Alliensis*) was marked as unlucky in the calendar, and, according to Cicero, thought more fatal than that on which the city of Rome was taken.

3 The assemblies in which the consuls were created, are mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 11. For the manner in which that business was conducted by the emperor Trajan, see Pliny's Panegyric, s. 63.

4 Vitellius, in the time of Nero, passed his time among pantomime-actors, charioteers, and wrestlers. Suet. in Vitel. s. 4 and 12.

5 Helvidius Priscus: often mentioned, Annals, xii. xiii. xvi.; and Life of Agricola, s. 2, note.

6 Pætus Thrasea, Annals, xiv. s. 12; xvi. s. 21; Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 1.

and exercised. The authority of the emperor was merely nominal: Valens and Cæcina transacted every thing. Their mutual animosity, which had been suppressed during the war, but not extinguished, broke out at Rome with redoubled violence. Their friends, with officious care, envenomed the minds of the rival statesmen, and the various factions that for ever distract the city of Rome, furnished every day new materials to inflame their jealousy. They vied with each other for pre-eminence, and by intrigue, by cabal, by their train of followers, and their crowded levees, endeavoured to manifest their superiority; while Vitellius wavered between both, and, as his inclinations shifted, the balance changed alternately from one to the other. Their authority exceeded all bounds, and was therefore, like all ill-gotten power, uncertain and precarious. They saw the caprice that marked the character of Vitellius, one moment inflamed with anger, and the next lavish of his favours. Neither of the ministers could be sure of fixing the affections of his master, and both despised and feared him.

Nothing, however, could satisfy their rapacity: they seized houses, gardens, and the whole wealth of the empire; while a number of illustrious men, whom Galba had recalled from banishment, were left to languish in distress and poverty. Their situation awakened no compassion in the breast of the emperor. He restored them, it is true, to their rights over their freedmen; and, by that act of justice, not only gratified the senators and other grandees of the city, but also gained the applause of the populace. But even this show of benignity was rendered useless by the low cunning that marks the genius of slavery. To evade the claims of their patrons, the freedmen concealed their wealth in obscure places, or else deposited it in the custody of the great. Some of them contrived to insinuate themselves into the imperial family, and, there growing into favour, looked down with pride and insolence on their disappointed masters.

XCIII. The multitude of soldiers was so enormous, that the camp overflowed, and poured the redundant numbers into the city; a wild disorderly band, who fixed their station in the public porticos, and even in the temples. The men wandered about the streets of Rome, so utterly careless, that they forgot where they were quartered. Having no regular place of rendezvous, and performing no kind of duty, they gave themselves up to the dissolute manners of the city, and the practice of vices too foul to be named. In this course of life, their bodily strength decayed; the vigour of their minds was sunk in sloth, and their health entirely neglected. They chose for their abode the most vile and infamous places in the neighbourhood of the Vatican,[7] where they contracted diseases, till an epidemic distemper began to rage amongst them. A dreadful mortality followed. The Gauls and Germans suffered most by their own imprudence. Infected with disorders, inflamed with fevers, and being naturally impatient of heat, they plunged into the Tiber, which unluckily was near at hand, and took delight in cooling their limbs; which proved a remedy as bad as the disease. The confusion introduced by another circumstance, proved the bane of the army. It was thought advisable to raise sixteen cohorts[8] for the prætorian camp, and four for the city, each to consist of a thousand men. This measure, by cabals among the soldiers, and the jealousy subsisting between the two commanding officers, was the ruin of all discipline. Valens arrogated to himself the chief direction of the business. He had relieved Cæcina and his army, and on that account claimed pre-eminence. The Vitellian party had certainly gained no advantage over the enemy, till the arrival of Valens gave life and vigour to the cause. If the slowness of his march was at first liable to censure, the victory that followed made ample atonement, and redeemed the character of the general. The soldiers from the Lower Germany were to a man devoted to his interest. It was upon this occasion, according to the general opinion, that Cæcina first began to meditate the treachery, which he afterwards carried into execution.

XCIV. The indulgence shown by Vitellius to his principal officers was exceeded by nothing but the licentiousness of the common soldiers. Each man enrolled himself in what company he thought proper, and chose his own station in the service. Some preferred the city cohorts; and without considering merit or fitness for that employment, their wish was gratified. Others, who ought to have been selected, were suffered, at their own will and pleasure, to continue in the legions or the cavalry. This was the choice of numbers, who had impaired their constitutions, and were therefore willing to remove from the sultry heats of Italy to a more temperate climate. By these arrangements, the main strength of the legions and the cavalry was drafted away. A motley body of twenty thousand men was formed out of the whole army, without choice or judgment. The consequence was, that the camp retained neither the strength nor the beauty of military system.

Vitellius thought fit to harangue the soldiers. In the midst of his speech, a clamour broke out, demanding the execution of Asiaticus, and of

7 The lands round the Vatican were covered with stagnated water, and the air, of course, was unwholesome. St. Peter's church stands there at present; but Brotier says the cardinals never reside in that quarter.

8 Before the augmentation, the prætorian cohorts (that is, those that were encamped near Rome) were only nine; the city-guard consisted of three, called *Cohortes Urbanæ*. Annals, iv. s. 5.

Flavius and Rufinus, who had been commanders in Gaul, and listed on the side of Vindex. Nor did Vitellius endeavour to appease the tumult. From his sluggish temper nothing like firmness or authority could be expected. He knew that the time for discharging the promised donative was drawing near; and having no funds to answer the expectation of the soldiers, he thought it his best policy to atone by mean compliances for that deficiency. In order, however, to raise supplies, a tax was imposed on all the freedmen of former emperors, to be collected in proportion to the number of their slaves. To squander with wild profusion, was the only use of money known to Vitellius. He built a set of stables for the charioteers, and kept in the circus a constant spectacle of gladiators and wild beasts; in this manner dissipating with prodigality, as if his treasury overflowed with riches.

XCV. Cæcina and Valens resolved to celebrate the birth-day[1] of their master with all demonstrations of joy. They gave a show of gladiators in every quarter of the city, with a display of pomp and magnificence beyond all example. Vitellius resolved to solemnize the obsequies of Nero. He erected altars to that emperor in the field of Mars. The sight was highly pleasing to the vile and profligate, but gave disgust to all who had any principle, or a spark of remaining virtue. Victims were slain, fires were kindled, and the torch was carried by the Augustan priests; an order dedicated by Tiberius to the Julian family, in imitation of that consecrated by Romulus to Tatius[2] the Sabine king. From the victory at Bedriacum four months had not elapsed; and yet, in that short time, Asiaticus, the manumitted slave of the emperor, had already accumulated riches nothing short of the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and others of the servile race, whose names have been given up to the execration of mankind. The court of Vitellius was not the scene of honest emulation. No man endeavoured to rise by his virtue or his talents. The road to preferment was open to vice and luxury. He who entertained the prince in the gayest manner, and with sumptuous banquets glutted that craving appetite, was sure to be in favour. To enjoy the present hour, and seize with avidity the pleasures near at hand, was the whole occupation of Vitellius. Future events and distant consequences gave him no solicitude. He is said to have dissipated in a few months no less than nine millions of sesterces. Such was the sad condition of Rome; a great yet miserable city, obliged, in the space of one year, to groan under the yoke of an Otho and a Vitellius; and still worse, to suffer the depredations of Vinius, Valens, Icelus, and Asiaticus, till the people were at length transferred, like a herd of slaves, to Mucianus and Marcellus.[3] New men succeeded, but the measures were still the same.

XCVI. The first intelligence of a revolt, that reached the ear of Vitellius, was that of the third legion in Illyricum. The account was sent by Aponius Saturninus, before that officer had formed his resolution to join Vespasian. His despatches, made up in the first tumult of surprise, did not state the whole of the mischief. The creatures of the court, to soothe their master, endeavoured to palliate every circumstance. They called it the seditious spirit of one legion only, while every other army preserved unshaken fidelity, and there was, therefore, no danger to be apprehended. Vitellius addressed the soldiers to the same effect. He added that the prætorians, lately disbanded, were the authors of false reports, fabricated with a seditious intent to disturb the public peace: but still there was no reason to fear a civil war. He made no mention of Vespasian; and, to suppress all talk among the populace, a band of soldiers had orders to parade the streets. The policy, however, did not answer the end. Silence was commanded, and the people talked with greater freedom.

XCVII. Despatches were, notwithstanding, sent to Germany, to Spain, and Britain, for a supply of men; but, as Vitellius wished to conceal the urgency of his affairs, his orders were not decisive, and, by consequence, the governors of the provinces were in no haste to obey. Hordeonius Flaccus,[4] who commanded on the banks of the Rhine, having reason to fear the designs of the Batavians, expected to have a war upon his hands,[5] and therefore thought it prudent not to diminish his force. In Britain, Vectius Bolanus was kept in a constant alarm by the restless genius of the natives. At the same time, those two officers began to balance between Vitellius and Vespasian. Spain showed no alacrity. That country, left without a governor of proconsular authority, was under the direction of three commanders of legions, all equal in rank, and all willing, as long as Vitellius flourished in prosperity, to hold their employments under him, but in the day of distress ready to

1 The birth-day of Vitellius is left uncertain. Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 3, says it was the eighth of the calends of October, or, according to others, the seventh of the ides of September, in the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. C. 768.

2 An order of priests was established by Romulus in honour of Tatius the Sabine king, A. U. C. 7. Annals, 1. s. 54.

3 Mucianus was the active partisan of Vespasian (this book, s. 76.) Eprius Marcellus, a man who raised himself by his flagitious deeds (Annals, xvi. s. 28,) was the favourite minister under Vespasian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

4 Hordeonius Flaccus was appointed by Galba to the command on the Upper Rhine, in the room of Verginius Rufus. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

5 For the war in which Flaccus was engaged with Civilis, the Batavian chief, see Hist. iv. s. 18.

abandon his cause. Affairs in Africa wore a better aspect. The legion and the cohorts, which had been raised in that country by Clodius Macer, and disbanded by Galba, were again embodied by order of Vitellius, and the young men of the nation went in crowds to be enrolled in the service. The fact was, Vitellius and Vespasian had been proconsuls in Africa: the former governed with moderation, and was remembered with gratitude; the latter incurred the hatred of the people.[6] From past transactions, the province and the allies in the neighbourhood formed their idea of what they had to expect under the reign of either of them: but the event convinced them of their error.

XCVIII. The exertions in Africa were at first carried on with vigour. Valerius Festus, the governor of the province, co-operated with the zeal of the people, but in a short time began to waver between the contending parties. In his letters and public edicts he stood firm for Vitellius; his secret correspondence favoured Vespasian; and, by this duplicity, he hoped, in the end, to make terms for himself with the conqueror. In Rhætia and the adjacent parts of Gaul, certain emissaries, employed by Vespasian's friends, were seized with letters and proclamations in their possession. They were sent to Vitellius, and by his order put to death. Others, by their own address, or the protection of their friends, escaped detection. The consequence was, that the measures adopted by Vitellius were known to the opposite party, while those of Vespasian remained an impenetrable secret. The stupidity of Vitellius gave the enemy this advantage in the outset. Afterwards, when the passes over the Pannonian Alps[7] were secured by a chain of posts, all intelligence by land was entirely cut off; and by sea, the Etesian winds, that favoured the navigation to the east, were adverse to the homeward voyage.

XCIX. Vitellius, finding that the advanced parties of the enemy had made an irruption into Italy, and news big with danger arriving from every quarter, gave orders to his generals to take the field without delay. Cæcina undertook the command, while Valens, who was just risen from a sick bed, remained at Rome for the recovery of his health. The German forces, marching out of the city, exhibited an appearance very different from the ferocity of their first approach. Their strength wasted; their vigour of mind depressed; their numbers thin; their horses slow and lifeless; their arms an incumbrance; and the men drooping under the heat of the season, overpowered by the dust, and unable to endure the weather, presented to all who beheld their march, a languid, spiritless, and dejected army; averse from labour, and, for that reason, ready to revolt.

The character of Cæcina must be taken into the account. Ambition was his ruling passion; sloth and indolence, the effect of success and luxury, were vices newly contracted; or perhaps meditating even then a stroke of perfidy, it was part of his plan to countenance whatever tended to impair the vigour of the army. The revolt of this commander has been ascribed by various writers to Flavius Sabinus, who had the address, by the means of Rubrius Gallus, his intermediate agent, to seduce Cæcina to the interest of his brother, under positive assurances that the terms stipulated between them would be ratified by Vespasian. The jealousy subsisting between Cæcina and Valens had its effect on the mind of an aspiring chief, who saw his rival in the highest credit with Vitellius, and was, therefore, easily persuaded to merit the protection of a new prince.

C. Cæcina took leave of Vitellius, and received at parting the highest marks of distinction. He sent forward a detachment of the cavalry to take possession of Cremona. The veterans of the fourteenth[8] and sixteenth legions followed, and after them the fifth and twenty-second. The rear was closed by the twenty-first, distinguished by the name of Rapax, and the first legion called the Italic, with the vexillaries of three British legions, and the flower of the auxiliary forces. Cæcina was no sooner set out on his expedition, than Valens sent directions to the army, which he had conducted into Italy, to wait for his arrival, according to the plan which, he said, was settled between himself and Cæcina. But the latter being on the spot, and, by consequence, having greater weight and influence, assured the men that, upon mature deliberation, that whole plan had been altered, to the end that they might meet the first impression of the enemy with the united vigour of the army. Having thus secured in his own hands the whole command, he ordered the legions to proceed by rapid marches to Cremona, while a large detachment went forward to Hostilia.[9] He himself turned off towards Ravenna, under a pretence of conferring with the officers of the fleet, but, in fact, with a design to make the best of his way to the city of Pavia, judging that place the fittest for a treasonable convention. He there met Lucilius Bassus, a man, who, from a squadron of horse, had been raised by Vitellius to the command of two fleets, one at Ravenna, and the other at Misenum. Not content with that sudden rise,

6 Suetonius gives a different account of Vespasian's administration in Africa. In Vesp. s. 4.

7 For the Pannonian Alps, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

8 Brotier thinks that there is a mistake in the text. The fourteenth legion, he observes, stood firm for Otho, and for that reason, was sent into Britain. But perhaps the veterans, who had served their time, and were still retained in the service, were left in Italy.

9 For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

he thought himself entitled to be made prefect of the prætorian guards. That disappointment he considered as an injury, and therefore resolved to gratify his unjust resentment by a stroke of perfidy. For this purpose he joined Cæcina. Which seduced the other, cannot now be known. Two evil minds might form the same black design, and, having formed it, they would find in congenial qualities a secret impulse to each other.

CI. In the memoirs of various authors who composed their work during the reign of the Flavian family,[1] we are told that Cæcina acted on the most upright principles, with a view to the public tranquillity, and the good of his country. But this seems to be the language of flattery to the reigning prince. The conduct of Cæcina may be fairly traced to other motives. The natural inconstancy of the man, and, after his treachery to Galba, the confirmed habit of betraying without a blush, would be sufficient to remove all doubt, if we had not to add to the account his disappointed ambition, and the corrosions of envy, with which he saw himself eclipsed by the superior genius of his rival. Rather than be supplanted by others in the esteem of Vitellius, the ruin of that emperor was his remedy.

Having settled his plan of operations with Bassus, Cæcina once more put himself at the head of the legions, and by various artifices began to undermine the interest of Vitellius, and wean the centurions and soldiers from all affection for his person. Bassus, on his part, was equally active, and met with little difficulty. The officers and men belonging to the fleet remembered that they had lately distinguished themselves in the cause of Otho, and were therefore ready to declare against the enemy who had triumphed over him.

1 That is, during the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, the last of the Flavian line.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

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These transactions passed in a few months.

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls for a short time.
822	69	Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina. Rosius Regulus, Cæcilius Simplex, Quinctius Atticus.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK III.

I. Meanwhile, the leaders of Vespasian's party, acting in concert, and with strict fidelity, laid the plan of their operations with better success. They met at Pætovio,[1] the winter quarters of the thirteenth legion, and there held a council of war. The question on which they deliberated was, which was most advisable, to secure the passes over the Pannonian Alps, and there make halt till the forces behind came up to their support, or to push forward with vigour, and penetrate at once into Italy. Some proposed dilatory measures, in order to pursue the campaign with their united force. They founded their opinion on the following reason: "The fame and valour of the German legions were greatly to be dreaded. Vitellius had been reinforced by the flower of the army in Britain. The legions on the side of Vespasian were inferior in number, and had been lately conquered. They talked, indeed, with ferocity; but the minds of the vanquished are always depressed. If the Alps were guarded by a chain of posts, Mucianus would have time to come up with the strength of the East, and Vespasian, in the mean time, would remain master of the seas. He had powerful fleets, and the provinces espoused his cause. With these resources he might, if necessary, prepare his measures for a second war. The advantages, therefore, which might arise from delay, were sufficiently evident; new succours would arrive, and their present force, in the mean time, would not be exposed to the chance of war."

II. This reasoning was opposed by Antonius Primus, the grand promoter of the confederacy. "Activity," he said, "will give every advantage to Vespasian, and prove the ruin of Vitellius and his party. The conquerors have gained nothing by their victory; on the contrary, their vigour is melted down in sloth and luxury. They are neither inured to a regular camp, nor trained to arms, nor kept in exercise by military duty. Dispersed through the municipal towns of Italy, they have lost their martial spirit, and now are soldiers to their landlords only. Their taste of pleasure is a new acquirement, and they enjoy it with the same spirit that formerly incited them to the most ferocious deeds. The circus, the theatre, and the delights of Rome, have sunk their vigour, and disease has rendered them unfit for military duty. Allow them time, and they will recruit their strength. The very idea of war will animate their drooping courage. Their resources are great; Germany is near at hand, and from that hive new swarms may issue forth; Britain is separated by a narrow channel; Spain and Gaul lie contiguous, and from both they may draw supplies of men, and horses, and money. All Italy is theirs, and the wealth of Rome is at their mercy. Should they resolve to wage a distant war, they have two fleets, and the Illyrian sea lies open to their operations. In that case, what will be the use of posts and stations on the Pannonian Alps? and what the advantage of drawing the war into length? Wait for another campaign; and where, in the mean time, are we to find supplies of money and provisions? To act with vigour is our best, our only expedient. The legions of Pannonia were surprised, not conquered: they are now breathing revenge; they wish for nothing so much as an opportunity to signalize their valour in the field. The forces of Mæsia[2] have neither wasted their strength, nor have they been humbled by a defeat. If the strength on both sides is to be estimated by the number of the men, and not of the legions, the superiority is on the side of Vespasian. In his army no corruption, no licentiousness. Even former misfortunes are now of use; the men have seen their error, and the sense of shame has established discipline and good order. In the last action the cavalry suffered no disgrace: on the contrary, though the event of the day was adverse, they broke through the ranks of the enemy. And if two squadrons of horse, one from Pannonia, and the other from Mæsia, could bear down all before them, what may not be expected from the joint force of sixteen squadrons, whose

1 For Pætovio, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 The forces from Mæsia were not in the action at Bedriacum. See Hist. ii. s. 44.

banners glitter in the service of Vespasian? Their impetuosity in the first onset, their uproar, the clangour of their arms, and the clouds of dust raised by their horses' hoofs, will confound, distract, and overwhelm, a feeble enemy, who have lost their warlike spirit. What I advise, I am willing to execute. Those who have not taken a decided resolution, may, if they will, remain behind. Let them detain their legions. Give me the light-armed cohorts: I ask no more. With those gallant soldiers my intention is, to force a passage into Italy. The Vitellians will shrink from the attack; and when you hear the tidings, you will then pursue the footsteps of Antonius, glad to follow where victory leads the way."

III. Such was the reasoning of this active partisan. He delivered the whole with a spirit that convinced the prudent, and roused the timorous. His eyes flashed fire; his voice expanded, that the centurions and soldiers, who had pressed into the council-room, might hear the sentiments of a brave and experienced officer. All were carried away by a torrent of eloquence. The crowd extolled his courage, and despised the other officers for their want of spirit. He, and he alone, was the man of enterprise, the general worthy of the command. In a former council of war, where Vespasian's letters were read to the whole meeting, Antonius had announced his character, and made a deep impression on the minds of the soldiers. Upon that occasion, he entered with warmth into the debate, disdaining the little policy of using equivocal terms, which might afterwards receive the construction that suited the views of the speaker. Intrepid and decisive, he laid himself open at once. He spoke with that frank and generous ardour, which is always sure to captivate the affections of the army. The soldiers admired a general, whom they saw ready to share every danger, and to be their partner in the rashness or the glory of the enterprise.

IV. The person who, in the opinion of the common men, filled the second place, was Cornelius Fuscus, the procurator of the province. That officer, by his freedom of speech, had already pledged himself to the cause: if it miscarried, his bold and forward censure of Vitellius left him no room to retreat. Titus Ampius Flavianus stood in a very different light. His natural slowness, rendered still more languid by the increase of years, drew upon him the suspicion of the soldiers, who knew that he was[1] allied to Vitellius. In the beginning of the present commotions, he fled from his post, to avoid the storm then gathering round him, and, shortly afterwards, returned to the province, with intent, as was generally imagined, to execute some treacherous design. He had made his escape into Italy; but, when he heard that the legions were in motion, he returned to Pannonia, and resumed his authority, fond of innovation, and willing to hazard himself in the troubles of a civil war. To this last step he was incited by the advice of Cornelius Fuscus, who wished to see him in Pannonia; not with a view of deriving advantage from his talents, but because the name of a consular officer was of moment, and, in the first efforts of a party not yet established, a person of that rank might give credit and lustre to the cause.

V. The march into Italy being the measure adopted, in order to secure the passes over the mountains, letters were sent to Aponius Saturninus,[2] ordering him to advance, by rapid marches, with his army from Mæsia. At the same time, that the provinces thus evacuated might not lie open to the incursions of Barbarians on the borders, the chiefs of the Jazyges,[3] a people of Sarmatia, were engaged to cooperate with the Roman army. The new allies offered to bring into the field a body of the natives, and also their cavalry, in which consists the strength of the country. Their service, however, was not accepted, lest a number of foreign mercenaries should take advantage of the distractions that convulsed the empire, or for better pay desert to the opposite party. The Suevian nation had, at all times, given proofs of their steady attachment to the interest of Rome; and no doubt being entertained of their fidelity, their two kings, Sido and Italicus,[4] were admitted into the league. On the confines of Rhætia, where Portius Septimius, the procurator of the province, remained firm to Vitellius, a range of posts was stationed to bridle that part of the country. With this view Sextilius Felix was sent forward, at the head of a squadron of horse called AURIANA,[5] eight cohorts, and the militia of Noricum, with orders to line the banks of the river Ænus,[6] which divides Rhætia from Noricum. Those two commanders were content to act on the defensive, and no engagement followed. The fate of empire was elsewhere decided.

VI. Antonius Primus began his march at the head of a body of vexillaries drafted from the cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry. He

1 Ampius Flavianus was related to Vitellius: this book, s. 10.

2 Aponius Saturninus was governor of Mæsia. Hist. ii. s. 95, 96.

3 For the Jazyges, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

4 Sido has been mentioned, Annals, xii. s. 29, 30. Of Italicus nothing is now known with precision: he was probably the son of Sido.

5 A squadron of horse, most probably from the city of *Auria* in Spain, and thence called the *Auriaviam Cavalry*.

6 For the river Ænus, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

pushed forward with eager speed to the invasion of Italy, accompanied by Arius Varus, an officer of distinguished valour, who had served under Corbulo[7] in Armenia, and from the talents and brilliant success of that applauded commander derived all his reputation. In secret cabals with Nero he is said to have whispered away the character of his general, converting into crimes the eminent virtues of that great officer. He rose to the rank of principal centurion; but his sudden advancement, obtained as it was by treacherous arts, proved his ruin in the end. Antonius, in conjunction with this commander, took possession of Aquileia. The adjacent towns submitted with alacrity. At Opitergium,[8] and Altinum they were received with demonstrations of joy. At the last of those places a garrison was left to check the operations of the fleet stationed at Ravenna, which was not then known to have revolted. The cities of Patavium and Ateste[9] made a voluntary surrender. The generals received intelligence that three Vitellian cohorts, with the squadron of horse called Scriboniana had taken post at Forum Allienum,[10] and, after throwing up a bridge, loitered away the time in careless security. The opportunity seemed fair to attack them by surprise. At the dawn of day the place was taken by storm, before the enemy had time to get under arms. It had been previously issued out in orders, that, after a moderate slaughter, the assailants should give quarter to the rest, and by the terror of their arms force them to join Vespasian's party. Numbers surrendered at discretion: but the greater part broke down the bridge, and saved themselves by flight.

VII. The fame of a victory, obtained in the beginning of the war, made an impression favourable to Vespasian's cause. In a short time after, two legions, namely, the seventh, called Galbiana, and the thirteenth, named Gemina,[11] under the command of Vedius Aquila, arrived at Padua. A few days were spent at that place to refresh the men. In that interval, Minucius Justus, prefect of the camp to the seventh legion, enforcing his orders with more severity than was consistent with the nature of a civil war, provoked the fury of the soldiers. He was ordered to join Vespasian, and by that artifice he saved his life. Antonius, at that time, had the judgment to do a public act, which had been long desired, and, by consequence, gave universal satisfaction. He ordered the statues of Galba, which the rage of civil discord had levelled to the ground, to be again set up in all the municipal towns. By doing honour to the memory of Galba,[12] and reviving the hopes of a ruined party, Antonius had no doubt but he should greatly serve the cause in which he was embarked.

VIII. Where to fix the seat of war was now a question of moment. Verona was thought the most eligible spot. In that open champaign country,[13] the cavalry, in which the strength of the army consisted, would have ample space; and the glory of wresting out of the hands of Vitellius a colony so strong and flourishing, would draw after it the greatest advantages. The army pushed forward with rapidity, and, in their march, became masters of Vicetia,[14] a city in itself of small importance, but, being the birth-place of Cæcina, the acquisition was deemed a triumph over the adverse general. The reduction of Verona brought an accession of wealth, and gave an example to other cities. Moreover, as it lies between Rhætia and the Julian Alps,[15] it was a post of importance, where an army in force might command the pass into Italy, and render it impervious to the German armies. Of these operations Vespasian had no knowledge; on the contrary, his orders were, that the troops should halt at Aquileia, and push the war no further till Mucianus arrived with all his force. Vespasian explained the motives that determined his counsels. While he was master of Egypt, the granary of Italy,[16] and commanded, besides, the revenues of the most opulent provinces, the Vitellian army, for want of pay and provisions, might be forced to capitulate. Mucianus, in all his letters, recommended the same measure; adding, that a victory obtained without blood, and without causing a tear to be shed, would be the truest glory. But those reasons were specious and ostensible only: avarice of fame was his motive; he wished to engross the whole honour of the war. But the fact was, Vespasian and his general planned their operations in a distant part of the world, and before their orders could arrive the blow was struck.

IX. Antonius was not of a temper to remain inactive. He resolved to attempt the stations of the enemy. His attack was sudden; and, after trying in a slight engagement the strength and

7 For Corbulo's conduct in Armenia, See Annals xiii.; and for his death by order of Nero, See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 11.

8 For Opitergium, and Altinum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

9 Patavium and Ateste; see the Geographical Table.

10 Forum Allieni, now Ferro, on the Po.

11 See the second book of the History, s. 6, note.

12 After the calamities occasioned by Otho and Vitellius, the memory of Galba was held in high respect by the people.

13 The plains of Verona are now called *Compagna di Verona.*

14 Vicetia, now *Vicenza;* see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

15 The Julian Alps, the same as the Pannonian. See the Geographical Table.

16 Egypt was the Roman granary of corn; and Pliny the younger says, that the people of that country were proud to find that the conquerors of the world depended on them for their daily maintenance. *Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem populum pasceret: quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset.* Pliny's Panegyric, s. 31.

disposition of the Vitellians, he thought proper to desist. Both parties retired with equal success. In a short time afterwards Cæcina pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Verona, between the village of Hostilia,[1] and the morass on the banks of the river Tartarus.[2] This post afforded him every advantage: he had the river in his rear, and the fens on each flank. He wanted nothing but fidelity. Beyond all question he had it in his power, with the whole strength of his army, to crush two legions under Antonius, who had not yet been joined by the Mæsian army, or, at least, he might have forced them by a shameful flight to evacuate Italy. But he trifled away the time with specious delays, and, losing all his opportunities, treacherously sacrificed the most precious moments of the war. He carried on a correspondence with Antonius, content by his letters to debate with a man whom he ought to have conquered. He continued to temporize, till by secret negotiations he settled the price of perfidy.

During this suspense, Aponius Saturninus arrived at Verona with the seventh legion, called the CLAUDIAN, under the command of Vipsanius Messala, then in the rank of tribune; a man of illustrious birth, and of a character worthy of his ancestors: of all who entered into that war, the only person who carried with him fair and honourable motives. With this reinforcement the army amounted to no more than three legions; and yet to that inferior force[3] Cæcina thought proper to despatch a letter, condemning the rashness of men, who, after their late defeat, presumed again to try the fortune of the field. He extolled the bravery of the German soldiers, making the slightest mention of Vitellius, but with regard to Vespasian not hazarding one disrespectful word. Nor was there in the whole tenor of his letter a single expression that tended either to impress the enemy with fear, or to induce them to revolt. Vespasian's generals returned an answer in a style of magnanimity. They entered into no defence of their former conduct; they bestowed the highest praise on Vespasian: relying on the goodness of their cause, they spoke with confidence of the event, and without reserve declaimed against Vitellius in the style of men who had nothing to fear. To the tribunes and centurions who had been rewarded by Vitellius, they promised a continuance of the same favours, and in explicit terms invited Cæcina to join their party. The letters of that officer, and the several answers, were read, by order of Antonius, in the hearing of the army. The soldiers observed the caution with which Cæcina spoke of Vespasian, and the undisguised contempt of Vitellius expressed by the Flavian generals. From that circumstance they derived new alacrity, and thorough confidence in their cause.

X. Antonius, reinforced by the arrival of two legions, namely, the third, commanded by Dillius Aponianus, and the eighth, by Numisius Lupus, resolved to make a display of his strength, and inclose Verona with lines of circumvallation. An accident interrupted the progress of the works. It happened that the Galbian legion was employed in an advanced part of the trenches, fronting the enemy. They perceived at a distance a body of cavalry, and, though in fact they were friends, mistook them for a party of the Vitellians. Thinking themselves betrayed, they seized their arms, and, in the hurry of surprise, charged Ampius Flavianus[4] as the author of the plot. They had no kind of proof; but they hated the man, and hatred was sufficient evidence of his guilt. They roared and clamoured for his blood; and nothing less, they said, would satisfy their indignation. He was the kinsman of Vitellius, the betrayer of Otho, and he had embezzled the donative intended for the soldiers. These reproaches were loud and violent. Flavianus endeavoured to obtain a hearing; he stretched forth his hands; he prostrated himself before them, rent his garments, beat his breast, and with tears and groans endeavoured to mitigate resentment. The men despised him in that abject condition, and from his distress inferred a confession of guilt.

Aponius Saturninus attempted to speak, but was overpowered by a general clamour. The rest of the officers were silenced in like manner. Antonius was the only person who could make himself heard. To his authority and eloquence he united the art of managing the temper of the soldiers. Their rage, however, did not subside; from foul abuse they proceeded to violence, and even began to brandish their weapons. The general ordered Flavianus to be seized, and loaded with irons. This was understood to be no more than a subterfuge to elude the vengeance of the soldiers, who rushed to the tribunal, and, having dispersed the guards, threatened immediate execution. Antonius opposed his bosom to their fury, and, drawing his sword, declared aloud that he would fall by their weapons or his own. He looked around, invoking the assistance of all, whom he either knew, or saw distinguished by any kind of military decoration; he directed his eyes to the eagles and standards, those gods of the camp, and in a pathetic strain implored them to transfuse that frantic spirit into the breasts of the enemy.[5] At length

1 For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 [illegible] Hist. ii. [illegible] command three [illegible]

4 Ampius Flavianus has been already mentioned; this book, s. 4; and Hist. ii. s. 86.

5 This prayer of Antonius resembles the following lines in Virgil:

the sedition began to abate, and day dawning upon [illegible] the men withdrew to their tents. In the morning [illegible] of the [illegible] not [illegible] from [illegible] to fear the disquietude of the [illegible]

XI. The [illegible] here. [illegible] fe[illegible] had [illegible] letter to [illegible] was [illegible] bewe[illegible] The [illegible] soldiers were [illegible] day: [illegible] fa[illegible] How [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] Roman [illegible] sedition was [illegible] licentious [illegible] against [illegible] against [illegible] a merit with [illegible] late insurrect[illegible] and, in [illegible] friends, [illegible] they burned [illegible] fed, or at [illegible] were ready [illegible] to the gardens [illegible] for recreation. [illegible] Messala [illegible] deavours. [illegible] had not [illegible] furnace of [illegible] doubt but [illegible] soon as an [illegible] lictors, and [illegible] There being [illegible] left with the [illegible] upon Antonius. [illegible] servant to his [illegible] claimed all commo[illegible] not, by secret [illegible] that he alone [illegible] without a rival. [illegible] entertained, was [illegible]

XII. During [illegible] Vitellius was not [illegible] discord there did [illegible]

Dii matrem pla[illegible]

6 This passage [illegible] sense of the [illegible] was not sufficient time [illegible] service and return an [illegible] as they might have [illegible] journey to make, [illegible] question at some [illegible]

disposition of the Vitellians, he thought proper to desist. Both parties retired with equal success. In a short time afterwards Cæcina pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Verona, between the village of Hostilia,[1] and the morass on the banks of the river Tartarus.[2] This post afforded him every advantage: he had the river in his rear, and the fens on each flank. He wanted nothing but fidelity. Beyond all question he had it in his power, with the whole strength of his army, to crush two legions under Antonius, who had not yet been joined by the Mæsian army, or, at least, he might have forced them by a shameful flight to evacuate Italy. But he trifled away the time with specious delays, and, losing all his opportunities, treacherously sacrificed the most precious moments of the war. He carried on a correspondence with Antonius, content by his letters to debate with a man whom he ought to have conquered. He continued to temporize, till by secret negotiations he settled the price of perfidy.

During this suspense, Aponius Saturninus arrived at Verona with the seventh legion, called the CLAUDIAN, under the command of Vipsanius Messala, then in the rank of tribune; a man of illustrious birth, and of a character worthy of his ancestors: of all who entered into that war, the only person who carried with him fair and honourable motives. With this reinforcement the army amounted to no more than three legions; and yet to that inferior force[3] Cæcina thought proper to despatch a letter, condemning the rashness of men, who, after their late defeat, presumed again to try the fortune of the field. He extolled the bravery of the German soldiers, making the slightest mention of Vitellius, but with regard to Vespasian not hazarding one disrespectful word. Nor was there in the whole tenor of his letter a single expression that tended either to impress the enemy with fear, or to induce them to revolt. Vespasian's generals returned an answer in a style of magnanimity. They entered into no defence of their former conduct; they bestowed the highest praise on Vespasian: relying on the goodness of their cause, they spoke with confidence of the event, and without reserve declaimed against Vitellius in the style of men who had nothing to fear. To the tribunes and centurions who had been rewarded by Vitellius, they promised a continuance of the same favours, and in explicit terms invited Cæcina to join their party. The letters of that officer, and the several answers, were read, by order of Antonius, in the hearing of the army. The soldiers observed the caution with which Cæcina spoke of Vespasian, and the undisguised contempt of Vitellius expressed by the Flavian generals. From that circumstance they derived new alacrity, and thorough confidence in their cause.

X. Antonius, reinforced by the arrival of two legions, namely, the third, commanded by Dillius Aponianus, and the eighth, by Numisius Lupus, resolved to make a display of his strength, and inclose Verona with lines of circumvallation. An accident interrupted the progress of the works. It happened that the Galbian legion was employed in an advanced part of the trenches, fronting the enemy. They perceived at a distance a body of cavalry, and, though in fact they were friends, mistook them for a party of the Vitellians. Thinking themselves betrayed, they seized their arms, and, in the hurry of surprise, charged Ampius Flavianus[4] as the author of the plot. They had no kind of proof; but they hated the man, and hatred was sufficient evidence of his guilt. They roared and clamoured for his blood; and nothing less, they said, would satisfy their indignation. He was the kinsman of Vitellius, the betrayer of Otho, and he had embezzled the donative intended for the soldiers. These reproaches were loud and violent. Flavianus endeavoured to obtain a hearing; he stretched forth his hands; he prostrated himself before them, rent his garments, beat his breast, and with tears and groans endeavoured to mitigate resentment. The men despised him in that abject condition, and from his distress inferred a confession of guilt.

Aponius Saturninus attempted to speak, but was overpowered by a general clamour. The rest of the officers were silenced in like manner. Antonius was the only person who could make himself heard. To his authority and eloquence he united the art of managing the temper of the soldiers. Their rage, however, did not subside; from foul abuse they proceeded to violence, and even began to brandish their weapons. The general ordered Flavianus to be seized, and loaded with irons. This was understood to be no more than a subterfuge to elude the vengeance of the soldiers, who rushed to the tribunal, and, having dispersed the guards, threatened immediate execution. Antonius opposed his bosom to their fury, and, drawing his sword, declared aloud that he would fall by their weapons or his own. He looked around, invoking the assistance of all, whom he either knew, or saw distinguished by any kind of military decoration; he directed his eyes to the eagles and standards, those gods of the camp, and in a pathetic strain implored them to transfuse that frantic spirit into the breasts of the enemy.[5] At length

1 For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 The river Tartarus, now *Le Tartare*.

3 The forces under Vitellius are enumerated, Hist. ii. s. 100. Antonius had as yet under his command three legions only.

4 Ampius Flavianus has been already mentioned; this book, s. 4; and Hist. ii. s. 86.

5 This prayer of Antonius resembles the following line in Virgil:

the sedition began to abate, and day closing apace, the men withdrew to their tents. In the course of the night, Flavianus left the camp. He had not travelled far, when he received letters[6] from Vespasian, in a style that left him no room to fear the displeasure of the prince.

XI. The phrensy of the soldiers did not stop here. It spread as it were by contagion, and fell with violence on Aponius Saturninus, who had brought with him the Mæsian forces. A letter to Vitellius had been intercepted, and he was supposed to be the author. The story was believed, and all were fired with resentment. The tumult did not, as before, begin when the soldiers were fatigued with the labours of the day; it broke out at noon, when they were in full vigour, and for that reason more to be dreaded. How unlike the spirit of ancient times! Under the old republic, a generous emulation in virtue and heroic valour was the only struggle in a Roman camp: but now to be the foremost in sedition was the grand effort of a depraved and licentious soldiery. The fury that showed itself against Flavianus was inflamed to madness against Saturninus. The Mæsian legions made it a merit with the Pannonian army, that, in the late insurrection, they had lent their assistance; and, in return, the Pannonians joined their friends, willing to encourage a mutiny, by which they hoped that their own guilt would be justified, or at least excused. With this spirit all were ready to repeat their crime. They rushed to the gardens, where Saturninus was walking for recreation. Antonius opposed the mutineers; Messala and Aponianus exerted their best endeavours, but without effect. If Saturninus had not luckily found a lurking place, in the furnace of a bath not then in use, there is no doubt but he must have fallen a sacrifice. As soon as an opportunity offered, he dismissed his lictors, and made the best of his way to Padua. There being now no officer of consular rank left with the army, the whole command devolved upon Antonius. The soldiers were willing to submit to his authority. The other officers declined all competition. But if the general did not, by secret practices, excite the two seditions, that he alone might gain the honour of the war without a rival, the suspicion, which numbers entertained, was injurious to his character.

XII. During these transactions, the camp of Vitellius was not free from disturbance. The discord there did not originate from suspicions entertained by the soldiers, but had its source in the perfidy of the general officers. Lucilius Bassus,[7] who commanded the fleet at Ravenna, had already drawn over to his party a number of the marines, all natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, and, those provinces having all already declared for Vespasian, ready to follow the example of their countrymen. The dead of night was chosen as the fit time for carrying their treasonable designs into execution. At that hour when all was hushed in sleep, the conspirators agreed to meet in the quarter where the colours were deposited. Bassus remained in his own house, conscious of his treachery, or, perhaps, alarmed for himself, and willing to wait the issue. The masters of the galleys began the revolt. They seized the images of Vitellius, and put to the sword all who attempted to resist. The common herd, with their usual love of innovation, went over to Vespasian. Bassus, in that moment, ventured to appear, avowing himself the author of the treason. The fleet immediately chose another commander. Cornelius Fuscus was the person appointed. That officer soon appeared at Ravenna, and took upon him his new commission. By his order, Bassus, under a proper guard, but honourably treated, was obliged to embark for Atria.[8] At that place he was thrown into fetters by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded the garrison; but he was soon released at the desire of Hormus, one of Vespasian's freedmen, who, it seems, had the presumption to figure away among the general officers.

XIII. The defection of the fleet was no sooner known, than Cæcina, having removed out of the way the best part of his army under various pretexts of military duty, called a meeting of the principal centurions, and a select party of soldiers, in the place assigned for the eagles,[9] the most private part of the camp. He there opened his mind without reserve. He expatiated in praise of Vespasian, and painted forth in glaring colours the strength of the combination formed in his favour. The fleet, he said, had revolted, and, by consequence, Italy would be distressed for provisions. Spain and both the Gauls were up in arms: at Rome the minds of men were wavering, and a storm was ready to burst upon Vitellius. The men whom Antonius had engaged in the plot threw off the mask, and the rest, incited by their example, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. The images of Vitellius were torn from the ensigns, and despatches

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Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum.
Georgic. iii. ver. 513.

6 This passage seems to have been misunderstood by some of the commentators. They observe that there was not sufficient time for Vespasian to receive intelligence and return an answer favourable to Flavianus; but they might have recollected, that he, who had a long journey to make, most probably received the letters in question at some place on the road.

7 For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. s. 100.

8 For Atria, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

9 The part of the camp called *Principia* was the place where the eagles were deposited. Statius has a similar passage:

——Concilii penetrale, domumque verendam
Signorum. Thebs. lib. x. ver. 120.

were sent off with intelligence to the adverse army. This transaction was no sooner known in Cæcina's camp, than the rest of the soldiers rushed in a body to the quarter of the eagles and standards. They saw the name of Vespasian displayed to view, and the images of Vitellius scattered about in fragments. A deep and sullen silence followed. A general uproar soon broke out, and with one voice the men exclaimed, "Where is now the glory of the German armies? Without hazarding a battle, and without a wound, we must lay down our arms, and deliver ourselves to the enemy bound in chains. And to what enemy? To the legions lately vanquished by superior valour; nay, to a part of those legions: for the strength and bulwark of Otho's forces, the first and fourteenth, are not with the army. And is this the issue of our fame in arms, and of our late glorious victory? Did so many brave and gallant soldiers distinguish themselves by their bravery in the field, that they might now, like a drove of slaves, be delivered up to Antonius, a man formerly banished for his crimes?[1] The fleet, we are told, has revolted: and shall eight legions be transferred as an appendage to their treachery? Bassus, it seems, will have it so; and such is the pleasure of Cæcina. They have despoiled the prince of his houses, his gardens, and his treasure, and they want now to rob him of his soldiers; of soldiers, who, with swords in their hands, and in full possession of their strength and vigour, are to yield without an engagement, and bear the scorn and mockery of Vespasian and his party. To such as may hereafter desire an account of the battles we have fought, and the dangers which we have encountered, what answer shall we make?"

XIV. Such were the complaints, and such the language, not of individuals only, but of the whole body. Each man spoke his feelings, and all concurred in one general uproar. The fifth legion took the lead: they restored the images of Vitellius; they seized Cæcina, and loaded him with fetters. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion, and Cassius Longus, the prefect of the camp, were declared commanders in chief. A party of marines belonging to three light galleys fell into the hands of the enraged soldiery, and though ignorant of all that passed, and innocent of the late defection, were to a man put to the sword. After this exploit, the discontented troops broke up their camp, and having demolished the bridge, marched back to Hostilia, and thence to Cremona, where the first legion, called ITALICA, and the one and twentieth, known by the name of RAPAX, had been stationed by Cæcina.

1 Antonius had been convicted of extortion, and for that offence sent into banishment. Annals, xiv. s. 40.

XV. Apprised of these transactions, Antonius resolved, while the enemy was still distracted, and dispersed at different stations, not to let the war languish till the Vitellians began to act with unanimity, and the generals recovered their authority. He knew that Valens had set out from Rome, and Cæcina's treachery, he had reason to think, would make him push forward with expedition to join the army. The zeal of Valens for the cause in which he embarked, was sufficiently distinguished, and he was known to be an officer of experience. Besides this, a large body of Germans was expected to force their way through Rhætia into Italy, and Vitellius had sent for succours into Britain, Gaul, and Spain; a formidable preparation, if Antonius had not determined to strike a decisive blow. He moved with his whole army from Verona, and in two days arrived at Bedriacum. On the following morning he set the legions to work at the intrenchments, and, under colour of foraging, but in truth to give the men a relish for plunder, sent the auxiliary cohorts to ravage the plains near Cremona. To support them in this expedition, he himself, at the head of four thousand horse, advanced eight miles beyond Bedriacum; while his scouts took a wider range, to discover the motions of the enemy.

XVI. About the fifth hour of the day, a soldier at full speed brought intelligence that the enemy was approaching. He had seen their advanced parties, and distinctly heard the bustle of the whole army. Antonius began to prepare for action. While he was deliberating, Arrius Varus, eager to distinguish himself, advanced at the head of a party of horse, and put the front line of the Vitellians to the rout. The slaughter was inconsiderable. A party of the enemy advanced to support the broken ranks, and changed the fortune of the field. Varus and his men were obliged to give ground, and they, who had pursued with eagerness, were now in the rear of the retreat. In this rash action Antonius had no share. He foresaw the consequence, and now exerted himself to prevent further mischief. Having exhorted his men, he ordered the cavalry to open their ranks, and draw off in two divisions towards the flanks of the army, in order to leave a void space for the reception of Varus and his routed party. The legions were called out, and, in the country round, the signal was given to the foraging cohorts to abandon their booty, and repair forthwith to the field of battle. Varus, in the mean time, returned to the main body, covered with dismay, and by his appearance diffusing terror through the ranks. He and his men had retreated with precipitation; the able and the wounded in one promiscuous panic fled before the enemy, all in wild confusion, and, on a narrow causey, obstructing one another.

XVII. Antonius, in this pressing exigence, omitted nothing that could be expected from a

commander of experience and undaunted valour. He rallied the broken ranks: where the men were giving way, by his presence he revived their drooping courage; wherever there was either danger, or an advantage to be taken, he was ready on the spot, with his directions, with his voice, with his sword, inspiring courage, conspicuous in every part of the field, and manifest to the enemy. His courage rose to the highest pitch, and transported him beyond himself. In a noble fit of martial ardour, he transfixed with his spear a standard-bearer in the act of flying, and instantly seizing the colours, advanced against the enemy. This bold exertion had its effect. A party of the cavalry, in number about a hundred, felt the disgrace of deserting their general, and returned to the charge. The nature of the ground favoured Antonius. The causey was narrowest in that part, and the bridge over the river[2] that flowed in the rear being broken down, the men could not pursue their flight where the banks were steep, and the fordable places were unknown. By this restraint, or by some turn of fortune, the battle was restored. The soldiers made a stand, and, having recovered their ranks, received the Vitellians, who rushed on with eagerness, but without order, and in a short time were put to the rout. Antonius pressed on the rear of such as fled, and all who resisted died on the spot. The rest of Vespasian's army acted as the impulse of individuals prompted; they secured their prisoners, they seized the arms and horses of the slain, and made the field resound with shouts of victory. The runaways, who had dispersed themselves in various quarters, heard the joyful acclamations of their comrades, and, to claim part of the glory, hurried back to the scene of action.

XVIII. At the distance of four miles from Cremona, the banners of the two legions called Rapax[3] and Italica appeared in view. The advantage gained by the Vitellian cavalry, in the beginning of the day, was their motive for advancing so far: but, seeing a reverse of fortune, they neither opened their ranks to receive their flying friends, nor dared to attack an enemy at that time well nigh exhausted by the labours of the day. In the hour of prosperity they despised their general officers, and in their distress began to feel that they wanted an able commander. While they stood at gaze, irresolute, and covered with consternation, the cavalry of Antonius attacked them with impetuous fury. Vipsanius Messala followed to support the ranks, at the head of the Mœsian auxiliaries, who, though they had made a long march, were so well inured to discipline, that they were deemed nothing inferior to the legionary soldiers. The foot and cavalry, acting with united vigour, bore down all opposition. The Vitellians hoped to find within the walls of Cremona a safe shelter from the rage of a pursuing enemy, and for that reason were less inclined to maintain the conflict.

XIX. Antonius did not think it prudent to pursue his advantage: he was content to remain master of the field. The victory, he knew, was dearly bought; and it behoved him to spare both men and horses, fatigued with toil, and fainting under their wounds. Towards the close of day, the whole force of Vespasian's army arrived and joined Antonius. Having seen, on their march, the plains covered with dead bodies, and the ground still reeking with blood, they concluded, from so vast a scene of slaughter, that the war was nearly over, and, to give the finishing blow, desired to be led on to Cremona, either to receive a voluntary surrender, or to carry the place by storm. This demand sounded like courage and public spirit: but other motives were at the bottom. In their hearts the men argued for their own personal advantage. "Cremona," they said, "was situated in an open plain, and might be taken by assault. The darkness of the night would not abate their courage, and for spoil and plunder that was the proper season. If they waited for the return of day, terms of peace might arrive; a capitulation would be proposed; and, in that case, what reward was the soldier to expect for all his labour, and his blood spilt in the service? The cold, the useless praise of moderation and humanity would be his only recompense, and the wealth of the place would fall to the principal officers. By the laws of war, when a town is carried by storm, the booty belongs to the soldiers; but a surrender transfers the whole to the generals." Inflamed by these considerations, they disdained to listen to the tribunes and centurions; with the clangour of their arms they suppressed the voice of reason, determined, if not led on to the attack, to shake off all authority.

XX. Antonius made his way through the ranks, and, by his presence having commanded silence, spoke as follows: "It is neither in my temper nor my intention to deprive a set of gallant soldiers of the glory, or the recompense, due to their valour: but the general, and the men under his command, have their distinct provinces. Courage and ardour for the conflict are the soldier's virtues: to foresee events, to provide against disasters, and to plan with deliberation, and even with delay, is the duty of the commander in chief. By suspending the operations of war, success is often insured: by temerity all is put to the hazard. In the last battle I exposed my person, I fought in the ranks, I

2 The river called *Dermona*. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

3 The twenty-first legion called *Rapax*, and the first called *Italic*, fought on the side of Vitellius. See Hist. ii. 8. 100.

strained every nerve to gain the victory: let me now by my experience, by advice, and by prudent counsels, the true arts of a general, endeavour to terminate the war with glory. The question at present does not admit of a doubt. We have the night before us; the town, its entrance, and the condition of the works, are unknown to us: the enemy is within the walls, and may try various stratagems. And if the gates were thrown open, even then, without the best intelligence, without broad day-light, and without a view of the fortifications, it would be madness to venture. And will you hazard an assault, without knowing the approaches to the place, the height of the walls, and without being able to judge whether we ought to batter a breach, or by missive weapons drive the enemy from the works? Which of you has been provident enough to bring his hatchet, his pickaxe, and the various tools which a siege requires? With those instruments you are unprovided: and what arm among you is strong enough with a sword and spear to sap the walls of Cremona? How are we to throw up ramparts, and how prepare hurdles and penthouses to cover our approach? In the moment of need, must we all stand at gaze, wondering at our folly, and the strength of the fortifications? Pass but one night, and with our battering engines, and our warlike machines, we shall advance in force, and carry victory along with us at the point of our swords." At the close of this harangue he ordered the followers of the camp, escorted by a select party of the cavalry, to set out for Bedriacum, in order to bring a supply of provisions, and all necessaries for the use of the army.

XXI. The soldiers were still dissatisfied, and a mutiny was ready to break out, when a party of horse that went out to scour the country, and advanced as far as the walls of Cremona, returned with intelligence, obtained from the stragglers who had fallen into their hands, that the whole Vitellian army encamped at Hostilia, having heard of that day's defeat, made a forced march of thirty miles, and, with a reinforcement of six legions, were near at hand, breathing vengeance, and determined to offer battle. In this alarming crisis the soldiers were willing to listen to their superior officer. Antonius prepared to receive the enemy. He ordered the thirteenth legion to take post on the Posthumian causey; on the open plain, towards their left, he stationed the seventh, called the GALBIAN; and at a small distance the seventh, named the Claudian, on a spot defended by a mere country ditch. On the right he placed the eighth legion, on a wide-extended plain, and the third in a thick copse, that stood near at hand. Such was the arrangement of the eagles and standards: the soldiers took their post as chance directed them in the dark. The prætorian banner stood near the third legion; the auxiliary cohorts were in the wings: the cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. The two Suevian kings, Sido and Italicus, with the best troops of their nation, took their post in the front of the lines.

XXII. The Vitellian army had every advantage, without the skill to profit by their situation. Had they halted that night at Cremona, as prudence dictated, to refresh their men by food and sleep, the engagement, on the next morning, would have been with an enemy chilled by the damps of the night, and faint for want of provisions. A complete victory would, most probably, have been the consequence. But they had no commander. Without conduct or judgment, about the third hour of the night, they made a forward movement, and attacked an army drawn up in order of battle. Of the disposition made by the Vitellians in the gloom of night, without any guide but their own impetuous fury, it will not be expected that I should give an accurate account: we are told, however, that it was as follows: The fourth legion, called MACEDONICA, was stationed in the right wing; the fifth and fifteenth, supported by the vexillaries of three British legions, the ninth, the second, and the twentieth, formed the centre: in the left wing stood the first, the sixteenth, and two-and-twentieth. The soldiers of the two legions called RAPAX and ITALICA were mixed at random throughout the lines. The cavalry and auxiliaries chose their station. The battle lasted through the night with great slaughter on both sides, and alternate success. In the dark, courage gave no superiority; the ardent eye and the vigorous arm were of no avail. All distinction was lost. The weapons on both sides were the same. The watch-word, frequently asked and repeated, was known to both armies. The colours, taken and retaken by different parties, were mixed in wild confusion. The seventh legion, lately raised by Galba, suffered the most. Six of their principal centurions were killed on the spot, and some of their colours taken. The eagle itself was in danger, had not Attilius Verus, the principal centurion,[1] enacted wonders to prevent that disgrace. He made a dreadful carnage, and died, at last, fighting with undaunted bravery.

XXIII. Vespasian's army was giving way, when Antonius brought the prætorian cohorts into the heat of the action. They routed the enemy, and in their turn were forced to retreat. The Vitellians, at this time, changed the position of their battering-engines, which, in the beginning, were placed in different parts of the field, and could only play at random against the woods and hedges that sheltered the enemy. They were now removed to the Posthumian way, and thence, having an open space before

1 It appears from this, that the first centurion, *Primipili Centurio*, was the eagle-bearer.

them, could discharge their missive weapons with good effect. The fifteenth legion had an engine of enormous size,[2] which was played off with dreadful execution, and discharged massy stones, of weight to crush whole ranks at once. Inevitable ruin must have followed, if two soldiers had not signalized themselves by a brave exploit. Covering themselves with the shields of the enemy which they found among the slain, they advanced undiscovered to the battering-engine, and cut the ropes and springs. In this bold adventure, they both perished, and with them two names that deserved to be made immortal. The glory of the action is all that can be now recorded.

The battle was hitherto fought with doubtful success, when, night being far advanced, the moon rose, and discovered the face of things with great advantage to Vespasian's army. The light shone on their backs, and the shadows of men and horses projected forward to such a length, that the Vitellians, deceived by appearances, aimed at the wrong mark. Their darts, by consequence, fell short of their aim. The moon-beams, in the meantime, played on the front of their lines, and gave their bodies in full view to the adverse army, who fought behind their shadows, as if concealed in obscurity.

XXIV. Antonius, at length, was happy that he could see, and be seen. He did every thing to rouse the courage of his men; he upbraided some; he applauded others: he made ample promises, and gave hopes to all. He asked the Pannonian legions, what was their motive for taking up arms? "Here," he said, "here is the spot where you may efface the memory of your former defeat: in this field you may redeem your honour." He called aloud to the Mæsians, "You were the first movers of the war; you talked in high-sounding words: but you talked in vain, if you can neither oppose the swords nor bear the eye of the enemy." He was busy in every quarter, and had apt words for all. To the third legion he spoke more at large: he called to mind their former and their recent exploits. "They," he said, "were the men, who under Mark Antony[3] defeated the Parthians; and the Armenians, under Corbulo. In a late campaign the Sarmatians fled before them." The prætorians called forth his indignation: "Now," he said, "now is your time to conquer, or renounce the name of soldiers. If you give way, you will be deemed no better than a band of peasants. What general, or what camp, will receive you? Your ensigns and your colours are in the hands of the enemy. You may there regain them; you now must conquer, or be put to the sword; after your late disgrace there is no alternative." A general shout resounded through the field; and in that moment the third legion, according to the custom observed in Syria, paid their adoration to the rising sun."[4]

XXV. This eastern form of worship, either by chance, or by the contrivance of Antonius, gave rise to a sudden report that Mucianus was arrived, and that the two confederate armies exchanged mutual salutations. Animated by this incident, Vespasian's soldiers, as if actually reinforced, charged with redoubled fury. The Vitellian ranks began to give way. Left to their own impulse, without a chief to conduct the battle, they extended or condensed their lines as fear or courage prompted. Antonius saw their confusion. He ordered his men to advance in a close compacted body. The loose and scattered numbers of the enemy gave way at once. The carriages and engines, that lay at random in various parts of the field, made it impossible to restore the order of the battle. The victors, eager to pursue their advantage, pushed forward to the causeway, and having gained a sure footing, made a dreadful carnage.

An accident, that happened in the heat of the action, gave a shock to humanity. A father was killed by his own son. The fact and the names of the men are recorded by Vipstanius Messala; upon his authority I shall state the particulars. Julius Mansuetus, a native of Spain, enrolled himself in the legion already mentioned by the name of Rapax. He left behind him a son then of tender years. The youth, grown up to manhood, enlisted in the seventh legion raised by Galba. In the hurry and tumult of the fight, he met his father, and with a mortal wound stretched him on the ground. He stooped to examine and rifle the body. The unhappy father raised his eyes, and knew his son. The son, in return, acknowledged his dying parent; he burst into tears; he clasped his father in his arms, and, in the anguish of his heart, with earnest supplications entreated him not to impute to his unhappy son the detestable crime of parricide. "The deed," he said, "is horrible, but it is not mine; it is the guilt of a civil war. In the general madness of the state, the act of one poor wretched soldier is a small portion of the public misery." He then opened a grave, embraced the body, and, with filial affection raising it in his arms, discharged the last melancholy duty to his murdered father.

This pathetic scene did not escape observation. A few drew near, others were attracted, and in a short time the fatal deed was known throughout the army. The soldiers heaved a sigh, and

2 The warlike engine called *Balista*, is described by Vegetius, lib. iv. s. 22.

3 Mark Antony gained a victory over the Parthians, A. U. C. 718. Dio, lib. xlix. For Corbulo's success in Armenia, see Annals, x.

4 The eastern nations worshipped the rising sun. The Parthians are described in that act of devotion by Herodian, lib. iv. cap. 15.

with curses execrated the frantic rage of civil discord. And yet, with those sentiments, they went the next moment to plunder their slaughtered friends, their relations, and brothers. They called it a crime, and yet repeated what their hearts condemned.

XXVI. The conquerors pushed on to Cremona, and no sooner drew near the place, than they saw a new difficulty still to be surmounted. In the war with Otho, the German legions had formed a camp round the walls of the town, and fortified it with lines of circumvallation. New works were added afterwards. The victors stood astonished at the sight, and even the generals were at a stand, undecided what plan to pursue. With troops harassed and worn out by continual exertions through the night and day, an attempt to carry the place by storm was not advisable, and, without succours at hand, might be dangerous; and yet the march to Bedriacum would be a laborious undertaking, and to retreat were to give up the fruit of a victory dearly earned. In their present situation, it would be necessary to throw up intrenchments; and that work, in the face of an enemy on the watch to sally out, might put every thing to the hazard. A difficulty still greater than all arose from the temper of the men, who showed themselves, at all times insensible of danger, and impatient of delay. A state of security was a state of listless indolence, and daring enterprise was the proper occupation of a soldier. Wounds, and blood, and slaughter, were nothing to men who thought that plunder can never be too dearly bought.

XXVII. Antonius judged it best to yield to the disposition of his men. He invested the works, determined to risk a general assault. The attack began at a distance, with a volley of stones and darts. The advantage was on the side of the besieged. They possessed the heights, and with surer aim annoyed the enemy at the foot of the ramparts. Antonius saw the necessity of dividing his operations: to some of the legions he assigned distinct parts of the works, and ordered others to advance against the gates. By this mode of attack in different quarters, he knew that valour as well as cowardice would be conspicuous, and a spirit of emulation would animate the whole army. The third and seventh légions took their station opposite to the road that leads to Bedriacum; the seventh and eighth Claudian legions carried on the siege on the right hand of the town; and the thirteenth invested the gate that looked towards Brixia.[1] In this position the troops rested on their arms, till they were supplied from the neighbouring villages with pick-axes, spades, and hooks, and scaling-ladders. Being, at length, provided with proper weapons, they formed a military shell with their shields, and, under that cover, advanced to the ramparts. The Roman art of war was seen on both sides. The Vitellians rolled down massy stones, and, wherever they saw an opening, inserting their long poles and spears, rent assunder the whole frame and texture of the shields, while the assailants, deprived of shelter, suffered a terrible slaughter.

XXVIII. The assault was no longer pushed on with vigour. The generals saw that their exhortations had no effect, and that mere praise was a barren recompense. To inspire the men with courage, they pointed to Cremona as the reward of victory. Whether this expedient was, as Messala informs us, suggested by Hormus, or, on the authority of Caius Plinius,[2] must be laid to the account of Antonius, we have now no means of knowing. Whoever was the author of a deed so cruel and flagitious, neither of those two officers can be said to have degenerated from his former principles. The place being thus devoted to plunder, nothing could restrain the ardour of the soldiers. Braving wounds and danger, and death itself, they began to sap the foundation of the walls; they battered the gates; they braced their shields over their heads; and, mounting on the shoulders of their comrades, they grappled with the besieged, and dragged them headlong from the ramparts. A dreadful havoc followed. The unhurt, the wounded, the maimed, and the dying, fell in one promiscuous heap; and death, in all its forms, represented a spectacle of horror.

XXIX. The most vigorous assault was made by the third and the seventh legions. To support them, Antonius in person led on a select body of auxiliaries. The Vitellians were no longer able to sustain the shock. They saw their darts fall on the military shell,[3] and glide off without effect. Enraged at their disappointment, in a fit of despair they rolled down their battering engine on the heads of the besiegers. Numbers were crushed by the fall of such a ponderous mass. It happened, however, that the machine drew after it the parapet and part of the rampart. An adjoining tower, which had been incessantly battered, fell at the same time, and left a breach for the troops to enter. The seventh legion, in the form of a wedge, endeavoured to force their way, while the third hewed down the gate. The first man that entered, according to all historians, was Caius Volusius, a common soldier of the third legion. He gained the summit of the rampart, and, bearing down all resistance, with his voice, with

1 For Brixia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 Pliny the elder was a considerable historian, as appears from Pliny the consul, lib. iii. epist. 5.

3 The military shell was so condensed, that the darts of the enemy could make no impression. Whoever is curious about the form of the Testudo, and other warlike engines employed in sieges, may consult Lucan, lib. iii. v. 474.

his sword, made himself conspicuous to his comrades, crying aloud, "The camp is taken." The rest of the legion followed him with resistless fury. The Vitellians, in despair, threw themselves headlong from the works. The conquerors pursued their advantage with dreadful slaughter. The whole space between the camp and the walls of Cremona was one continued scene of blood.[4]

XXX. The town itself presented new difficulties, high walls, and towers of stone, the gates secured by iron bars, and the works well manned with troops, that showed themselves on the ramparts, in force, and brandishing their arms. The inhabitants, a large and numerous body, were all devoted to Vitellius; and the annual fair, which was then held, had drawn together a prodigious conflux from all parts of Italy. This appeared to the garrison in the nature of a reinforcement; but it was, at the same time, an accession of wealth that inflamed the ardour of the besiegers. Antonius ordered his men to advance with missive conbustibles, and set fire to the pleasent villas that lay round the city, in hopes that the inhabitants, seeing their mansions destroyed, would more readily submit to a capitulation. In the houses that stood near the walls, of a height to overlook the works, he placed the bravest of his troops; and from those stations, large rafts of timber, stones, and firebrands, were thrown in upon the garrison. The Vitellians were no longer able to maintain their post.

XXXI. The legions under Antonius were now preparing for a general assault. They formed their military shell, and advanced to the works, while the rest of the army poured in a volley of stones and darts. The besieged began to despair; their spirit died away by degrees, and the men high in rank were willing to make terms for themselves. If Cremona was taken by storm, they expected no quarter. The conquerors, in that case, disdaining vulgar lives, would fall on the tribunes and centurions, from whom the largest booty was to be expected. The common men, as usual, careless about future events, and safe in indigence and obscurity, were still for making head against the enemy. They roamed about the streets in sullen obstinacy, or loitered in private houses, neither making war not thinking of peace. The principal officers took down the name and images of Vitellius. Cæcina was still in confinement. They released him from his fetters, and desired his good offices with the conqueror. He heard their petition with disdain, swelling with pride and insolence in proportion to the meanness with which they implored his aid. The last stage of human misery! when so many brave and gallant men were obliged to sue to a traitor for protection. As a signal of submission, they hung out from the walls the sacerdotal scarfs[5] and sacred vestments. Antonius ordered a cessation of hostilities. The garrison marched out with the eagles and standards. The procession was slow and melancholy; the soldiers without their arms, dejection in their countenance, and their eyes riveted to the ground. The conquerors gathered round them, with taunts and ribaldry insulting their misfortunes, and even threatening violence to their persons. But the humility of the vanquished, and the passive temper with which they bore every indignity, without a trace remaining of their former ferocity, awakened compassion in every breast. It was now remembered, that these very men conquered at Bedriacum, and used their victory with moderation. At length Cæcina came forth in his ornamental robes, with all the pomp of a consular magistrate, the lictors preceding him, and opening way for him through the crowd. The indignation due to a traitor broke forth at once. The soldiers treated him with every mark of contempt; they reproached him for his pride, his cruelty, and even for his treachery: so true it is, that villany is sure to be detested by the very people who have profited by it. Antonius snatched him from the fury of the men, and soon after sent him, properly escorted, to Vespasian.

XXXII. The common people of Cremona, in the midst of so many soldiers flushed with the pride of victory, were in danger of being all put to the sword, if the general officers had not interfered to prevent the effusion of blood. Antonius called an assembly of the army. He spoke of the conquerors in magnificent terms, and of the vanquished with humanity. He mentioned Cremona with reserve and cold indifference. But the men were bent on the ruin of the colony. To their love of plunder they added an implacable aversion to the people, and various motives conspired to work the destruction of the place. In the war against Otho, the inhabitants were deemed the secret abettors of Vitellius; and afterwards, when the thirteenth legion was left among them to build an amphitheatre, the populace, in their usual strain of vulgar humour, made the soldiers an object of derision. In addition to this, the spectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina was turned into a crime against the people. Their city was now for the second time, the seat of war; and, in the

4 Josephus says, that above thirty thousand of the Vitellians were put to the sword, and of Vespasian's army about four thousand five hundred. De Bello Jud. lib iv. cap. 11.

5 The display of clothes and sacerdotal vestments in the act of suing for peace has been mentioned, Hist. i. n. 66.

heat of the last engagement, the Vitellians were thence supplied with refreshments; and some of their women, who had been led into the field of battle by their zeal for the cause, were slain among the ranks. But above all, the well-known opulence of the colony, increased, in that juncture, by the vast concourse attracted to the fair with their goods and merchandise, was a decisive argument for the demolition of the place. Antonius by his fame and brilliant success eclipsed all the other commanders. The attention of the men was fixed on him alone. Determined, however, to be neutral on the occasion, he retired to a bath to refresh himself after the fatigue of the day. Finding the water not sufficiently warm, he said in a careless manner, "It will be hot enough in a little time." That trifling expression, dropt by accident amongst his slaves, was afterwards caught up, and propagated to his prejudice, as if it were the intended signal for setting fire to Cremona. At that moment the city was in a blaze.

XXXIII. Forty thousand men had entered sword in hand. The number of slaves and mean attendants of the camp was still greater, all bent on mischief, and more inclined to acts of barbarity than even the soldiers. Neither sex, nor age, nor dignity of rank, was spared. A scene of blood was laid, and amidst the horrors of a general massacre, lust and violation triumphed. Old men and ancient matrons, who had no wealth to satisfy avarice, were dragged forth with scorn, and butchered with derision. The young and comely of either sex were sure to suffer the brutal passions of abandoned men, or to be torn piecemeal in the struggle for the possession of their persons. In those conflicts the contending rivals, in the rage of disappointed lust, turned their swords against each other. The men, who were seen carrying off the wealth of houses, or massy gold from the temples, were attacked and butchered by others as rapacious as themselves. Not content with the treasures that lay open to their view, they put several to the rack, in order to extort a confession of concealed riches. The ground was dug up, to gratify the rage of avarice. Numbers carried flaming torches, and, as soon as they had brought forth their booty, made it their sport to set the houses and temples on fire. In so vast a multitude, as dissonant in their language as their manners, composed of Roman citizens, allies, and foreign auxiliaries, all the fell passions of mankind were crowded together. Each soldier had his peculiar notions of right and wrong; and what one scrupled, another dared to execute. Nothing was unlawful, nothing sacred. Four days were spent in the destruction of this unfortunate city. Things profane and holy perished in the flames. The temple of Mephitis,[1] which stood on the outside of the walls, was the only structure left entire. It was saved by its situation, or perhaps, by the goddess to whom it was dedicated.

XXXIV. Such was the fate of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-six years from its foundation. The first stone was laid during the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, at the time when Hannibal threatened an irruption into Italy. The design was to have a frontier town, to bridle the Gauls inhabiting beyond the Po, or any power on the other side of the Alps. The colony, from that time, grew into celebrity; their numbers multiplied, and their wealth increased; the country round was intersected with rivers; the soil was fertile, and by intermarriages[2] the inhabitants formed alliances with the neighbouring towns of Italy. The city continued to flourish in the worst of times, safe from foreign enemies, till ruined at last by the rage of civil war. Antonius felt that the whole disgrace of this horrible transaction pressed hard upon himself. To soften resentment, he issued an edict, forbidding all manner of persons to detain the citizens of Cremona as prisoners of war. At the same time, all Italy entered into a resolution not to purchase the captives taken on that melancholy occasion. The soldiers, finding that their prey was rendered useless, began to murder the wretches whom they could not sell. This barbarity, however, was checked as soon as known. The prisoners were ransomed by their friends and relations. The survivors in a short time returned to Cremona. The temples and public places were rebuilt, at the recommendation of Vespasian, by munificence of the colony.

XXXV. A city buried in its own ruins, the country round polluted with gore, and the air infected by the exhalations of putrid bodies, afforded no place where the army could remain. They encamped at the distance of three miles. The Vitellian soldiers, who in their panic had fled different ways, were brought back, as fast as they were found, and once more enrolled in their proper companies; and, lest the legions to which they belonged should meditate hostile designs, they were sent into Illyricum, and there stationed, at a distance from the seat of war. To spread the fame of Vespasian's arms, messengers were despatched into Britain and both the Spains. Julius Calenus, one of the tribunes, was sent into Gaul, and Alpinus Montanus, the prefect of a cohort, into Germany. The former

1 Mephitis was the goddess worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil,

——Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.

Æneid, lib. vii. ver. 84.

2 Whoever is curious about the distinctions between what the Romans called *Connubium* and *Matrimonium*, with the different ceremonies observed in each, may consult Brotier's Tacitus, quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 456.

was by birth an Æduan, and the latter a native of Treves, both warmly attached to Vitellius, and for that reason chosen, with an air of triumph, to bear the news of his defeat. Care was also taken to secure by a chain of posts the passes over the Alps, to prevent an irruption from Germany, supposed, at that time, to be in arms in favour of the vanquished party.

XXXVI. Vitellius, in a few days after Cæcina set out from Rome, prevailed on Fabius Valens to take upon him the conduct of the war. From that moment he gave himself up to his usual gratifications, in wine and gluttony losing all sense of danger. He made no preparation for the field, and showed no attention to the soldiers. He neither reviewed, nor exercised, nor harangued them: never once appeared before the people. Hid in the recess of his gardens, he indulged his appetite, forgetting the past, the present, and all solicitude about future events; like those nauseous animals that know no care, and, while they are supplied with food, remain in one spot, torpid and insensible. In this state of stupidity he passed his time in the grove of Aricinum,[3] when the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the revolt of the fleet at Ravenna, roused him from his lethargy. In a short time after arrived other despatches, by which he learned, with mixed emotions of grief and joy, the perfidy of Cæcina, and his imprisonment by the soldiers. In a mind like his, incapable of reflection, joy prevailed over every other passion, and absorbed all ideas of danger. He returned to Rome in the highest exultation; and having extolled, before an assembly of the people, the zeal and ardour of the army, he ordered Publius Sabinus, the prefect of the prætorian guards and the intimate friend of Cæcina, to be taken into custody. Alphenus Varus succeeded to the command.

XXXVII. Vitellius went next to the senate, and, in a speech of prepared eloquence, talked highly of the posture of affairs. The fathers answered him in a strain of flattery. The case of Cæcina was brought into debate by Lucius Vitellius. He moved that immediate judgment should be pronounced against him. The rest of the senate concurred; and, with well-acted indignation, launched out against the complicated perfidy of a man, who in the character of consul abandoned the commonwealth, as a general officer betrayed his prince, and, as a friend loaded with honours, gave an example of base ingratitude. In this specious manner they affected to lament the lot of Vitellius, but, in fact, felt only for themselves and the commonwealth. Through the whole debate, not a word was uttered against the leaders of Vespasian's party; the revolt of the several armies was called, in qualifying terms, an error in judgment; and, with studied circuity, the name of Vespasian was wholly avoided. They alluded to him, they hesitated, and yet passed him by in silence. To complete the consulship of Cæcina, one day remained. To fill that little interval, a man was found willing to be invested with the short-lived pageantry; and accordingly, on the day preceding the calends of November, Rosius Regulus entered on the office, and on the same day finished his career. The public saw with derision a farce of state altogether ridiculous, as well on the part of the prince, who granted the mock dignity, as on that of the sycophant, who had the pitiful ambition to accept it. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that no instance had ever occurred of a new consul, before the office was declared vacant in due course of law. Caninius Rebulus,[4] it is true, had been the consul of a day; but that was in the time of Julius Cæsar, when that emperor, in haste to reward his friends for their services in the civil wars, thought fit, by an act of power, to shorten the duration of the consulship.

XXXVIII. The death of Junius Blæsus became at this time publicly known, and engrossed the conversation of all ranks of men. The particulars of this tragic event, as far as they have come to my knowledge, are as follows: It happened that Vitellius, confined by illness in the gardens of Servilius, saw, in the night-time, a tower in the neighbourhood gaily illuminated. He desired to know the reason of that splendid appearance, and was told, that Cæcina Tuscus gave a grand entertainment to a party of his friends, amongst whom Junius Blæsus was the most distinguished. The sumptuous preparations, and the mirth of the company were described with every circumstance of exaggeration. The creatures of the court did not fail to impute it as a crime to Tuscus and his guests, that they chose their time for revelling in an unseasonable juncture, when the prince was indisposed. Their malice chiefly glanced at Blæsus. The men who made it their business to pry into the secret thoughts of the emperor, soon perceived

3 For Aricia, and the neighbouring grove, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

4 The consulship, in the time of the republic, was an annual office; but Julius Cæsar, in haste to reward his friends, shortened the duration of the office, and advanced several to that dignity within the year. He was himself sole consul, A. U. C. 709: he resigned in favour of Fabius Maximus and Caius Trebonius Nepos. The former dying on the very last day of the year, he appointed Caninius Rebulus to fill the remaining space. Cicero laughs at the short-lived dignity. In that consulship, he says, no man had time to dine, and no kind of mischief happened. The consul was a man of so much vigilance, that he did not allow himself a wink of sleep. *Caninio consule, scito neminem prandisse; nihil tamen, eo consule, mali factum est. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo consulatu somnum non viderit.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. vii. epist. 30.

that they had infused their venom with success, and that the ruin of Blæsus might be easily accomplished. To make sure of their blow, they applied to Lucius Vitellius, who readily undertook to manage the accusation. Being himself stained with every vice, and for his life and morals universally decried, he saw with envy the fair reputation and the popular esteem that attended Blæsus. With this jealousy rankling in his heart, he clasped the emperor's infant son in his arms, and, entering the prince's chamber, went down on his knees. Vitellius asked him, Why that sudden alarm? "It is not for myself," replied the brother, "that I am thus distressed: it is for you I shed these tears; for you and your children I come to offer up my prayers and supplications. From Vespasian we have nothing to fear: the German legions are in arms to hinder his approach; the provinces declare against him, and vast tracts of sea and land detain him at a distance from the seat of war. The enemy to be dreaded is near at hand; he is in the city of Rome; he is even now lurking in your bosom. Proud of his descent from Mark Antony and the Junian family, he affects to be connected with the imperial line, and, by caresses and a style of magnificence, endeavours to conciliate to himself the affections of the soldiers. Upon this man all eyes are fixed. Vitellius, in the mean time, passes away his hours in unsuspecting security, neglecting at once his enemies and his friends; he cherishes in his bosom a treacherous rival, who from the banqueting-table, and his scene of midnight revelry, beheld with joy the languid condition of his sovereign. But for joy and riot let him be repaid with vengeance, and a night of mourning; let him know that Vitellius lives; that he is master of the Roman world, and, whenever the lot of humanity shall call him hence, that he has a son to follow in the order of succession."

XXXIX. Vitellius balanced, for some time, between the horror of the deed proposed and his apprehensions for himself. By deferring the fate of Blæsus he might accelerate his own ruin, and to give public orders for his execution were a dangerous expedient. A measure so bold and open would excite the indignation of the people. To despatch him by poison seemed to be the safest method. That he was guilty of that execrable villany, the visit which he paid to Blæsus leaves no room to doubt. He was seen transported with savage joy, and was heard to say, "I have feasted my eyes with the pangs of an expiring enemy." Those were his words. The character of Blæsus was without a blemish. To the dignity of his birth, and the elegance of his manners, he united the strictest honour, and unshaken fidelity to the emperor. While Vitellius was still flourishing in prosperity, Cæcina, and other chiefs of the party, endeavoured to draw him into a league with themselves: but he was proof against all temptation; firm, upright, void of ambition. He sought no sudden honours, and to a mind like his the imperial dignity had no allurement. And yet his modesty threw such a lustre round his virtues, that he narrowly escaped being deemed worthy of the succession.

XL. During these transactions, Fabius Valens, with a number of concubines and eunuchs in his train, proceeded by slow and tedious marches, unlike a general going to a great and important war. On the road he received intelligence of the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. Had he then pushed on with vigour, he might have joined Cæcina, who was still wavering and undecided; at the worst, he might have put himself at the head of the legions before they came to a decisive action. His friends were of opinion, that, with a few faithful attendants, avoiding the road that led to Ravenna, he ought to proceed with expedition, through private ways, to Hostilia or Cremona. Others pressed him to bring into the field the prætorian bands from Rome, and force his way to the Vitellian army. But the time was lost in fruitless deliberation. The posture of affairs called for vigour, and Valens remained irresolute and inactive. In the end, rejecting all advice, he chose a middle course, in pressing exigencies always the most pernicious. He neither acted with the courage nor the prudence of an able general.

XLI. He sent despatches to Vitellius for a reinforcement, and was soon after joined by three cohorts and a squadron of horse from Britain; a number too great to steal a march, and too weak to open a passage through an enemy's country. Even in this arduous juncture, amidst the dangers that pressed on every side, Valens was not to be weaned from his favourite vices. Riot, lust, and adultery, marked his way. He had power and money; and, even in ruin, his libidinous passions did not desert him. He was no sooner joined by the foot and cavalry sent by Vitellius, than he saw, too late, the folly of his measures. With his whole force, supposing the men true to Vitellius, he could not hope to penetrate through the adverse army; much less could he expect it, when their fidelity was already suspected. Shame, and respect for their general, still left some impression on the minds of the men; but those were feeble restraints, when the love of enterprise was the ruling passion, and all principle was extinguished. Valens felt the difficulty of his situation. Having ordered the cohorts to march forward to Ariminum,[1] and the cavalry to follow in the rear, he himself, with a few adherents whom adversity had not yet seduced, directed his course towards Umbria,[2] and thence to Etruria, where

1 For Ariminum, see the Geographical Table.
2 See the Geographical Table.

he first heard of the defeat at Cremona. In that disastrous moment he conceived a bold design, in its extent vast and magnificent, and, had it been carried into execution, big with fatal consequences. He proposed to seize the ships on the coast, and bear away to Narbon Gaul, in order to land somewhere in that country, and rouse the provinces of Gaul, with the armies stationed there, and the various German nations. The project was worthy of a great officer, and, by its consequences, must have involved the world in a new war.

XLII. The departure of Valens threw the garrison of Arimnum into consternation. Cornelius Fuscus advanced, at the head of his army, to lay siege to the place, and, having ordered the fleet to sail round the coast, invested it by sea and land. His forces spread themselves over the plains of Umbria, and stretched into the territory of Picenum[3] as far as the Adriatic gulf. Italy was now divided between Vespasian and Vitellius by the Apennine mountains. Valens embarked at the port of Pisa,[4] but being becalmed, or meeting with contrary winds, was forced to land at Monaco.[5] Marius Maturus, the governor of the maritime Alps, was then in the neighbourhood; a man attached to Vitellius, and, though the country round espoused the opposite interest, still firm in his duty. This officer received Valens with open arms; but the design of making an attempt on the coast of Narbon Gaul appeared to him rash and impracticable. By his advice the project was laid aside. The few followers, who had hitherto adhered to Valens, began to think of shifting for themselves. They saw the adjacent cities going over to Valerius Paulinus, who commanded in the neighbourhood; an officer of distinguished merit, and, long before the war broke out, devoted to Vespasian. Under his influence the people declared for the new emperor.

XLIII. Paulinus was master of Forojulium, a place of importance, that gave him the command of those seas. He had there stationed a garrison, consisting of men disbanded by Vitellius, and therefore willing to take up arms against him. Paulinus was a native of the colony, and had, by consequence, great weight with his countrymen. He had also been a tribune of the prætorian guards, and was held in high esteem by the soldiers of that description. The people were willing to second the views of their fellow-citizen, and the hope of future advantages from his elevation was a spur to their zeal. In this posture of affairs, while every thing was swelled by the voice of fame to greater magnitude, Valens saw the spirit of the Vitellian party depressed and broken. To return to his ships was now his only refuge. He took with him four prætorians, three faithful friends, and as many centurions. With those attendants he once more embarked, leaving Maturus, and such as were willing to submit to Vespasian, to pursue their own inclination. As to himself, the open sea was the safest place: on shore he saw no security, and in the adjacent cities no prospect of relief. Without a resource left, and rather seeing what was to be avoided than what he ought to pursue, he put to sea, and was thrown by adverse winds on the islands called the Stœchades,[6] near Marseilles. Paulinus, without loss of time, sent out his light-armed galleys, and Valens was taken prisoner.

XLIV. The Vitellian general being now in the hands of the enemy, the whole force of the empire was transferred to Vespasian. In Spain, the first legion, called Adjutrix, still respecting the memory of Otho, and by consequence hostile to Vitellius, gave an example of revolt to the rest of the army. The tenth and sixth legions followed. The provinces of Gaul acceded without hesitation. In Britain the same spirit prevailed. During the reign of Claudius, Vespasian headed the second legion; and the men, still remembering the heroic ardour with which he led them on to victory, were soon decided in his favour. They met, however, some opposition from the other legions, in which a considerable number of centurions and soldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, were unwilling to desert a prince to whom they felt themselves bound by ties of gratitude. It was with reluctance that they were brought to acknowledge a new master.

XLV. Encouraged by the dissension among the legions, and also by the civil wars that distracted the empire, the Britons renewed their ancient animosity. Venusius headed the malcontents. To his own natural ferocity that chieftain added a rooted antipathy to the Roman name. He was, besides, the avowed enemy of Cartismandua,[7] queen of Brigantes; a woman of high descent, and flourishing in all the splendour of wealth and power. In the reign of Claudius, she had treacherously delivered up Caractacus, to swell the pomp of that emperor's triumph. From that time riches flowed in upon her; but riches drew after them their usual appendages, luxury and dissipation. She banished from her presence Venusius her husband, and raised Vellocatus, his armour-bearer, to her throne and bed. By that criminal act, she lost all authority. Convulsions shook her kingdom. The discarded husband had the people on his

3 For Picenum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

4 Sinus Pisanus, now the *Gulf of Pisa*.

5 Portus Herculis Monœci, now called *Monaco*.

6 For the Stœchades, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

7 For Caractacus, and Cartismandua queen of the Brigantes, see Annals, xii. s. 32 to 36.

side, while the adulterer had nothing to protect him but the libidinous passions of the queen, and the cruelty of her reign. Venusius was in a short time at the head of a powerful army. The subjects of the queen flocked to his standard, and a body of auxiliaries joined him. Cartismandua was reduced to the last extremity. She invoked the protection of the Romans, who sent some cohorts and squadrons of horse to her relief. Several battles ensued, with various success. The queen, however, was rescued from impending danger, though she lost her kingdom. Venusius wrested the sceptre out of her hands, and the Romans were involved in a war.

XLVI. About the same time, Germany was up in arms. The seditious spirit of the legions, and the sluggish inactivity of the commanders, encouraged the Barbarians to invade the Roman frontiers. By the treachery of the states in alliance, and the strength of the enemy, the interest of the empire was brought to the brink of ruin. Of this war, and the causes that produced it, with the various events that followed, I shall hereafter[1] give a regular account: it would lead at present to a long digression. Commotions, about the same time, broke out in Dacia. Fidelity never was the character of that nation: and, since the legions were withdrawn from Mæsia, there remained no force to hold the people in subjection. They had the policy, however, to watch in silence the first movements of civil discord among the Romans. Seeing, at length, that Italy was in a blaze, they seized their opportunity, and stormed the winter-quarters of the cohorts and the cavalry. Having made themselves masters of both banks of the Danube, they were preparing to raze to the ground the camp of the legions, when Mucianus, apprised of the victory at Cremona, sent the sixth legion to check the incursions of the enemy. The good fortune that had often favoured the Roman arms, brought Mucianus in the moment of distress, with the forces of the East, to quell the insurrection, before the people of that country, backed by the German nations, could make an irruption into Italy. In that juncture, Fonteius Agrippa[2] arrived from Asia, where he had governed for a year with proconsular authority, and was now appointed to command in Mæsia. He undertook the charge, at the head of an army composed of Vitellian soldiers, whom it was then the policy to disperse through the provinces, and employ their arms against the foreign enemies of the empire.

XLVII. The rest of the provinces were by no means free from commotion. A man who had been orignally a slave, and afterwards commanded a royal fleet, kindled the flame of war in Pontus, and drew together a body of men in arms. His name was Anicetus,[3] the freedman and favourite minister of Polemon, high in power while that monarchy lasted, but now enraged to see the kingdom turned into a Roman province. In the name of Vitellius he roused the nations bordering on the Pontic sea. The hope of plunder attracted to his standard all the freebooters of the country. Finding himself in a short time at the head of a force not to be despised, he attacked and carried by assault the city of Trapezund,[4] founded in ancient times by a colony from Greece, at the extremity of the Pontic sea. An entire cohort, formerly a royal garrison, was put to the sword. The men had received the privilege of Roman citizens,[5] and, from that time, used the arms and banners of Rome, still retaining their native indolence, and the dissolute manners of the Greeks. This adventurer, after his first exploit, set fire to Vespasian's fleet, and put out to sea safe from pursuit, as the best of the light galleys, by order of Mucianus, were stationed at Byzantium. Encouraged by his example, the Barbarians on the coast began a piratical war. They roamed about in boats of a particular structure, the sides broad at the bottom, and growing narrow by degrees, in the form of a curve, and neither bound with hoops of iron nor of brass. In a tempestuous sea, they raise the sides with additional planks in proportion to the swell of the waves, till the vessel is covered over with an arched roof, and thence is called the floating CAMERA.[6] At either end they have a sharp-pointed prow; their oars are readily shifted to work backward or forward, moving with facility in either direction, and thus their mariners advance or retreat with ease and security.

XLVIII. Vespasian thought it of moment to chase this band of pirates from the seas, and, for this purpose, sent a detachment of the legions under the command of Virdius Geminus, an officer of known experience. He came up with the Barbarians as they were roaming on the shore in quest of prey, and forced them to fly with precipitation to the boats. Having, in a short time after, constructed a number of galleys fit for the service, he gave chase to Anicetus,

1 The war with Civilis, the Batavian; for which see Hist. iv. s. 12.

2 According to Josephus, Fonteius Agrippa was afterwards murdered by the Sarmatians. Bel. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

3 Polemon was made king of Pontus by Caligula, and, after his death, the kingdom was changed by Nero into a Roman province. Suetonius in Nero. s. 18.

4 Now *Trebisonde*.

5 By granting the freedom of the city, the Romans drew distant colonies into a close alliance.

6 These canoes were so light, that the barbarians could carry them on their shoulders, and traverse woods and forests without being fatigued with their load. The savages of America, and the Greenlanders, have boats bound together with twigs and osiers, without the use of brass or iron.

and drove him up the mouth of the river Cohibus;[7] a station where the freebooter thought himself safe under the protection of the king of the Sedochezan nation.[8] By money and various presents he had purchased the friendship of that prince, and for a short time enjoyed the advantage of his alliance. The king threatened to take up arms in his defence: but finding that he was to choose between bribery or an impending war, he preferred his interest, and, with the usual treachery of Barbarians, having struck a bargain for the life of his friend, surrendered the whole party to the Romans. In this manner ended the servile war.

The issue of this piratical war gave the highest satisfaction to Vespasian; and to fill the measure of his joy, an account of the victory at Cremona reached him in Egypt. Without loss of time, he set out for Alexandria, with intent, since Vitellius could no longer keep the field, to reduce the people of Rome by famine; a project easily accomplished, as that city, for its subsistence, always depends on foreign supplies. It was also part of his plan to secure the coast of Africa both by land and sea, little doubting, when all resources were cut off, he should involve the Vitellian party in all the miseries of want, and, by consequence, in dissensions among themselves.

XLIX. While things in every quarter of the world tended with rapidity to a revolution, and the imperial dignity was passing into the hands of a new sovereign, Antonius, flushed with his success at Cremona, no longer preserved the moderation that marked his conduct before that important event. The war he thought so far decided, that every thing would be speedily settled; or, perhaps, the sunshine of prosperity called forth the seeds of pride, of avarice, and the other vices of his nature. He considered Italy as a conquered country; he caressed the soldiers, as if he intended to secure them to himself; by his words and actions he seemed resolved to establish his own power; he encouraged the licentious spirit of the army, and left to the legions the nomination of centurions to fill the vacant posts of such as were slain in battle The consequence was, that the most bold and turbulent were chosen, and discipline went to ruin. The officers lost all authority, and the soldiers commanded. The army being wholly corrupted by these popular but seditious arts, Antonius thought he might safely give the reins to his avarice, and began by public rapine to enrich himself. The approach of Mucianus was no restraint, though to incur the displeasure of that commander was more dangerous than to offend Vespasian himself.

L. The winter being now at hand, and the country laid under water by the overflowing of the Po, the army was obliged to march lightly equipped. The eagles and banners of the victorious legions, with the old, the wounded, and even numbers in full vigour, were left at Verona. The cohorts and cavalry, with a select detachment from the legions, were thought sufficient against the enemy already vanquished. The eleventh legion, at first unwilling to enter into the war, but since the turn of affairs regretting that they had no share in the victory, had lately joined the army, accompanied by six thousand Dalmatians, newly levied. The whole body was, in appearance, led by Poppæus Silvanus, a man of consular rank; but, in fact, Annius Bassus governed their motions by his skill and advice. Silvanus had no military talents; in the moment that called for enterprise, he was more inclined to waste the time in words than to act with vigour. Bassus assisted him with his best counsels, appearing to obey, but in truth commanding. To this body of forces was added the flower of the marines from the fleet at Ravenna, who had desired to be considered as legionary soldiers. The fleet in the meantime, was manned by the Dalmatians. The army proceeded as far as the temple of Fortune,[9] and there made halt by order of the chiefs, who had not yet settled their plan of operations. They had received intelligence that the prætorian cohorts were on their march from Rome, and the passes over the Apennine were supposed to be in the possession of the enemy. In a country laid waste by war, they dreaded the danger of wanting provisions; and the clamours of the soldiers demanding the donative, by the army called Clavarium,[10] were loud, and tending to sedition. The generals had no money in their military chests; and their provisions were exhausted by the rapacity of the soldiers who seized the stores, which ought to have been distributed with frugal management.

LI. A fact extraordinary in its nature, and yet vouched by writers of good authority, will serve to show how little of moral rectitude and natural sentiment remained in the minds of the victorious army. A common soldier belonging to the cavalry averred that, in the late engage-

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7 The river *Cohibus*, Brotier says, ought to be called *Cobus*, being the same mentioned by the elder Pliny, lib. vi. c. 4. *Flumen Cobum e Caucaso per Suanos fluens.* It discharges itself into the Euxine.

8 The commentators agree that there is here an error in the text: instead of *Sedochezan regis*, the true reading is, *Sub Sedochi Lazorum regis auxilio.* The *Lazi* were a people of Sarmatia, on the east side of the Euxine.

9 *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, a port town of *Urbino*, on the Adriatic.

10 *Clavarium* was a donative granted to the soldiers to enable them to purchase nails for their shoes. In like manner the donative for shoes was called *Calcearium.* Suetonius in Vespas. c. 8.

ment, he killed his brother, and for that deed of horror he had the hardiness to demand a recompense. The laws of nature would not allow the superior officer to reward an action that shocked humanity; and to punish it was inconsistent with the policy of war. Under a plausible pretence of not being able, in that juncture, to proportion their bounty to the extent of the merit, they adjourned the business, and thought of it no more. In former civil wars, we have upon record a similar tragic incident, but with a different issue. In the battle with Cinna at Janiculum,[1] a man of Pompey's party, (as Sisenna relates the story) slew his brother, and soon after, finding his mistake, despatched himself: so true it is, that in ancient times men not only had a quick sense of glory, but also felt a just abhorrence of evil deeds. For the insertion of this anecdote no apology will be deemed necessary: on the contrary, it may be proper to revive the memory of past transactions, in order, whenever the occasion requires it, to exhibit a bright example of eminent virtue, or to soothe the mind under the pressure of recent calamity.

LII. Antonius, in concert with the principal officers, judged it prudent to send forward the cavalry, with orders to explore, in some part of Umbria, a place of moderate acclivity over the Apennine mountains. In the meantime, the troops left behind at Verona were ordered to advance with the eagles and standards. Measures were also taken to procure a supply of provisions by sea, and also by the navigation of the Po. But delay was what some of the chiefs had much at heart. They knew the pride and growing ambition of Antonius, and thought it more for their interest to curry favour with Mucianus, who saw with a jealous eye the rapid success with which Antonius pushed on his conquest. If the general of the East did not arrive in time to enter Rome with the victorious army, it was evident that the whole glory of the war would fall to the lot of others. His letters to Varus and Antonius were dark, ambiguous, and contradictory; sometimes recommending despatch, and afterwards stating the advantages of caution and dilatory measures. By this duplicity he hoped to assume the merit of whatever succeeded, and, if any misfortune happened, to throw the blame on others. With his intimate friends, and in particular with Plotius Griphus,[2] lately raised by Vespasian to the rank of senator, and the command of a legion, his correspondence was more open and direct. The answers which he received were in a style agreeable to his wishes, full of compliments to himself, and malignant reflections on the rashness of Varus and Antonius. These letters Mucianus took care to forward to Vespasian. The impression which they made was unfavourable to Antonius, who knew the value of his services, and yet found himself supplanted in the opinion of the future emperor.

LIII. Antonius, with the spirit of an injured man, complained of the insidious arts with which Mucianus undermined his character. Above disguising his passions, and scorning to temporize, he spoke his mind with freedom. His letters to Vespasian were in a tone more lofty than is usually addressed to princes. He talked of himself with an air of confidence, and with asperity of Mucianus, the assassin of his reputation. "It was by Antonius that the legions in Pannonia were excited to a revolt; by him the leaders in Mœsia were inspired with courage; by him the Alps were forced, Italy was subdued, and by him all succours from Germany and Rhætia were entirely cut off. By him the cavalry was led on to attack the legions of Vitellius, in the moment of disunion among themselves; and the complete victory obtained by the infantry, after an obstinate engagement that lasted night and day, was an exploit of which envy itself could not deny him the merit. The destruction of Cremona was a calamity incident to the rage of civil war; and yet that calamity, dreadful as it was, could not be compared to the disasters of former times, when the republic saw her cities razed to the ground, and the land deluged with blood. In the war which he had conducted, his sword, and not his pen, was the weapon which he employed. Instead of writing secret despatches, he sought the enemy in the field. Nor did he mean to detract from those who commanded in Asia: they had the mighty glory of preserving tranquillity in the distant territory of Mœsia, while he routed the Vitellian armies, and made himself master of Italy. Spain and Gaul, the two bulwarks of the empire, were by his influence drawn over to Vespasian. But his best efforts had been in vain exerted, if his laurels, so dearly earned, were to be transferred to men, who neither shared in the victory nor the danger." These remonstrances did not remain a secret to Mucianus. The consequence was, a deadly feud between the two commanders; on the part of Antonius, carried on with open and avowed hostility; on that of Mucianus, with close disguise, and, for that reason, the more implacable.

LIV. Vitellius, after the overthrow of his army at Cremona, thought it good policy to suppress the news. By that shallow artifice, he made every thing worse. Dissimulation could

1 *Janiculum*, a high hill at Rome, but not one of the seven: now called *Monte Gianicolo*, and more commonly *Montorio*. The story of a soldier killing his brother in battle, and on the discovery despatching himself, is told by Valerius Maximus, lib. v. cap. 5. s. 4, but attributed to a soldier under Sertorius. See Livy's Epitome, lib. lxxix.

2 Plotius Griphus was one of the friends of Statius the poet, as appears from a poem in the Sylvæ, lib. iv. inscribed to him.

only postpone the remedy, but not ward off the consequences of that dreadful defeat. Had the event been fairly told, a council might have been called, and there were resources still in reserve. In the midst of ruin, he pretended to be in a flourishing condition, and by that fallacy was undone. The war was not so much as mentioned in his presence. The citizens of Rome were forbid to talk of the news of the day, and for that reason they talked the more. Since liberty of speech was no longer allowed, instead of the plain truth they gave out fictitious accounts, and, because they were restrained, took their revenge by making every thing worse. The chiefs of the adverse party omitted nothing that could extend the fame of their victory. The spies that fell into their hands were industriously led round the camp, and, after seeing the strength and spirit of the conquerors, dismissed to make their report at Rome. Vitellius examined them in private, and, that nothing might transpire, ordered them to be put to death. A singular proof of fidelity and generous courage was, at this time, given by a centurion; his name Julius Agrestis. This man, in several interviews with Vitellius, tried in vain to rouse his master to a spirit of enterprise. All he could obtain was leave to go in person to view the strength of the enemy, and see the real condition of Cremona. Scorning to approach Antonius in the character of a spy, he avowed the emperor's orders, and his own resolution. A guard was appointed to conduct him. He was led to the field of battle; he surveyed the ruins of Cremona, and saw the legions that had laid down their arms.

With that intelligence he returned to Vitellius. The emperor, deaf to the voice of truth, and unwilling to be convinced, charged the centurion with treachery and corruption. "I perceive," said Agrestis, "that some great and signal proof is necessary; and, since neither my life nor death can now be of any use, I will give you that evidence which cannot deceive." He retired, and fell on his sword. According to some historians, he was slain by order of Vitellius. Be that as it may, the fidelity of the generous centurion deserves to be transmitted to posterity.

LV. At length Vitellius was roused from his state of stupefaction. He ordered Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, at the head of fourteen prætorian cohorts, and the whole of the cavalry, to take possession of the Apennine mountains. A legion of marines was sent after them. A force so considerable, consisting of several thousand horse and foot, under any other general, would have been sufficient not only to withstand the enemy, but even to wage an offensive war. The cohorts that remained for the defence of the city, were put under the command of Lucius Vitellius, the emperor's brother. The emperor, in the mean time, abated nothing from his habitual luxury. He began, however, with a precipitation that sprung from fear, to grant away whatever the state had to bestow. He hurried on the election of public magistrates, and appointed a succession of consuls for several years; he concluded treaties with the allies of Rome; he invested foreign cities with the privileges of Latium: he granted to some nations an exemption from all kinds of tribute, and to others immunities unheard of before; regardless of posterity, and, in all events, determined to exhaust the commonwealth. The populace applauded the liberality of the emperor. Some were weak enough to purchase favours, which, it was evident, could not last; while men of reflection saw, that lavish grants, which could neither be made nor accepted without distressing the public, must be declared null and void. At length Vitellius, urged by the importunity of the army, which lay encamped at Mevania,[3] marched out of the city, attended by a numerous train of senators, all following with different motives; some to pay their court, and the greater part afraid of giving jealousy to a prince who joined his army without any settled plan, in himself no resource, no decision, the ready dupe of every treacherous adviser.

LVI. Having reached the camp, Vitellius called an assembly of the soldiers. During his speech, a wonderful phenomenon engaged the attention of all. A flight of ill-omened birds hovered over his head, forming a cloud that obscured the day. This was followed by another prognostic of an alarming nature. A bull broke loose from the altar, and, trampling under foot all the preparations for the sacrifice, fled to a distant place, and there, on a spot where victims were never slain, was felled to the ground. But Vitellius, in his own person, presented a sight that exceeded every prodigy: a chief void of military knowledge, without judgment to plan, or courage to execute. He had not skill enough to explore the motions of the enemy, and to the art of avoiding or bringing on a general engagement he was an utter stranger. Every incident betrayed his ignorance or his pusillanimity. When messengers arrived, he turned pale, faltered in his gait, asked questions, trembled, and returned to his bottle. Weary at length of the camp, and terrified by the revolt of the fleet at Misenum, he went back to Rome, alarmed at every new event, yet never looking forward to the issue of the war. All opportunities were utterly lost by his folly. The true and obvious measure would have been, to pass over the Apennine with his whole force, and seek an enemy distressed by the rigour of the winter season and a dearth of provisions. Instead of this, Vitel-

3 For Mevania, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

lius suffered his army to be dispersed in different places, and, by that conduct, gave to the slaughtering sword a set of brave and gallant soldiers, whose valour and fidelity nothing could shake. The centurions saw the blunder, and the best amongst them, had they been consulted, were ready with honest advice. But the creatures of the court banished every faithful counsellor. The ear of Vitellius was open to flattery only: useful advice was harsh and grating; and nothing was welcome but what soothed his passions, while it led to sure destruction.

LVII. The revolt of the fleet at Misenum was occasioned altogether by the fraud of Claudius Faventinus; so much in civil commotions depends on the boldness of a single traitor. This man had been a centurion under Galba, and was by that emperor cashiered with ignominy. To seduce the men to his purposes, he forged letters from Vespasian, promising ample rewards to such as went over to his party. Claudius Apollinaris was, at that time, commander of the fleet; a man inclined to treachery, but wanting resolution to be forward in guilt. It happened that Apinius Tiro, who had discharged the office of prætor, was then at Minturnæ.[1] He placed himself at the head of the revolters, and drew the neighbouring colonies and municipal towns into the confederacy. The inhabitants of Puteoli[2] declared with alacrity for Vespasian, while Capua, with equal vehemence, adhered to Vitellius. Those two cities had been long at variance, and now mingled with the rage of civil war all the rancour of their private animosities. In order to bring the revolters back to their duty, Vitellius fixed on Claudius Julianus, who had been prefect of the fleet at Misenum, and had the character of being mild in the exercise of his authority. He set out from Rome at the head of a city-cohort, and a band of gladiators, over whom he had been, before that time, appointed commanding officer. He was no sooner in sight of the rebel camp, than he went over to Vespasian. The two parties with their combined force, took possession of Tarracina, a city strong both by nature and art. In that place the revolters were more indebted for their security to the strength of the works, than to their own military talents.

LVIII. Vitellius, having received intelligence of these transactions, ordered part of his army to take post at Narnia,[3] under the command of the prætorian prefects, while his brother Lucius Vitellius, at the head of six cohorts and five hundred horse, marched into Campania, to check the progress of the revolt. He himself, in the mean time, sunk into a state of languor, overwhelmed with despair and melancholy, till the generous ardour of the soldiers and the clamours of the populace demanding to be armed, revived his drooping spirits. He flattered himself, that a turbulent multitude, bold in words, but without spirit in action, would be equal to the regular legions. To a mere mob he gave the name of an army. His freedmen were his only advisers. In such as professed to be his friends, he reposed no confidence. The truth is, all of that class, the higher they stood in rank, were the more ready to betray. By the advice of his servile counsellors, he ordered the people to be assembled in their tribes.[4] As they came forward to enrol their names, he received the oath of fidelity; but the crowd pressing too thick upon him, he grew weary of the task, and left the business of completing the new levy to the two consuls. The senators were required to bring in a quantity of silver, and a certain number of slaves. The Roman knights made a voluntary offer to serve with their lives and fortunes. The freedmen, in a body, desired to be admitted to the same honour. This humour continued, till what at first proceeded from servility and fear grew serious in the end, and became real ardour. The greater part, notwithstanding, felt no affection for the prince; indifferent about the man, they grieved to see the humiliating condition to which the empire was reduced. Vitellius, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the public favour. He appeared with a dejected air: he spoke in a pathetic tone; he tried the force of tears; he made ample promises, lavish of words, and, as is usually the case with men in distress, generous beyond all bounds. He now desired to assume the title of Cæsar. His superstitious veneration for a name, in which he thought there was something sacred, made him willing to accept what he had often rejected. The public clamour was an additional motive. The populace thought it proper, and, in cases of extreme danger, the voice of the rabble is equal to the wisest counsels. But the spirit, which at the flood was violent, soon began to ebb away. The senators and knights fell off by degrees, at first, in the absence of the prince, watching their opportunity with care and caution; but, in the end, not even managing appearances, with open and avowed indifference. Vitellius gave up his cause for lost. He saw that the prince demands in vain, when the people are no longer willing to comply.

LIX. By taking possession of Mevania,[5] Vitellius had struck all Italy with terror. The war seemed to revive with redoubled vigour, but,

1 For Minturnæ see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 Puteolanum, now *Pozzuolo*.

3 For Narnia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

4 The people of Rome were divided into five-and-thirty tribes.

5 For Mevania, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

by his dastardly flight from the camp, he lost every advantage. Vespasian's interest gained additional strength. The people, throughout the country, went over to his party, with uncommon ardour. The Samnites, the Pelignians, and the Marsians,[6] saw, with regret, the prompt alacrity with which the inhabitants of Campania had taken the lead in the revolt; and, to atone for their own remissness, declared for Vespasian with all the vehemence which a new passion inspires. Meanwhile, the army, in passing over the Apennine, suffered every extremity from the rigour of the winter. The difficulty with which, though unmolested by the enemy, they laboured through a waste of snow, plainly shows the dangers that surrounded them, if fortune, no less propitious to Vespasian than the wisdom of his counsels, had not drawn Vitellius from his post. During the march over the mountains, Petilius Cerealis, in the disguise of a common peasant, presented himself to the general. Being well acquainted with the course of the country, he had been able to elude the pursuit of the Vitellians. As he had the honour of being allied to Vespasian, and was besides an officer of distinguished merit, he was not only well received, but ranked with the commanders-in-chief. The writers of that day inform us, that Flavius Sabinus, and Domitian, had it in their power to escape out of Rome. Antonius, it is said, by his emissaries, invited them to a place of safety; but Sabinus declined the offer, alleging his ill state of health, and his want of vigour for so bold an enterprise. Domitian was not deficient either in spirit or inclination. Even the guards appointed by Vitellius to watch his motions, offered to join his flight; but he suspected an underhand design to draw him into a snare, and, for that reason, made no attempt. His fear, however, was ill founded. Vitellius felt a tender regard for his own family, and on their account meditated nothing against the life of Domitian.

LX. The army pursued their march as far as Carsulæ.[7] At that place the generals thought fit to halt for some days, as well to rest the troops, as to wait the arrival of the eagles and standards of the legions. The situation afforded a pleasant spot for the camp, with an open champaign country on every side, abounding with plenty, and behind them a number of opulent and flourishing cities. Being then not more than ten miles distant from the Vitellian forces, they hoped, by intrigue and secret negotiation, to induce the whole party to lay down their arms. But the soldiers were impatient of delay. They wished to end the war by victory, not by compromise. They desired to be led against the enemy, before the arrival of their own legions, who would be sure to claim a share of the booty, though their assistance was not wanted. Antonius called the men together, and, in a public harangue, informed them, "that Vitellius had still numerous forces in reserve, all willing, if left to their own reflection, to hearken to terms of accommodation; but despair might rouse their courage. In the first movements of a civil war, much must be left to chance. To complete the conquest, is the province of wisdom and deliberate counsels. The fleet at Misenum, with the whole region of Campania, the fairest part of Italy, had already declared for Vespasian. Of the whole Roman world, the tract that lies between Narnia and Tarracina was all that remained in the hands of Vitellius. By the victory at Cremona enough of glory had been gained, and, by the demolition of that city, too much disgrace. Rome still flourishes in all its grandeur. To save that city, the seat of empire, from the like calamity, would be more for their honour than the wild ambition of taking it by assault. Their fame would stand on a more solid basis, and their reward would be greater, if, with the spirit of citizens, and without further effusion of blood, they protected the rights of the senate, and the Roman people."

XXI. By these remonstrances the fury of the soldiers was appeased. The legions arrived soon after, and, by the fame of their united force, struck the Vitellians with dismay. To hold out to the last extremity, was no longer the advice or exhortation of the officers. To surrender was thought the best measure. Numbers saw the advantage of going over to the enemy with their companies of foot, or their troops of horse, and by that service hoped to merit better terms for themselves. Advice was received, that four hundred of the enemy's cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood, in garrison at *Interamna*.[8] Varus, at the head of a detached party, marched against them. All who resisted were put to the sword; the greater part laid down their arms, and begged quarter. Some fled in a panic to the camp at Narnia, and there, by magnifying the numbers and courage of the enemy, endeavoured to palliate their own disgrace. In the Vitellian army defection and treachery went unpunished: guilt had nothing to fear from the officers, and from the victors it met with a sure reward. Who should be the most expeditious traitor, was now the only struggle. The tribunes and centurions deserted in open day, while the common soldiers adhered to Vitellius with undaunted resolution; but, at length, Priscus and Alphenus[9]

6 For Samnis, the Marsi, and Peligni, see the Geographical Table.

7 Carsulæ. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

8 For Interamna, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

9 Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, sent by Vitellius to take possession of the Apennine mountains. See this book, s. 55.

gave the finishing blow to all their hopes. Those two officers abandoned the camp, in order to return to Vitellius, and by that step made the apology of all who, being left without a leader, went over to the side of the strongest.

LXII. During these transactions, Fabius Valens was put to death in prison at Urbinum.[1] A report had been spread abroad, that he made his escape into Germany, and was there employed in raising an army of veterans to renew the war. To clear up that mistake, and crush at once the hopes of the Vitellians, his head was exposed to public view. At the sight of that unexpected object, the enemy sunk down in deep despair, while the Flavian party considered that event as the end of all their labour.

Fabius Valens was a native of Anagnia, descended from a family of equestrian rank. His manners were corrupt and profligate, but to his vices he united no small degree of genius. A libertine in the pursuit of pleasure, he acquired an air of gaiety, and passed for a man of polite accomplishments. In the interludes, called Juvenalia,[2] which were exhibited in the reign of Nero, he appeared among the pantomime performers at first with seeming reluctance, but afterwards of his own choice, displaying talents that gained applause, while they disgraced the man. Rising afterwards to the command of a legion under Verginius, he paid his court to that commander, and betrayed him. He seduced Fonteius Capito,[3] or, perhaps, found him incorruptible, and, for one of those reasons, murdered him. False to Galba,[4] yet faithful to Vitellius, he exhibited, in the last stage of life, a contrast to the general depravity of the times. The perfidy of others raised his reputation.

LXIII. The Vitellians, seeing all hopes cut off, determined to submit to the conqueror, and accordingly, to the utter disgrace of the party, descended into the plains of Narnia, with their colours displayed, there to make a voluntary surrender. Vespasian's army was drawn up in order of battle. They formed their lines on each side of the public road, and in the intermediate space received the vanquished troops. Antonius addressed them in a speech, that breathed moderation and humanity. They were quartered at different places; one division at Narnia, and the other at Interamna. A party of the victorious legions were stationed near them, not with a design to insult or irritate men in distress, but, in case of need, to preserve peace and good order. Antonius and Varus, in the meantime, did not neglect the opportunity of negotiating with Vitellius. By frequent messengers they offered for himself a supply of money, and a safe retreat into Campania, upon condition that he should lay down his arms, and surrender himself and his children to the discretion of Vespasian. Letters to the same effect were also sent to him by Mucianus. Vitellius listened to these proposals. He even went so far as to amuse himself with settling the number of his train, and to talk of the spot on the sea-shore where he intended to fix his retreat. Such was the stupidity that benumbed his faculties: if others would not remember that he had been emperor of Rome, he himself was willing to forget it.

LXIV. At Rome, in the meantime, the leading men endeavoured, by secret exhortations, to incite Flavius Sabinus, the prefect of the city, to take an active part in the approaching revolution, and claim a share in the fame and splendour of so great an event. "The city cohorts," they said, "were all devoted to him; the soldiers of the night-watch would join them; and their own slaves might be called forth. Every thing favoured the enterprise, and nothing could withstand the victorious arms of a party, in whose favour fortune had already decided. Why leave to Varus and Antonius the whole glory of the war? Vitellius had but a few cohorts left, a mere handful of men, alarmed at the news from every quarter, and overwhelmed with fear. The minds of the populace were always wavering, fond of change, and ready to shift to the side of the strongest. Let Sabinus show himself, and the acclamations, now given to Vitellius, would be as loud for Vespasian. As to Vitellius, the tide of prosperity overpowered him; what must now be his case, when he sees destruction on every side? To end the war, be master of Rome; that will consummate all, and the merit as well as the glory will be yours. Who so fit as Sabinus to secure the sovereign power for his brother? And whom can Vespasian, with so much propriety, wish to see the second man in the empire."

LXV. These temptations, bright as they were, made no impression on Sabinus. Enfeebled by old age, he was no longer alive to motives of ambition. His inactivity was by some imputed to a jealous spirit, that wished to retard the elevation of his brother. Sabinus was the elder, and, while both remained in a private station, always took the lead, superior not only in point of fortune, but also in the opinion of the public. When Vespasian stood in need of pecuniary assistance, Sabinus supported his credit, but, according to report, secured himself by a mortgage[5] on his brother's house and

1 For Urbinum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 See Annals, xiv. s. 15; xvi. s. 21.

3 See History, i. s. 7.

4 History, i. s. 52.

5 He lent his money to Vespasian on a mortgage of his house and lands. See Suetonius in Vesp. s. 4.

lands. From that time they lived on good terms, preserving the exteriors of friendship, while mutual animosity was supposed to be suppressed in silence. Such were the suspicions that prevailed at the time. The fair and probable construction is, that Sabinus, a man of a meek disposition, wished to spare the effusion of blood, and, with that intent, held frequent conferences with Vitellius, in order to compromise the dispute, and settle the terms of a general pacification. We are told, that, having agreed, in private, on the preliminary articles, they ratified a final treaty in the temple of Apollo[6] in the presence of Cluvius Rufus[7] and Silius Italicus,[8] who attended as witnesses. The scene was not without a number of spectators, who stood at a distance, watching the looks and behaviour of the contracting parties. Vitellius showed in his countenance an air of sorrow and abject humility. Sabinus scorned to insult a man in distress; he seemed to feel for the unfortunate.

LXVI. Vitellius had long since divested himself of every warlike passion, and, if to persuade others had been as easy as to degrade himself, Vespasian's army might have taken possession of the city of Rome unstained with blood. But his friends were still firm in his interest; their zeal was not to be subdued; they rejected all terms of accommodation, and with warmth protested against a peace, which brought with it no security, but depended altogether on the will and pleasure of the conqueror. "Was it probable that Vespasian would have the magnanimity to let his rival live secure in a private station? Would the vanquished bear it? The friends of a fallen emperor would commiserate his case, and that commiseration would be his certain ruin;[9] the ruin, it was true, of a man advanced in years, who had seen the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. But what would be the situation of his son? What name, what rank, what character, could be bestowed on him, who had been already honoured with the title of Germanicus? The present offer promises a supply of money, a household train, and a safe retreat in the delightful regions of Campania: but when Vespasian seizes the imperial dignity, neither he, nor his friends, nor even his armies, will think themselves secure, till, by the death of a rival, they crush the seeds of future contention. Even Fabius Valens, though a prisoner, and, while they feared a reverse of fortune, reserved as a pledge in the hands of the enemy, was thought at last too formidable, and for that reason he fell a sacrifice. And is it to be imagined, that Antonius, and Fuscus, or Mucianus, that pillar of the party, will not make the same use of their power over Vitellius? Pompey was pursued to death by Julius Cæsar, and Mark Antony by Augustus. But, perhaps, superior sentiment and true greatness of soul are to be expected from Vespasian! Let us not deceive ourselves. He is now a new man, formerly the client,[10] the creature of Vitellius, who, at that time, was joined in the consulship with the emperor Claudius. All motives conspire to rouse and animate the emperor: the dignity of an illustrious line, the office of censor, three consulships held by his father, with the various honours heaped on his family. These are powerful incentives. They call aloud for some bold effort of courage, or, at the worst, of brave despair. The soldiers are still determined to meet every danger, and the fidelity of the people nothing can alter. In all events, no calamity can be so bad as that, into which Vitellius seems willing to plunge himself. If vanquished, we must perish by the sword; if we surrender, what will be the case? An ignominious death. To choose between infamy and glory, is all that now remains. The only question is, Shall we tamely resign our lives, amidst the scorn and insolence of the enemy? or shall we act like men, and die sword in hand, with honour and applause."

LXVII. Vitellius was deaf to every manly sentiment. An obstinate resistance might render the conqueror inexorable to his wife and children, and that consideration overpowered him with grief and tenderness. His mother was now no more. Worn out with age, she died a few days before, happy not to behold the downfall of her family. From the elevation of her son she derived nothing, except the anxiety that preyed upon her spirits, and the fame of a blameless character. On the fifteenth before the calends of January,[11] the defection of the legions and cohorts, that surrendered at Narnia, reached the ears of Vitellius. On receipt of that

6 The temple of Apollo was on Mount Palatine, where Augustus formed a library. Horace says,

Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo.

7 That an agreement was made between Vitellius and Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, appears in Suetonius in Vitel. s. 15. Cluvius Rufus had been governor of a province in Spain; a man of eloquence and great accomplishments, but void of military talents. See Hist. i. s. 8.

8 Silius Italicus, the celebrated poet, was consul A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

9 If Vespasian suffered Vitellius to survive his grandeur, and live a private citizen, men would ascribe it to pride and arrogance, and the vanquished would not submit to see their emperor a living reproach to their whole party; and, consequently, Vitellius would be in danger from the commiseration of his friends.

10 Vitellius had great weight and influence in the reign of Claudius. Vespasian, at that time, paid his court to the favourite, and also to Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. See Suet. in Vespas. s. 4.

11 Vitellius abdicated on the 18th of December, A. U. C. 822, after a few months of anarchy, plunder, and massacre.

dismal intelligence, he went forth from his palace in mourning apparel,[1] surrounded by his family in deep affliction. His infant son was carried in a small litter, with all the appearance of a funeral ceremony. The populace followed in crowds, with unavailing shouts, and flattery out of season. The soldiers marched in sullen silence.

LXVIII. In that vast multitude, no man was so insensible of the events and sudden revolutions of human life, as not to be touched by the misery of the scene before him. They saw an emperor, but a little before master of the Roman world, abandoning his palace, and, in the midst of a vast crowd of citizens assembled round him, proceeding through the streets of Rome to abdicate the imperial dignity. No eye had seen a spectacle so truly affecting; no ear had heard of so dismal a catastrophe. Cæsar, the dictator, fell by sudden violence; Caligula perished by a dark conspiracy; Nero fled through devious paths, while the shades of night concealed his disgrace; Piso and Galba may be said to have died in battle. Vitellius, before an assembly of the people called by himself, in the midst of his own soldiers, and in the presence of a concourse of women, who beheld the sad reverse of fortune, by his own act deposed himself. In a short but pathetic speech, he declared his voluntary abdication. "I retire," he said, "for the sake of peace and the good of the commonwealth; retain me still in your memory, and view with an eye of pity the misfortunes of my brother, my wife, and infant children. I ask no more." He raised his son in his arms, and showed him to the people; he turned to individuals; he implored the compassion of all. A gush of tears suppressed his voice: in that distress, taking his sword from his side, and addressing himself to Cæcilius Simplex,[2] the consul, who stood near him, he offered to deliver it into his hands, as the symbol of authority over the lives of the Roman citizens. The consul refused to accept it, and the people, with violent uproar, opposed his resignation. Vitellius left the place. His intention was, to lay down all the ensigns of sovereignty in the temple of Concord,[3] and seek an humble retreat in his brother's house. This again met with a strong opposition from the populace. The general cry was, that the house of a private citizen was not a proper mansion: all insisted on his returning to the palace. The crowd obstructed the streets, and no pass was left open, except that called the *Sacred Way*. In confusion, distracted, and left without advice, Vitellius returned to the palace.

LXIX. The abdication of the prince was soon known throughout the city. Upon the first intelligence, Flavius Sabinus sent orders in writing to the tribunes of the cohorts, commanding them to restrain the violent spirit of the soldiers. The leading members of the senate, as if the whole power of the state was falling at once into the hands of Vespasian, went in a body to the house of Sabinus. A numerous band of the equestrian order, with the city-soldiers, and the night-watch, followed the example of the fathers. They were there informed of the zeal of the people for Vitellius, and the menaces thrown out by the German cohorts. Sabinus was too far advanced to think of a retreat. Individuals trembled for themselves: if they dispersed, the Vitellians might seize the opportunity to lay a scene of blood. To prevent that terrible disaster, they urged Sabinus to take up arms, and show himself in force to the people. But, as often happens in pressing exigencies, all were ready to advise, and few to share the danger. Sabinus went forth at the head of a band of soldiers. Near the Fundane lake,[4] a bold and resolute party of the Vitellians advanced against him. A skirmish ensued. The Vitellians had the advantage. Sabinus retreated to the fort of the capitol, and in that strong hold shut himself up with his soldiers, and a small party of senators and Roman knights. A list of their names cannot be given with any precision, as numbers afterwards, in the reign of Vespasian, assumed a share of merit in that transaction. There were even women who dared to defy the danger of a siege. Among these the most distinguished was Verulana Gracilia, a woman of high spirit, who had neither children nor relations to attract her, but acted entirely on the impulse of her own intrepid genius. The Vitellians invested the citadel, but guarded the passes with so much negligence, that Sabinus, in the dead of night, was able to receive into the place his

1 See Suetonius in Vitellio, s. 15. Juvenal describes the same scene; but, according to him, Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, was one of the melancholy train. Tacitus says she did not live to see the sad catastrophe.

——— Horrida mater,
Pullati proceres. SAT. iii. ver. 213.

2 We have seen that Cæcilius Simplex was impatient to arrive at the consular dignity, insomuch that he was accused in the senate of a design to purchase it, in the room of Marius Celsus. He did not succeed; but Vitellius afterwards gratified his ambition without a bribe. Hist. ii. s. 60. See the list of consuls for this year, Hist. i. s. 77.

3 The Temple of Concord was burnt to the ground in the fire of the capitol related hereafter in this book, s. 71. Brotier says, it was afterwards rebuilt, as appears by an inscription still to be seen among the ruins.

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS
INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT.

4 A Fundane lake, now called *Lago di Fundi*, is mentioned by Pliny, lib. iii. s. 5. But the lake now in question was in the city of Rome, near the *Mons Quirinalis*. Brotier says there were at least a thousand of those lakes at Rome, which ought more properly to be called fountains.

own children,[5] and Domitian, his brother's son. At the same time, he sent despatches to the victorious army, to inform the chiefs of his situation, and the necessity of immediate relief. The besiegers attempted nothing during the night. Had Sabinus taken advantage of their inactivity, he might have made his escape through the passes neglected by a ferocious enemy, bold and resolute, but scorning all regular discipline and impatient of fatigue. It happened, besides, that a storm of rain fell with all the violence of the winter season. During the tempest, the men could neither see nor hear one another.

LXX. At the dawn of day, before hostilities commenced, Sabinus despatched Cornelius Martialis, a principal centurion, with instructions to represent to Vitellius the treachery of his conduct in open violation of a solemn treaty. "The late abdication was no better than a state farce, played in the face of mankind, to deceive the most illustrious citizens. For what other purpose did he wish to withdraw to his brother's house, so situated as to overlook the forum, and attract the eyes of the public? Why not rather choose the mansion of his wife, a sequestered station near mount Aventine? For him who renounced the sovereign power, a place of obscurity was the fittest. But Vitellius sought the very reverse: he returned to his palace, the citadel, as it were, of the empire, and thence sent forth a military force to deluge the best part of the city with innocent blood. Even the capitol was no longer a sanctuary. During the rage of civil war, while the fate of empire hung suspended between Vespasian and Vitellius; while the legions drenched their swords in the blood of their fellow-citizens; while cities were taken by storm, and while cohorts laid down their arms; the part which Sabinus acted, was that of a senator and a civil magistrate. Both the Spains, the Upper and Lower Germany, and all Britain, had revolted; and yet the brother of Vespasian preserved his fidelity to the reigning prince. If at length he entered into a negotiation, Vitellius invited him to the meeting. The stipulated terms were advantageous to the vanquished; and to the conqueror brought nothing but fame and honour. If Vitellius repented of that transaction, why point his arms against Sabinus, who had been the dupe of insidious policy? Why besiege the son of Vespasian, a youth not yet grown up to the age of manhood?[6] By the murder of an old man, and the death of a stripling, what advantage could be gained? It would be more for the honour of Vitellius to make head against the legions, and decide the contest in the field of battle. A single victory would end the war, and every thing would fall to the lot of the conqueror." Vitellius listened to this remonstrance with visible marks of fear. He endeavoured in few words to clear his own conduct, imputing the whole mischief to the soldiers, whose intemperate zeal was no longer subject to his authority. He advised Martialis to depart through a private part of the house lest the soldiers in their fury should destroy the negotiator of a peace which they abhorred. He himself remained in his palace, unable to command or to prohibit any measure whatever; a mere phantom of power, no longer emperor, but still the cause of civil dissension.

LXXI. Martialis had no sooner entered the capitol, than the Vitellian soldiers appeared before it; no chief to lead them on; all rushing forward with impetuous fury, and every man his own commanding officer. Having passed the forum, and the temples[7] that surround it, they marched up the hill that fronts the capitol, and, after halting there to form their ranks, advanced in regular order to the gates of the citadel. On the right side of the ascent, a range of porticos had been built in ancient times. From the top of those edifices the besieged annoyed the enemy with stones and tiles. The assailants had no weapons but their swords. To wait for warlike engines seemed a tedious delay to men impatient for the assault. They threw flaming torches into the portico nearest at hand; and, seeing the destruction made by the devouring flames, were ready to force their way through the gate,[8] if Sabinus had not thrown into a heap all the statues that adorned the place, and, with those venerable monuments of antiquity, blocked up the passage. The Vitellians pushed on the assault in two different quarters; one near the grove of the asylum,[9] and the other near the hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock.[10] Both attacks were unforeseen. Near the asylum-grove the affair grew serious. On that side of the hill, the houses which had been built during a long peace, were raised as high as the foundation of the capitol. The besiegers climbed to the top of those build-

5 The curious may consult a Genealogical Table of Vespasian's Family in Brotier's Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 382.

6 Domitian, who was born on the 9th of the calends of November, or the 24th of October, A. U. C. 814. Suet. in Domit. c. 1.

7 The forum was surrounded by a number of Temples; such as, the Temple of Fortune, of Jupiter Tonans, of Saturn, the Temple of Concord, and several others.

8 The citadel of the capitol, in which was the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, stood near the Tarpeian rock.

9 The *Lucus Asyli* was so called, because it was made a sanctuary by Romulus to invite a conflux of foreigners to his new state. It stood between the two rocks of the Capitoline Hill, on one of which was built the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; on the other the Temple of Feretrian Jove. Brotier says, that in the place of the grove there is now erected the *Piazza del Campidoglio*.

10 The Tarpeian rock, with its hundred steps, was on the west side of the Capitoline Hill, and from that eminence malefactors were thrown headlong into the Tiber.

ings, in spite of every effort to stop their progress. The roofs were immediately set on fire, but whether by the besieged, or the besiegers,[1] is uncertain. The current opinion ascribed it to the former. The flame soon reached the contiguous porticos, and, in a short time, spread to the eagles (a set of pillars so called) that supported the buildings. The wood, being old and dry, was so much fuel to increase the fire. In the conflagration that followed, the capitol, with all its gates shut, and neither stormed by the enemy, nor defended by Sabinus, was burned to the ground.

LXXII. From the foundation of the city to that hour, the Roman people had felt no calamity so deplorable, no disgrace so humiliating. Without the shock of a foreign enemy, and, if we except the vices of the age, without any particular cause to draw down the wrath of heaven, the temple of Jupiter, supreme of gods; a temple, built in ancient times[2] with solemn rites and religious auspices, the pledge of future grandeur; which neither Porsena,[3] when Rome surrendered to his arms, nor the Gauls,[4] when they took the city by storm, had dared to violate; that sacred edifice was now demolished by the rage of men contending for a master to reign over them. The capitol, it is true, was once before destroyed by fire during the violence of a civil war;[5] but the guilt was then confined to the treachery of a few incendiaries, the madness of evil-minded men. In the present juncture it was besieged with open hostility, and in the face of day involved in flames. And what adequate motive? what object in view to atone for so wild a phrensy? Was the sword drawn in the cause of public liberty?

Tarquinius Priscus, during the war which he waged against the Sabines, bound himself by a vow to build that sacred structure. He afterwards laid the foundation, on a plan suggested by his own vast idea of the rising grandeur of the empire, but inconsistent with the circumstances of an infant state. Servius Tullius, assisted by the zeal of the allies of Rome, went on with the work, and after him Tarquin the Proud, with the spoils of Suessa Pometia[6] added to the magnificence of the building. But the glory of completing the design was reserved for the era of liberty, when kings were deposed and banished for ever. It was under the republic that Horatius Pulvillus,[7] in his second consulship performed the ceremony of dedicating the temple, at that time finished with so much grandeur, that the wealth of after ages could do no more than grace it with new embellishments: to its magnificence nothing could be added. Four hundred and fifteen years afterwards, in the consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus,[8] it was burnt to the ground, and again rebuilt on the old foundation. Sylla, who in that juncture had triumphed over all opposition to his arms, undertook the care of the building: the glory of dedicating it would have crowned his felicity; but that honour was reserved for Lutatius Catulus,[9] whose name, amidst so many noble monuments of the Cæsars, remained in legible characters till the days of Vitellius. Such was the sacred building, which the madness of the times reduced to ashes.

LXXIII. The fire, when it first began to rage, threw the combatants into the utmost confusion, but on the part of the besieged the distress was greatest. The Vitellian soldiers, in the moment of difficulty, wanted neither skill nor courage. In the opposite party the men were seized with a panic, and the commander had neither spirit nor presence of mind. Benumbed and torpid, he lost his powers of speech, and even the faculties of eyes and ears. No resources in himself, he was deaf to the advice of others. Alarmed by every sudden noise, he went forward, he returned; he ordered what he had forbidden, and countermanded what he had ordered. In this distraction all directed, and none obeyed. They threw down their arms, and each man began to shift for himself. They fled, they hid themselves in lurking-places; the Vitellians burst in with fire and sword; a scene of carnage followed. A few gallant spirits made a brave resistance, and perished in the attempt.

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1 Pliny the elder says, the capitol was set on fire by the Vitellians, lib. xxxiv. s. 7. Josephus gives the same account, Bell. Jud. liv. iv. cap. 11; and Dio agrees with them both, lib. lxv.

2 When Tarquin the Proud was laying the foundation of a temple, the men employed in digging the ground found a human skull; and this was interpreted to be the pledge of empire, an auspicious omen, that Rome would be the mistress of the world. *Nec dubitavere cuncti monstrum pulcherrimum imperii sedem caputque terrarum promittere.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 7.

3 It is not strictly true that Porsena became master of the city. He was at the gates, but, instead of advancing, received hostages, and raised the siege. Florus, lib. i. cap. 10.

4 The city was taken by the Gauls, A. U. C. 364. See Annals, xi. s. 24.

5 In the civil war between Sylla and Marius, the capitol was destroyed by fire, A. U. C. 671. The Sibylline books perished in the flames. See Appian, Bell. Civ. lib. i.

6 Suessa Pometia, a city of ancient Latium, about fifty miles from Rome, on the Appian road. The very ruins have perished.

7 Horatius Pulvillus was consul with Valerius Publicola, A. U. C. 247, about three years after the expulsion of Tarquin.

8 Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were consuls, A. U. C. 671. The capitol was then consumed by fire, not, however, occasioned by an open act of violence, but rather by the hands of clandestine incendiaries. Sylla undertook to rebuild the capitol, but did not dedicate it. *Hoc felicitati suæ defuisse confessus est, quod capitolium non dedicavisset.* Pliny, lib. vii. s. 43.

9 Lutatius Catulus was consul with Æmilius Lepidus, A. U. C. 676; before the Christian era 78.

The most distinguished were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, and Didius Scæva: all these met their fate with undaunted courage. Flavius Sabinus, without his sword, and not so much as attempting to save himself by flight, was surrounded by a band of the Vitellians. Quinctius Atticus,[10] the consul, was also taken prisoner. The ensigns of his magistracy discovered him to the soldiers; and the haughty style in which he had issued several edicts, in their tenor favourable to Vespasian, and injurious to Vitellius, made him an object of resentment. The rest by various stratagems made their escape; some in the disguise of slaves; others assisted by the fidelity of their friends, and by their care concealed under the baggage. A few, who had caught the military word by which the Vitellians knew each other, used it with confidence in their questions and answers to all that came in their way. The boldness of the experiment saved their lives.

LXXIV. Domitian, on the first irruption of the besiegers, was conveyed to the apartments of the warden of the temple, and there protected till one of his freedmen had the address to conduct him, clad in a linen vestment, amidst the band of sacrificers, to the place called *Velabrum*, where he lodged him safe under the care of Cornelius Primus, a man firmly attached to Vespasian. Domitian, during the reign of his father, threw down the warden's lodge, and on the same spot built a chapel to Jupiter the Conservator, with a marble altar, on which the story of his escape was engraved at length. Being afterwards invested with the imperial dignity, he dedicated a magnificent temple to Jupiter the Guardian, and a statue representing the god with the young prince in his arms. Sabinus and Quinctius Atticus were conducted in fetters to the presence of Vitellius. He received them without a word of reproach, or so much as an angry look, though the soldiers, with rage and vociferation, insisted on their right to murder both, demanding, at the same time, the reward due to them for their late exploits. The inferior populace, with violent uproar, called for immediate vengeance on Sabinus, not forgetting to mingle with their fury the language of adulation to Vitellius, who endeavoured to address them from the stairs of the palace: but the storm was too outrageous. The mob fell upon Sabinus. He died under repeated blows. The assassins cut off his head, and dragged the mangled body to the common charnel.

LXXV. Such was the end of a man who merited a better fate. He had carried arms five and thirty years in the service of his country, distinguished by his civil and military conduct. His integrity and love of justice were never questioned. His fault was that of talking too much. In the course of seven years, during which he administered the province of Mœsia, and twelve more, while he was governor of Rome, malice itself could find no other blemish in his character. In the last act of his life he was condemned for inactivity and want of spirit; others saw in his conduct a man of moderation, who wished to prevent the effusion of Roman blood. Before the elevation of Vespasian, all agree that he was the head and ornament of his family. That his fall was matter of joy to Mucianus, seems well attested. In general, his death was considered as an event of public utility, since all emulation between two men likely to prove dangerous rivals, one as the emperor's brother, and the other as a colleague in power, was now extinguished. The consul, Quinctius Atticus, was the next victim demanded by the populace. Vitellius opposed their fury. He thought himself bound in gratitude to protect a man, who, being interrogated concerning the destruction of the capitol, avowed himself the author of the misfortune, and by that truth, or well-timed lie, took upon himself the whole load of guilt, exonerating the Vitellian party.

LXXVI. During these transactions, Lucius Vitellius, having pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Feronia,[11] formed a design to storm the city of Tarracina. The garrison, consisting of marines and gladiators, remained pent up within the walls, not daring to sally out and face the enemy in the open field. The gladiators, as has been mentioned, were under the command of Julianus, and the marines under that of Apollinaris; two men, immersed in sloth and luxury, by their vices more like common gladiators than superior officers. No sentinels stationed, no night-watch to prevent a sudden alarm, and no care taken to guard the works, they passed both day and night in drunken jollity. The windings of that delightful coast resounded with notes of joy, and the soldiers were spread about the country to provide for the pleasures of the two commanders, who never thought of war except when it became the subject over their bottle. Apinius Tiro had left the place a few days before, in order to procure supplies for the commanding officers. By exacting presents and contributions from the municipal towns, he inflamed the prejudices of the people, gaining ill will in every quarter, and for his party no accession of strength.

LXXVII. Things remained in this posture, when a slave belonging to Verginius Capito deserted to Lucius Vitellius, with an offer to head a detachment, and, by surprise, make himself

10 Quinctius Atticus and Alienus Cæcina were consuls from the first of November to the end of the year. See the first book of this History, s. 77.

11 For Feronia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

master of the citadel, unprovided, as it then was, with a sufficient force to guard the works. His proposal was accepted. In the dead of night, he set out with a party of light-armed cohorts, and, having gained the summit of the hill, took his station over the heads of the enemy. From that eminence the soldiers poured down with impetuous fury, not to a battle, but to a scene of carnage and destruction. They fell upon a defenceless multitude, the greatest part unarmed, some running to snatch up their weapons, others scarce awake, and all thrown into consternation by the general uproar, by the darkness, the clangour of trumpets, and the shouts of the enemy. A few of the gladiators made a brave resistance, and sold their lives at the dearest rate. The rest fled to the ships. Terror and confusion followed them. The peasants of the neighbourhood were intermixed with the troops, and all together fell in one promiscuous slaughter. In the beginning of the tumult, six light galleys broke loose from their moorings. On board of one of them, Apollinaris, the commander of the fleet, made his escape. The rest were either taken, or, by the weight of the crowd that rushed on board, sunk to the bottom. Julianus was conducted to Lucius Vitellius, and, in his presence, first ignominiously scourged, and then put to death. Triaria, the wife of Lucius the commanding officer, was accused of exulting with pride and cruelty amidst the carnage that laid waste the city of Tarracina. She is said to have appeared with a sword girt by her side, adding mockery and insult to the horrors of that tragic scene. The general, to mark so brilliant a victory, sent a letter wreathed with laurel[1] to his brother, desiring, at the same time, to know whether he should march directly forward to Rome, or stay to finish the entire reduction of Campania. The delay was of the greatest moment, not only to Vespasian's party, but to the commonwealth. A fierce and savage soldiery, flushed with success, and to their natural ferocity adding the insolence of victory, had they been immediately led to Rome, would, beyond all doubt, have renewed the war with dreadful havoc, and, perhaps, the destruction of the city. On such an occasion, Lucius Vitellius was an officer to be dreaded. Though his character was decried and infamous, he wanted neither talents nor vigour of mind. Like all who succeed by prosperous wickedness, he had raised himself to eminence, and what good men obtain by their virtues he accomplished by his vices.

LXXVIII. Meanwhile, Vespasian's army, inactive ever since their departure from Narnia, loitered away the time at Ocriculum,[2] amusing themselves with the celebration of the Saturnalian festival.[3] To wait for the arrival of Mucianus, was the ostensible reason for this ill-timed delay. Motives of a different nature were imputed to Antonius. Vitellius, it was said, had tampered with him by letters, and, to entice him from his party, promised the consulship, and his daughter in marriage with a splendid fortune. With a considerable number, this accusation had no kind of weight. They treated it as a mere calumny, the invention of artful men, who wished to pay their court to Mucianus. Many were of opinion, that the whole was a deliberate plan, settled by all the general officers, who rather chose to alarm the city of Rome with distant terrors, than to carry desolation within the walls; especially since the strongest cohorts had abandoned Vitellius, and that prince, left as he was, without hopes of succour, would probably end the contest by a voluntary abdication. This design, however wise and prudent, was defeated, at first, by the rashness, and, in the end, by the irresolution, of Sabinus. That officer had taken up arms with a show of courage, and yet was not able, against so small a force as three cohorts, to defend the capitol; a fortress strong enough to stand the shock of powerful armies, and always deemed impregnable. But the truth is, where all were guilty of misconduct, the blame cannot well be fixed on any one in particular. Mucianus, by the studied ambiguity of his letters, checked the progress of the victorious army: and Antonius, by obsequious compliances, or, perhaps, with a design to blacken the character of Mucianus, was willing to incur the imputation of inactivity. The rest of the officers concluded hastily that the war was ended, and, by that mistake, occasioned all the disasters that closed the scene. Even Petilius Cerealis, who had been sent forward at the head of a thousand horse, with orders to proceed by rapid marches through the country of the Sabines, and to enter Rome by the Salarian road,[4] did not push on with vigour. The chiefs heard, at last, that the capitol was besieged; and that intelligence roused them from their lethargy.

LXXIX. Antonius, in the night-time, made a forward movement towards the city of Rome. He pursued the Flaminian road, and, by a forced march, arrived at the RED ROCKS;[5] but the mischief had already happened. At that place he received intelligence, that Sabinus was murdered; that the capitol lay smoking on the ground; that the populace, joined by the slaves, had taken up arms for Vitellius, and that all Rome was wild with consternation. At the

1 The custom of sending the news of victory in a letter bound with laurel, has been mentioned in a former note.

2 For Ocriculum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the volume.

3 The Saturnalian festival began on the 17th of December.

4 For the *Via Salaria*, see the Geographical Table.

5 For *Saxa Rubra*, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

same time, Petilius Cerealis met with a defeat. That general, despising an enemy whom he considered as already conquered, advanced incautiously to attack a party of horse and infantry. The battle was fought at a small distance from Rome, at a place where the land was divided into gardens, intersected by narrow roads, and covered with buildings; a spot well known to the Vitellians, but, to men unacquainted with the defiles, every way disadvantageous. Nor did the cavalry under Cerealis act with unanimity or equal ardour. They had among them a party of the men who laid down their arms at Narnia, and all of that description waited to see the issue of the battle. Tullius Flavianus, who commanded a squadron of Vespasian's horse, was taken prisoner. The rest fled with precipitation. The conquering troops pursued the runaways as far as Fidenæ.[6]

LXXX. The success of the Vitellians in this engagement inspired the partisans at Rome with new courage. The populace had recourse to arms. A few were provided with shields; the rest snatched up whatever weapons fell in their way. With one voice they demanded the signal for the attack. Vitellius commended their zeal, and ordered them to exert themselves in the defence of the city. In the mean time he convened the senate. The fathers sent ambassadors to the several chiefs, with instructions to propose, in the name of the commonwealth, a plan of pacification. The deputies chosen for this purpose were variously received. In the camp of Petilius Cerealis they were in danger of their lives. The soldiers disdained all terms of accommodation, and, in their fury, attacked the ambassadors. The prætor Arulenus Rusticus[7] was wounded. By this outrage the rights of ambassadors were violated, and, in the personal dignity of the man, virtue itself was insulted. The attendants in his train were obliged to fly. The lictor who attempted to open a passage through the crowd, was murdered on the spot; and, if the guard appointed by Cerealis had not interposed in time, the law of nations, ever respected by the most hostile states, had been trampled under foot, and the ambassadors, in the face of their country, under the very walls of Rome, must have fallen victims to the brutal rage of frantic men. The deputies who went to the camp of Antonius met with a more gentle reception; but were indebted for it, not to the pacific temper of the soldiers, but to the authority of the commander in chief.

LXXXI. It happened that Musonius Rufus,[8] a Roman knight, followed in the train of the ambassadors. He professed himself devoted to the study of philosophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the stoic sect. Full of his boasted system, he mixed among the soldiers, and, reasoning much concerning good and evil, began a dissertation on the blessings of peace, and the calamities of war. Men under arms, and fierce with victory, were not likely to relish a moral lecture. His pedantry tired the patience of the soldiers, and became a subject of ridicule. The philosopher was in danger of being roughly treated, if the advice of the more considerate, and the menaces of others, had not taught him to suppress his ill-timed maxims of wisdom.

The vestal virgins[9] went in procession to the camp, with letters from Vitellius addressed to Antonius, in substance requesting a cessation of arms for a single day. In the interval a compromise might take place, and prevent the havoc of decisive action. The vestal train received every mark of respect. An answer in writing was sent to Vitellius, informing him, that the murder of Sabinus, and the destruction of the capitol, made all terms of accommodation inadmissible.

LXXXII. Antonius, in the mean time, called an assembly of the soldiers, and in a soothing speech, endeavoured to infuse into their minds a spirit of moderation. He advised them to encamp at the Milvian bridge,[10] and not to think of entering Rome till the next day. An enraged soldiery, forcing their way sword in hand, he had reason to fear, would rush on with impetuous fury, and give no quarter to the people or the senate. Even the temples and altars of the gods might fall in one promiscuous ruin. But the impatience of the army was not to be restrained. Eager for victory, they thought themselves ruined by delay. A display of colours and ensigns was seen glittering on the hills, followed indeed, by an undisciplined rabble; but the appearance announced the preparations of an enemy. The conquerors advanced in three divisions; the first from their station on the Flaminian road; the second marched along the banks of the Tiber; and the third, towards the gate Collina, by the Salarian way. On the first onset the mob was put to flight by the cavalry. The Vitellian soldiers ranged themselves in three columns. The entrance of the city was obstinately disputed. Several sharp engagements followed before the walls, with various success, but, for the most

6 For Fidenæ, see the Geographical Table.

7 For Arulenus Rusticus, see Annals, xvi. s. 26; and Life of Agricola, s. 2.

8 Musonius Rufus has occurred, Annals, xiv. s. 59; and Annals, xv. s. 71.

9 The procession of the Vestal virgins is mentioned by Suetonius in Vitel. s. 16. They received for answer, that by the murder of Sabinus, and the fire of the capitol, all negotiation was inadmissible. *Dirempta belli commercia.* Virgil has used the same expression,

——Belli commercia Turnus
Sustulit ista prior, jam tum Pallante perempto.
Æneid, lib. x. ver. 532.

10 For Pons Milvius, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

part favourable to Vespasian's men, supported as they were by able officers. A party wheeled round to the left side of the city, towards the Sallustian gardens, and, being engaged in slippery and narrow passes, were roughly handled. The Vitellians had taken possession of the gardens, and, from the tops of the walls, were able, with stones and spears, to annoy the troops beneath them. The advantage was on their side, till towards the close of day, a party of Vespasian's cavalry forced their way through the Collinian gate, and fell upon the enemy in the rear. A battle was also fought in the field of Mars. The good fortune that hitherto attended Vespasian's cause, gave him a decided victory. The Vitellians fought with obstinacy to the last. Despair lent them courage. Though dispersed and routed, they rallied within the walls of the city, and once more returned to the charge.

LXXXIII. The people flocked in crowds to behold the conflict, as if a scene of carnage were no more than a public spectacle exhibited for their amusement. Whenever they saw the advantage inclining to either side, they favoured the combatants with shouts, and theatrical applause. If the men fled from their ranks, to take shelter in shops or houses, they roared to have them dragged forth, and put to death like gladiators for their diversion. While the soldiers were intent on slaughter, these miscreants were employed in plundering. The greatest part of the booty fell to their share. Rome presented a scene truly shocking, a medley of savage slaughter and monstrous vice; in one place war and desolation; in another, bathing, riot, and debauchery. Heaps of slain lay weltering in the streets, and blood flowed in torrents, while harlots and abandoned women wandered about with lascivious impudence. Whatever the libidinous passions can inspire in the hour of peace, was intermixed with all the horrors of war, of slaughter, and destruction. The whole city seemed to be inflamed with frantic rage, and, at the same time, intoxicated with bacchanalian pleasures. Before this period, Rome had seen enraged armies within her walls; twice under Sylla,[1] and once after the victory obtained by Cinna. Upon those occasions the same barbarity was committed; but the unnatural security and inhuman indifference that now prevailed, were beyond all example. In the midst of rage and massacre, pleasure knew no intermission. A dreadful carnage seemed to be a spectacle added to the public games. The populace enjoyed the havoc; they exulted in the midst of devastation; and, without any regard for the contending parties, triumphed over the miseries of their country.

LXXXIV. Vespasian's party had now conquered every thing but the camp.[2] That difficult and arduous task still remained. The bravest of the Vitellians were still in possession. They considered it as their last resort, and were therefore determined to make a vigorous stand. The conquering troops advanced with determined fury to the attack, and the old prætorian cohorts with inflamed resentment. Whatever the military art had invented against places of the greatest strength, was employed by the assailants. They advanced under the shell; they threw up mounds; they discharged missive weapons and flaming torches; "all declaring aloud, that one glorious effort would put an end to their toil and danger. To the senate and people of Rome they had restored their city, and to the gods their altars and their temples. It now remained to gain possession of the camp, the soldier's post of honour, his country, and the seat of his household gods. They must either carry the intrenchments by assault, or pass the night under arms." The spirit of the Vitellians was broken, but not subdued. To sell the victory at the dearest rate, and delay the return of peace, was the effort of expiring rage; and to stain the houses and altars with an effusion of blood, was the last consolation of despair. The towers and ramparts were covered with heaps of slain. The gates of the camp were forced. The few that still survived had the courage to maintain their post. They fell under honourable wounds, prodigal of life, and to the last tenacious of their glory.

LXXXV. Vitellius, seeing the city conquered, went in a litter, by a private way at the back of the palace, to his wife's house on mount Aventine, with intent, if he could lie concealed during the rest of the day, to fly for refuge to his brother and the cohorts under his command at Tarracina. His natural irresolution returned upon him. He dreaded every thing, and, with the usual distraction of fear, what was present alarmed him most. He returned to his palace, and found it a melancholy desert. His slaves had made their escape, or shunned the presence of their master. Silence added to the terror of the scene. He opened the doors of his apartments, and stood aghast at the dreary solitude. All was desolation round him. He wandered from room to room, till his heart sunk within

1 Speaking of the wars of Cinna and Sylla, Florus says, The last grievous calamity that befell the Romans, was a war waged by parricides within the walls of Rome, in which citizens were engaged against citizens, with the rage of gladiators exhibiting a spectacle in the forum. *Hoc deerat unum populi Romani malis, jam ut ipse intra se parricidale bellum domi stringeret, et in urbe media, ac foro, quasi arena, cives cum civibus suis, gladiatoria more, concurrerent.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

2 The camp of the prætorian guards, a little way out of the city of Rome, first devised by Sejanus in the time of Tiberius. Annals, iv. s. 2.

him. Weary, at length, of his wretched condition, he chose a disgraceful lurking place,[3] and there lay hid with abject fear, till Julius Placidus, the tribune of a cohort, dragged him forth. With his hands bound behind him, and his garment torn, he was conducted, a wretched spectacle, through crowds insulting his distress, and not a friend to pity his misfortunes. A catastrophe so mean and despicable moved no passion but contempt. A German soldier,[4] either in wrath, or to end his misery, struck at him with his sabre, and, missing his aim, cut off the ear of a tribune. Whether his design was against that officer, cannot now be known. For his attempt he perished on the spot. Vitellius was dragged along amidst the scoffs and insults of the rabble. With swords pointed at his throat, they forced him to raise his head, and expose his countenance to scorn and derision; they made him look at his statues tumbling to the ground; they pointed to the place of public harangues, and showed him the spot where Galba perished. In this manner they hurried him to the charnel,[5] where the body of Flavius Sabinus had been thrown amongst the vilest malefactors. An expression fell from him, in the last extremity, that bespoke a mind not utterly destitute of sentiment. A tribune insulted him in his misery; "and yet," said Vitellius, "I have been your sovereign." He died soon after under repeated wounds. The populace, who had worshipped him in the zenith of his power, continued, after his death, with the same depravity, to treat his remains with every mark of scorn and insolence.

LXXXVI. He was the son, as already mentioned, of Lucius Vitellius, and had completed the fifty-seventh year of his age. He rose to the consulship, to pontifical dignities, and a name and rank amongst the most eminent citizens, without industry or personal merit. The splendid reputation of the father[6] laid open the road to honours for the son. The men who raised him to the imperial dignity, did not so much as know him. By his vices, and luxurious ease, he gained an ascendant over the affections of the army, to a degree rarely attained by the virtue of the ablest generals. Simplicity, frankness, and generosity, must not be denied to him; but those qualities, when not under the curb of discretion, are always equivocal, and often ruinous. He endeavoured to conciliate friendships, not by his virtues, but by boundless liberality, and no wonder if he missed his aim: he deserved friends, but never had them. That his power should be overturned, was, no doubt, the interest of the commonwealth; but the men who figured in that important scene could claim no merit with Vespasian, since, with equal versatility, they had been traitors to Galba.

The day being far spent, and the fathers and chief magistrates having either fled from the city in a panic, or concealed themselves in the houses of their friends, the senate could not be assembled. The rage of slaughter being appeased, and all hostilities ceasing, Domitian presented himself before the leaders of the party. He was saluted by the title of Cæsar, and a band of soldiers under arms conducted him to his father's house.

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3 The porter's lodge. See Suetonius in Vitel. s. 16, and 17.

4 Dio relates this incident with a small variance. According to him, the German soldier said, I will give you the best assistance in my power; and thereupon he stabbed Vitellius, and despatched himself. Dio, lib. lxv.

5 Gemonia, the charnel of malefactors. See Suet. in Vitel. s. 7.

6 Vitellius owed much to the illustrious name of his father; but it appears that he advanced himself in the road to honours by the obsequious arts which he practised under Caligula Claudius, and Nero. See Suetonius in Vitel. s. 4.

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These transactions passed partly during the civil war between Vespasian and Vitellius, in the year of Rome 822; and partly after the elevation of Vespasian, in the

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
823	70	Flavius Vespasianus; Titus, his son.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

I. Though the war, by the death of Vitellius, was completely ended, peace was by no means established. The victorious troops, with minds envenomed, fierce, and unrelenting, continued prowling about the streets of Rome in quest of the Vitellians. Every part of the city presented a scene of carnage; the forum and the temples were dyed with blood, and all who fell in the way of the conquerors were put to the sword without distinction. From the streets and public places the soldiers rushed into private houses, and, in their fury, dragged forth the unhappy victims. Whoever was grown up to manhood, citizen or soldier, was butchered on the spot. The fury of the men was at length glutted with blood, and the love of plunder succeeded. Nothing was suffered to remain concealed, nothing unviolated. Under colour of detecting the partisans of Vitellius, they broke open every secret recess in quest of booty. Houses were pillaged, and all who attempted to resist died by the edge of the sword. The vile and indigent joined in the fray; slaves discovered the wealth of their masters, and numbers suffered by the treachery of their friends. The groans of despair were heard in every quarter, and Rome was filled with all the horrors of a city taken by storm. In comparison with the present barbarity, the people regretted the licentiousness of the Othonian and Vitellian soldiers. The leading chiefs, who had succeeded so well in kindling the flame of war, had now no authority to check the insolence of victory. In the hour of tumult and public distraction, the bold and desperate take the lead; peace and good order are the work of virtue and ability.

II. Domitian fixed his residence in the imperial palace, enjoying the name of Cæsar, but without aspiring to a share in the cares of government. Riot and debauchery gave the first impression of the emperor's son. The command of the prætorian bands was assigned to Arrius Varus, while the supreme authority rested with Antonius, who, in haste to enrich himself, seized the treasure and the slaves of the prince, as if they were the spoils of Cremona. The other officers, who, through their own moderation or want of spirit, were undistinguished during the war, remained in obscurity, unnoticed and unrewarded. The people, still in consternation, and ready to crouch in servitude, expressed their wishes that Lucius Vitellius, then advancing with the cohorts from Tarracina, might be intercepted on his march, in order, by that blow, to end the war. The cavalry was sent forward to Aricia,[1] and the legions took their station at Bovillæ.[2] But Lucius Vitellius was no longer disposed to maintain the conflict. He and his cohorts surrendered at discretion. The soldiers, abandoning an unfortunate cause, laid down their arms with indignation rather than fear. They entered the city of Rome in a long dismal procession, guarded on each side by a file of troops under arms. In their looks no sign of repentance, no dejected passion; they retained an air of ferocity, and heard the taunts of the vulgar with sullen contempt. A few broke from their ranks to repress the insolence of the populace, but were overpowered by numbers. The rest were secured in prison. Not a word escaped from any of them unworthy of their warlike character. They were unfortunate, but still respected for their valour. Lucius Vitellius was put to death. In vice and profligacy he was equal to his brother; in vigour and industry, his superior; by the splendour of success no way benefited; in the day of adversity, a sharer in the general ruin.

III. Campania was still in agitation. The disturbances in that country were not so much occasioned by a spirit of opposition to the new prince, as by the internal dissensions of the municipal cities, all at variance among themselves. To compose those differences, and restore public tranquillity, Lucilius Bassus[3] was despatched with a party of light-armed cavalry. On the first appearance of a military force, a perfect calm succeeded. The cities of inferior note were treated with indulgence; but the third

1 For Aricia, see the Geographical Table, at the end of the Volume.

2 For Bovillæ, see the Geographical Table.

3 For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. s. 100; and Hist. iii. s. 12.

legion was stationed in winter-quarters at Capua, in order to bridle the principal families, who, by consequence, felt the weight of oppression. To the sufferers at Tarracina no relief was extended; so true it is, that men are more willing to retaliate an injury than to requite an obligation:[1] obligation implies a debt, which is a painful sensation; by a stroke of revenge something is thought to be gained. The people of Tarracina saw the slave of Verginius Capito, who, as already mentioned, betrayed them to the enemy, hanging on a gibbet, with the rings on his fingers which he received from Vitellius as the reward of his perfidy. That act of justice was all that was done to assuage the sorrows of a city in distress.

At Rome, in the meantime, the senate, conceiving hopes of a new establishment, decreed to Vespasian all the honours which custom had hitherto granted to the reigning prince. The flame of war which first broke out in Spain and Gaul, and, after spreading into Germany and Illyricum, blazed out in Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, involving the several provinces and armies of the empire, seemed at length, by a severe lustration, to have expiated the crimes of mankind. The joy occasioned by that pleasing prospect, was heightened by letters from Vespasian; though, by the contents, it did not appear that he knew the issue of the war. As if that event had not yet reached his ear, he wrote in the style and language of an emperor; of himself he spoke with moderation; of the commonwealth with pomp and dignity. Nor was the senate backward in demonstrations of obsequious duty. They decreed the consulship to Vespasian and his son Titus. Domitian was made[2] prætor with consular authority.

IV. Mucianus had also thought fit to write to the senate. His letters gave room for various reflections. Men observed, "If he was still a private citizen, why aspire above his rank,[3] and usurp the prerogative of the sovereign? What he had to communicate, might have been reserved till he took his seat in the senate. His strain of invective against Vitellius came too late, and, after that emperor's death, gave no proof of his ardour in the cause of liberty. His vain-glorious boast, that, having the sovereign power in his own disposal, he resigned it to Vespasian, was deemed an insult to the commonwealth, and, as far as it related to the prince, highly arrogant." But the senate acted with dissimulation; they murmured in private, and spoke aloud the language of flattery. They decreed triumphal decorations to Mucianus, in fact for his conduct in the civil war; but his expedition against the Sarmatians[4] was the ostensible reason. The consular ornaments were voted to Antonius Primus, and the prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus.

The gratitude due to the gods was the next object of their care. They resolved to rebuild the capitol. The several motions were made by Valerius Asiaticus, consul elect. The fathers in general signified their assent by a nod of approbation, or by holding up their hands. A few, who valued themselves for their rank and dignity, or, by their eloquence, were able to give new graces to adulation, made elaborate speeches. Helvidius Priscus, prætor elect, delivered his sentiments in a manly strain. His speech was the panegyric of a virtuous prince, without a tincture of flattery. He was heard with applause by the whole assembly; and yet that day, so truly illustrious, may be called the first of his danger as well as glory.

V. As we shall have frequent occasion, in the course of our history, to speak of this excellent man,[5] it may be proper, in this place, to touch the features of his character, his conduct in life, and the fortune that attended him. Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal city of Tarracina. His father, Cluvius, was a centurion of principal rank. Blessed with talents and an early genius, Helvidius applied himself to speculations of the sublimest kind; not with a design, as many have done, to grace a life of indolence with the name of abstract philosophy, but to bring with him into public business a mind provided with science and prepared to meet every danger. He adopted the tenets of those philosophers who maintain that nothing can be deemed an evil but vice; and nothing a positive good but what is fair and honourable; who place in the class of things indifferent all external advantages; and consider power, wealth, and nobility, as foreign to the soul, mere adventitious circumstances, in themselves equivocal, neither good nor evil. He had risen no higher than the

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1 We have here a severe reflection, but fatally founded in truth. Seneca speaks to the same purpose. *Ita natura comparatum est, ut altius injuria quam merita descendant; et hæc cito defluant, illas tenax memoria custodiet.* De Benef. lib. i. cap. i. Hobbes the philosopher of Malmsbury, seems to have had his eye on Tacitus, when he says, "Benefits oblige, and obligation is thraldom; and unrequitable obligation perpetual thraldom, which is hateful." Leviath. p. 48.

2 See Suetonius in Domit. s. 1.

3 Mucianus assumed a character above the rank of a private citizen, when he took upon him to address the consuls and the senate. See Cicero ad Familiares, epist. xv.

4 Triumphs and triumphal ornaments were never granted for a victory over Roman citizens. For that reason, some advantage which Mucianus had gained over the Sarmatians served as a pretext.

5 Helvidius Priscus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. s. 35. As Cluvius was his father, it follows that he was adopted by a person of the name of Helvidius Priscus. Lipsius thinks it was by Helvidius mentioned Annals, xii. s. 49, who at that time served in Asia in the capacity of military tribune.

quæstorian rank, when Pætus Thrasea[6] gave him his daughter in marriage. Of all the virtues of his father-in-law, he imbibed none so deeply as the spirit of liberty, which animated that extraordinary man. He performed the relative duties of every station with the strictest attention; citizen, senator, husband, friend, and son-in-law, he discharged all parts with equal lustre; despising riches; in the cause of truth inflexible; and, when danger threatened, erect and firm.

VI. The love of fame was by some objected to him as his strongest motive, his ruling passion. But the love of fame, it should be remembered, is often the incentive of the wise and good, the great principle of the noble mind, and the last which it resigns.[7] When his father-in-law fell a victim to his enemies, Helvidius was driven into exile; but, being afterwards recalled by Galba,[8] he stood forth the accuser of Eprius Marcellus, the informer[9] who wrought the downfall of Pætus Thrasea. By that vindictive measure, as bold as it was just, the senate was divided into contending factions. The ruin of Marcellus, it was clearly seen, would draw after it the whole legion of informers. The cause, however, went on, supported on both sides with equal ardour and consummate eloquence. Galba balanced between the parties, and the leading senators interposed to end the contest. At their request Helvidius desisted from the prosecution. His conduct, as usual, underwent various constructions; some commending the moderation of his temper, while others condemned him for his want of firmness. The day at length arrived, when the senate met[10] to confirm the imperial dignity to Vespasian. It was agreed that deputies should be sent to congratulate the prince on his accession. In the debate upon this occasion, a sharp conflict ensued between Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus. The former proposed that the ambassadors should be named by magistrates sworn for the purpose. The latter was for drawing the names by lot, as had been proposed by Valerius Asiaticus, the consul elect, who first moved in the business.

VII. Marcellus contended the point with force and vehemence. If an open election took place, he dreaded the disgrace of being rejected. The dispute, at first, was carried on in short but passionate onsets; from altercation it rose to the form of regular speeches. "Why," said Helvidius, "does Marcellus decline the judgment of the magistrates? The influence of wealth is on his side; the fame of eloquence gives him great advantages; but, perhaps, the memory of his guilt is not yet effaced. By drawing names out of an urn, no distinction of character is made. The mode of an open suffrage is an appeal to the judgment of the senate, and in that way of proceeding, the fame and morals of men are brought to the test. It is for the interest of the community, and the honour of the prince, that such as approach him on so important an event should be chosen with discrimination, men of fair integrity, who are known to carry with them sentiments and principles worthy of the imperial ear. Vespasian had been, heretofore, in habits of friendship with Thrasea, with Soranus, and Sentius;[11] and if the informers who ruined those excellent men are not to suffer the punishment due to their crimes, let them not expect, in the opening of a new reign, to play the first characters in the state. By the choice of the senate, the prince would see a line of distinction between the men whom he may safely trust, and such as deserve to be removed for ever from his presence. Virtuous friends are the true support of an upright government. Marcellus may rest satisfied with the exploits of his life: he incited Nero to the murder of the most illustrious citizens; that was his victory; let him enjoy the rewards of his guilt; let him triumph with impunity; but let him leave Vespasian to better men than himself."

VIII. Marcellus observed in reply, "that the motion, which was opposed with so much warmth, did not originate with himself. It was proposed by the consul elect, in conformity to ancient precedents,[12] by which, to prevent intrigue and cabal, the choice of ambassadors had been wisely left to be decided by lot. And is there now any reason to warrant a departure from a system so long established, with intent, under colour of doing honour to the prince, to give a stab to the character of individuals? To pay due homage to the prince, was competent to all without distinction. The danger to be apprehended at present is, that by the sullen humour of discontented men, an impression may be made on the mind of an emperor, new to the cares of state, and for that reason jealous of all,

6 For Pætus Thrasea, see Annals, xvi. s. 28 and 35.

7 When the love of honest fame becomes the ruling passion, good men are unwilling to resign it; and, accordingly, we often see it displayed in the last act of their lives.

8 Helvidius was banished by Nero, Annals, xvi. s. 35. He returned to Rome among the exiles whom Galba restored to their country. See Hist. ii. s. 92.

9 Eprius Marcellus was the mortal enemy of Thrasea. See Annals, xvi. s. 28.

10 The decree of the senate, by which the imperial prerogative was vested in the emperor, is usually called *Lex Regia*. Brotier says, the law passed in favour of Vespasian is still extant on a table of brass, carefully preserved at Rome. See his Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 497.

11 Who Sentius was, does not appear. Brotier thinks there is a mistake in the text, and that the true reading is Seneca, with whom Vespasian was probably connected in friendship.

12 Ambassadors, and deputies sent on particular occasions, were generally chosen by ballot, as appears in Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 17. See also Suetonius in Aug. s. 35.

balancing their words, and forming a judgment of their looks and most frivolous actions. For himself, he knew the temper of the times in which he lived, nor was he a stranger to the form of government established by the old republic: he admired the past, and submitted to the present system, wishing, at all times, for a race of virtuous princes, but willing to acquiesce under the worst. The fall of Thrasea could not, with any colour of reason, be imputed to him:[1] the fathers heard the cause, and pronounced judgment against him. Nero, it was well known, amused mankind with a show of justice, while under the forms of law, he practised the most unrelenting cruelty. Nor did others suffer more by the pains and penalties of exile than he himself had felt from the dangerous friendship of that emperor. Let Helvidius, if he will have it so, be ranked with Cato and with Brutus; in courage and unshaken fortitude let him rival those exalted worthies: for himself, he pretended to be no more than one of that very senate, which submitted with passive obedience to the reigning prince. But, if he might presume to advise Helvidius, he would caution him not to aspire above his sovereign, nor affect, with airs of superior wisdom, to give dogmatical lessons to a prince advanced in years, who had gained triumphal honours, and was the father of two princes flourishing in the prime of life. For though it be true, that despotic power is the constant aim of the worst princes; it is equally true, that liberty, without due limitations, is never agreeable even to the best." Such were the arguments urged on both sides. The fathers heard the debate with divided sentiments. The party that inclined to the old practice of drawing the names by lot, prevailed in the end, supported, as they were, by the most illustrious members, who foresaw the danger of giving umbrage to numbers, if the choice was decided by a majority of voices.

IX. This debate was followed by another no less warm and spirited. The prætors, who at that time conducted the department of the treasury,[2] after giving a gloomy picture of the distress and poverty of the state, proposed a plan of public economy. The consul elect opposed the motion. The business, he said, was in itself of so much magnitude, and the remedy so nice and difficult, that the question ought to be reserved for the consideration of the prince. Helvidius Priscus was of a contrary opinion. To make new regulations, he contended, was the duty and the province of the senate. The consuls put the question, and were proceeding to collect the votes, when Volcatius Tertullinus, a tribune of the people, interposed his authority, that in so arduous a business nothing might be determined in the absence of the emperor. Helvidius had moved another resolution, importing that the capitol should be rebuilt by the public, with the voluntary aid of Vespasian. No debate ensued. Men of moderation wished to give their silent negative, and consign the motion to oblivion: but certain busy memories hoarded it up for a future day.[3]

X. Musonius Rufus[4] took this opportunity to fall on Publius Celer,[5] whom he charged with having, by false testimony, taken away the life of Bareas Soranus.[6] A prosecution of this kind tended to revive the resentments of the public against the whole race of informers; but an offender so vile, and so detested, could not be screened from justice. The memory of Soranus was held in veneration, and in the conduct of Celer there were circumstances that aggravated his crime. Professing to be a teacher of wisdom and philosophy, he took up the trade of an informer. He affected to explain the laws of friendship, and, in open violation of his own rules, became a traitor to the pupil whom it was his duty to protect. The cause was appointed to be heard at the next meeting of the senate. In the mean time the minds of men were eager with expectation, not only to see Musonius and Publius Celer engaged in a public controversy, but also to behold Helvidius Priscus returning to the charge against Eprius Marcellus, and the rest of that detested crew.

XI. In this distracted state of affairs, when the senate was divided into factions; when a ruined party still breathed resentment, and the conquerors were without authority; when no law was in force, and no sovereign at the head of the government; Mucianus entered the city, and soon engrossed into his own hands the whole power of the state. The influence of Antonius, with that of Arrius Varus, vanished at once. Mucianus, harbouring secret animosity, amused them with a specious show of friendship; but a fair face could not disguise the malice of his heart. The people of Rome, ever quick to discern the spirit of parties, transferred their homage to Mucianus. He was now the rising sun. All degrees and ranks of men paid court to him alone. Mucianus, on his part, omitted nothing that could add to the grandeur of his appearance. He appeared in public attended by guards; he removed from one palace

1 See the speech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea, Annals, xvi. s. 28.

2 For the managers of the *Ærarium*, or the public treasury, see Annals, xiii. s. 29.

3 Helvidius contended for the independency of the senate. His enemies took care to store that circumstance in their minds for a future day. The ruin of this excellent man was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 22.

4 Musonius Rufus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. s. 59; Annals, xv. s. 71; Hist. iii. s. 79.

5 Egnatius Celer; Annals, xvi. s. 22.

6 For Bareas Soranus, see Annals, xii. s. 53; Annals, xvi. s. 21 and 23.

to another, and resorted to different gardens: his train, his equipage, and his pompous display, announced the ambition of the man. He assumed the majesty of empire, renouncing the title only. His first act of power struck a general terror. He ordered Calpurnius Galerianus[7] to be put to death. The unfortunate victim was the son of Caius Piso. His popularity, his youth, and the graces of his person, were his only crimes. In a city like Rome, still in agitation, prone to change, and listening with greedy ears to every rumour, Calpurnius was marked out, by the discourse of shallow politicians, as a person likely to succeed to the sovereign power. By order of Mucianus he was taken into custody, and, under a military guard, conveyed to a place forty miles distant on the Appian road. His veins were there opened, and he bled to death. Mucianus did not choose to hazard so tragical a scene in the city of Rome. Julius Priscus, who commanded the prætorian bands under Vitellius, without any urgent necessity, but conscious of various iniquities, despatched himself with his own hand. Alphenus Varus preferred a life of disgrace and infamy. Asiaticus, the freedman,[8] suffered the punishment of common slaves, and, by that ignominious end, made atonement for the abuse of his ill-gotten power.

XII. About this period, the report which had prevailed for some time, of a dreadful defeat in Germany, was confirmed by fresh advices. The news made no impression at Rome. Men talked with calm indifference of the revolt of the provinces in Gaul, of the slaughter of armies, and of legions stormed in their winter-quarters. Distant events were not considered as calamities. The flame of war being kindled in Germany, the occasion requires that we here explain the causes of that convulsion, which involved the allies of Rome, and armed whole nations of barbarians against the Roman empire.

The Batavians,[9] while they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the people called the Cattians. Driven from their native country by intestine commotions, they settled on a waste tract of land bordering on the confines of Gaul, and, at the same time, took possession of an island washed at the northern extremity by the ocean, and at the back, and on both sides, by two branches of the Rhine. They formed a treaty of alliance with the Romans, and did not suffer by their friendship. A supply of men and arms was the whole of their contribution. In the wars in Germany they learned to be soldiers. They passed afterwards into Britain,[10] under the command of their own chiefs (according to their peculiar custom), and added new laurels to their former fame. In their own country they maintained a chosen body of cavalry, so expert in the art of swimming, that in whole squadrons, incumbered with their arms, and moving in regular order, they could dash across the current of the Rhine.

XIII. The leading chieftains of the nation were Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis,[11] both of royal descent.. The former, under a false charge of rebellion, was put to death by Fonteius Capito. Civilis was sent in irons to be disposed of by Nero: Galba released him from his fetters. Under Vitellius, he was again in danger from the fury of the Roman soldiers, who called aloud for his execution. Hence his hatred of the Roman name, and his hopes of success founded on the distractions of the empire. Disfigured by the loss of an eye, he took occasion from that blemish to call himself a second Sertorius,[12] or another Hannibal. Politic beyond the reach of Barbarians, he wished to avoid an open rupture with Rome, and, to that end, affected to espouse the cause of Vespasian. To this conduct some colour was given by the letters which he received from Antonius, directing him to make a diversion in Germany, in order to prevent the succour of the legions expected by Vitellius. Hordeonius Flaccus gave the same order in person. That general was a friend to Vespasian's cause, but chiefly zealous in the cause of his country. If such prodigious numbers made an irruption into Italy, he trembled for the fate of the empire.

XIV. Civilis had taken his resolution to throw off the yoke. With a bold, but concealed, plan of ambition, he looked forward to future contingencies, and took his measures in the following manner. By order of Vitellius, new levies were to be made, and the youth of Batavia was to be called out. This expedient, harsh in itself, was rendered still more so by the avarice and profligacy of the Roman officers. By their direction the aged and infirm were pressed into the service, in order to extort from them a stipulated price for their dismission. Boys of tender years, but advanced in their growth (as is generally the case in that country), were dragged away to gratify the criminal passions of their masters. Hence murmurs, jealousies, and

7 Calpurnius Galerianus was the son of Calpurnius Piso, who despatched himself to avoid Nero's cruelty. Annals, xv. s. 59,

8 Asiaticus was the favourite freedman of Vitellius. Hist. ii. s. 57, 95.

9 For the Batavi and the Catti, see the manners of the Germans, s. 29.

10 The Batavians served in Britain as the allies and auxiliaries of Rome. Life of Agricola, s. 18 and 36.

11 Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis were brothers, as appears in this book, s. 32. Civilis is called Julius Civilis, Hist. i. s. 59. Perhaps his name was Julius Claudius Civilis.

12 For Hannibal's person, see Livy, lib. xxii.; and for Sertorius, see his Life in Plutarch.

grievous complaints. The leaders of the conspiracy saw their opportunity, and, by their advice, the people refused to be enrolled. Civilis, under the pretext of a convivial meeting, drew together the prime nobility, and the bravest of the nation, to a banquet[1] in a sacred grove. At a late hour, when wine and midnight revelry had inflamed their spirits, he took occasion to expatiate on the fame and military exploits of the Batavians, artfully making a transition to the sufferings of his countrymen, the depredations of the Romans, and the cruel tyranny under which the nation groaned. "Rome," he said, "no longer treats us as allies and friends: we are reduced to the vilest bondage. The commanders of legions were wont to come among us with their train of attendants, always a grievous burthen; but even that honour is now withheld. We are turned over to centurions and subaltern officers. Those petty tyrants are no sooner enriched with plunder, and pampered with our blood, than they are recalled, to make way for new oppressors. Rapacity follows in succession; and, to varnish their guilt, new expedients are found, and new names for extortion. A project is now on foot to recruit their armies, and for that purpose, the country must be drained of inhabitants; sons must be torn from their parents, and brothers from their brothers. And yet the Romans were never, at any period, in so feeble a condition. Behold their winter-quarters: besides their old men, and their stores of plunder, what have they to exhibit to our view? Dare to lift your eyes, and you will see the phantom of an army, mere nominal legions. Our forces are in vigour; we have both infantry and cavalry: the Germans are our kinsmen; the Gauls think as we do: and even the Romans themselves invite us to the war. If we fail, our zeal for Vespasian will plead our excuse; if we succeed, Victory gives no account of her actions."

XV. This speech was received with shouts of approbation. Civilis, taking advantage of the impression he had made, bound them all in a solemn league, with oaths and imprecations, according to the custom of barbarians. Deputies were sent to the Caninefates, to invite them into the confederacy. That nation occupies part of the island,[2] in their origin, their manners, language, and military virtue, equal to the Batavians, but inferior in point of numbers. The Batavian cohorts, formerly sent to serve in Britain, as already mentioned, returned from that expedition, and were quartered at Magontiacum.[3] By secret practices Civilis engaged them in the revolt. The leading chieftain among the Caninefates was known by the name of Brinno; a man of brutal and ferocious bravery, and by his birth illustrious. His father had been often in arms against the Romans, and, after many signal exploits, laughed at the ridiculous expedition and the mock triumph of Caligula.[4] The descendant of a rebel family wanted no recommendation to his countrymen. Brinno was placed on a shield, according to the custom of the nation, and being carried in triumph on the shoulders of the men, was declared commander in chief. He was soon after joined by the Frisians,[5] a people beyond the Rhine. With this reinforcement he found means to storm the winter-quarters of two cohorts, which, except the extremity next to the sea, lay open and defenceless. The assault was not forseen, nor were the Romans in force to maintain their post. The camp was taken and pillaged. The victuallers, and Roman traders, who had spread themselves over the country, were the next victims. That the castles and forts, built along the coast, might not fall into the hands of the enemy, the Roman officers, seeing an attack intended, ordered them all to be burnt to the ground. Aquillius, a principal centurion, collected together all the colours and standards, and, with the remnant of his forces, chose a station on the upper part of the island,[6] exhibiting rather the name than the strength of an army. The flower of the cohorts had been drawn away by Vitellius, and, to fill up the companies, a set of raw recruits, from the neighbouring villages of the Nervians and Germans, were compelled to take up arms. But arms in the hands of men not inured to discipline, were an unwieldy burthen.

XVI. Civilis, still thinking it his interest to disguise his real intentions, complained aloud of the Roman officers, who had deserted their posts. With the cohort under his command, he would undertake to quell the insurrection of the Caninefates: the Romans, therefore, would do well to return to their quarters. The policy of this advice was too apparent. The cohorts, dispersed and weakened by division, might fall an easy prey; and from various circumstances, which the martial spirit of the Germans could not suppress, it soon transpired, that Civilis, and not Brinno, was at the head of the revolt. At length that enterprising chief, finding that he gained

1 The barbarians consulted about the operations of war at their carousing festivals, and frequently in their sacred groves. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 9 and 22. Brotier thinks the wood where Civilis held his convention was between the Rhine and the Mosa (the *Meuse*), at a place now called *Dooden-Werd*.

2 The Caninefates occupied the western part of the island of Batavia, as Brotier thinks, near the *Hague* and *Rotterdam*.

3 For Magontiacum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

4 Caligula's wild expedition into Germany, A. U. C. 793.

5 For the Frisii, see the Geographical Table.

6 The part of the island now called *Betuwe*, or *Betaw*.

nothing by his wily arts, resolved to throw off the mask. He drew up his army in three divisions, consisting of the Caninefates, the Frisians, and Batavians, all distinguished by their proper colours and standards. The Romans appeared in order of battle on the banks of the Rhine, while their ships, which, after setting fire to the forts and castles, had been collected together, advanced up the river to second the operations of the army. A battle ensued, and had not lasted long, when a cohort of Tungrians, with their ensigns displayed, went over to Civilis. By this unexpected treachery the Roman army was thrown into confusion. The soldiers found themselves beset on every side. They were slaughtered by their friends and enemies. Nor did the fleet behave with more fidelity. Numbers of the men at the oars were Batavians: they began, as it were through ignorance and want of skill, to counteract the mariners and sailors, till, at length, turning the prows of the vessels, they bore away to the opposite shore. The pilots and centurions who dared to oppose them, were put to death; and thus the whole fleet, to the number of four and twenty ships, was either taken, or went over to the enemy.

XVII. This victory was splendid, and at the same time brought with it solid advantages. The Batavians were in want of arms and shipping, and they were now supplied with both. Their fame resounded throughout Gaul and Germany. Both nations honoured them as the assertors of public liberty. The Germans, by their ambassadors, offered to espouse their cause, and federacy. Civilis had the address to allure that the Gauls were already inclined to join the connation to his interest. To such of their officers as were taken prisoners he granted liberty to return to their native country, and the cohorts had their option either to depart, or to join the victorious army. Those who remained were employed honourably in the service, and such as preferred their dismission went off loaded with the spoils of the Romans. Before their departure, Civilis laboured, in secret conferences, to inflame their indignation. "Call to mind," he said, "the miseries which you have endured for a series of years. Your condition, during that period, was a state of bondage, and you gave it the name of peace. The Batavians were exempt from taxes and tributes, and yet they took up arms against the oppressors of mankind. In the first engagement, the Romans fled before the sons of freedom. Let the Gauls shake off the yoke, and what must be the consequence? The resources of Italy are exhausted. It is by the blood of the provinces that the provinces have been wrested from us. For the defeat of Vindex[6] the Romans have no reason to triumph. That victory was gained by the Batavian cavalry: by them the Æduans and Arvernians were put to the route. Among the auxiliaries led by Verginius on that occasion, the Belgic Gauls were his strongest force. Gaul, it may be truly said, was conquered by herself. At present, one common interest unites us all, and we have this further advantage; whatever of useful discipline was to be found in the Roman camps, we have made that our own. Their military skill is on our side. The veteran cohorts, before whom Otho's legions were obliged to fly, have declared for us. Syria and Asia, and the oriental nations, may, if they will, bow down in slavery, and stretch their necks to the yoke: under their own despotic kings they have been taught to crouch in bondage. In Gaul there are men still living, who were born in freedom, before tributes,[7] imposts, and other badges of Roman tyranny, were invented. By the overthrow of Varus and his legions, slavery was driven out of Germany. In that juncture, it was not with Vitellius that the assertors of freedom were to contend: the struggle was with Augustus Cæsar. Against that emperor the Germans fought for liberty, that best gift, dealt out by the impartial hand of nature, even to the brute creation. Man has the addition of courage and virtue to defend his rights; and all who have the fortitude to stand forth in that glorious cause, are sure to be favoured by the gods. Let us rise at once, and, sword in hand, attack a people weakened by their own divisions. Our strength is unimpaired; the Romans are exhausted; they are divided between Vespasian and Vitellius; and, while they are fighting for a master, they offer themselves to the just vengeance of an injured people."

XVIII. While Civilis, in this manner, endeavoured to rouse the states of Gaul and Germany, the ambition of that politic warrior inspired all his measures. If his project succeeded, he thought of nothing less than making himself king of those rich and powerful nations. Hordeonius Flaccus affected, for some time, to have no suspicion of Civilis. He soon, however, received intelligence that the camp was taken by storm, the cohorts put to the sword, and the Roman name exterminated from the isle of Batavia. In this alarming crisis, he ordered Mummius Lupercus, with two legions, then under his command in winter-quarters, to march against the enemy. That officer obeyed with prompt alacrity. With the forces in his camp, with the Ubians, who were near at hand, and the Treverian cavalry, drawn from an inconsiderable distance, he passed over into the island. He added to his army a squadron of Batavian horse, already corrupted by the wily arts of Civilis. These men made

6 The defeat of Vindex at Visontium in Gaul. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

7 Before tributes imposed, A. U. C. 769.

a show of zeal in the service of the Romans, to the end that, on the day of battle, they might enhance the value of their treachery. Civilis prepared to receive the enemy. Near his person he displayed the banners taken from the vanquished cohorts, that the sight of those glorious trophies might inspire his troops with ardour, and depress a conquered enemy by the recollection of their late calamity. In the rear he placed his mother and his sisters, with the wives and children of the soldiers, that they might there inflame the ardour of the combatants, and, by their reproaches, prevent an ignominious flight. The field resounded with the war-song of the soldiers, and the savage howlings of the women. The Romans returned a feeble shout. The Batavian cavalry went over to their countrymen, and by that desertion the left wing of the Roman army was exposed to the enemy. The legionary soldiers, though pressed on every side, preserved their ranks, and showed an intrepid countenance. The Ubian and Treverian auxiliaries fled with precipitation. The Germans pursued them with determined fury. The legions, in the meantime, seized the opportunity, and retreated in good order to the station known by the name of VETERA, or the old camp.[1] After this victory, a struggle for power and pre-eminence broke out between Civilis and Claudius Labeo, who commanded the Batavian cavalry. Civilis did not judge it safe to put his rival to death; an act of violence might provoke the popular hatred; and yet, if he suffered him to remain with the army, internal discord might be productive of quarrels and confusion. Labeo was removed to the country of the Frisians.

XIX. Such was the posture of affairs when the Caninefates and a detachment of Batavian cohorts, by order of Vitellius, set out on their march for Rome. A messenger despatched by Civilis overtook them with the news of his victory. The intelligence filled the soldiers with arrogance and ferocity. They demanded a recompense for their march, the donative promised by Vitellius, with double pay, and an augmentation of their cavalry. In making these demands, they had no hopes of success; a pretext for sedition was all they wanted. Hordeonius Flaccus yielded in several instances; but his concessions provoked ulterior demands, which the men knew would not be granted. At length throwing aside all respect for the general, they resolved to join Civilis, and accordingly bent their course towards the Lower Germany. Flaccus called a council of the tribunes and centurions, to deliberate whether it were expedient to reduce the mutineers by force of arms. His natural timidity returned upon him, and his officers had no resolution. They suspected the fidelity of the auxiliary forces, and knew besides that the legions were chiefly filled with raw recruits. Flaccus resolved to keep his men within their entrenchments; but he resolved without decision, and the next moment repented. The very officers who advised the measure were the first to condemn it. The general sent off despatches to Herennius Gallus, then at the head of the first legion stationed at Bonn,[2] with orders to oppose the march of the Batavians, while he himself with his whole army hung upon their rear. The plan was, no doubt, well concerted. Had both generals advanced with their troops, the revolters must have been hemmed in, and cut to pieces. Flaccus once more changed his mind. In a second letter to Gallus, he directed that officer not to obstruct the Batavians in their march. By this fluctuation of councils, both the generals were brought under a cloud of suspicion. The war and all its consequences were imputed, not to the inactive spirit of the soldiers, nor yet to the superior bravery of the insurgents, but to the perfidy of the commanding officers.

XX. The Batavians, as soon as they drew near to the camp at Bonn, sent a message to Herennius Gallus, importing "that they had no hostile design. They had often fought for the Romans, and did not mean to make war against them. Worn out in a long and painful service, they desired nothing but a retreat from labour in their native country. Their march, if not obstructed, would leave behind no trace of mischief; but if their passage was disputed, they were determined to cut their way sword in hand." The Roman general was staggered by these menaces; but his soldiers, eager for action, obliged him to hazard a battle. The whole army rushed out at the several gates of the camp, in number three thousand legionary soldiers, some Belgic cohorts raised by sudden levies, and a large body of peasants, and followers of the camp, an undisciplined band, before the onset brave and insolent, and in the heat of action the first to betake themselves to flight. The Romans hoped to surround an enemy whom they knew to be inferior in number. The Batavians, whom a life of warfare had made soldiers, formed their ranks with skill; the front, the flanks, and the rear, prepared to meet the enemy. The Roman lines were too much extended into length. The Batavians attacked with fury, and soon broke through the ranks. The Belgic cohorts gave way on the first impression. The rout of the legions followed. All endeavoured to regain their camp. In the

1 For *Vetera*, or *Vetera Castra*, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

2 For Bonna, now *Bonn*, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

intrenchments a dreadful slaughter followed. The fosse was filled with mangled bodies, nor was the havoc made by the Batavians only: numbers, in that wild confusion, perished by the hands of their comrades. The conquerors pursued their march, avoiding the road to the Agrippinian colony, and, during the rest of their way, committed no act of hostility. They even endeavoured to exculpate themselves from all imputation in their late encounter at Bonn, alleging that they were, on that occasion, under the necessity of acting on the defensive, when peace was humbly offered, and haughtily refused.

XXI. Civilis, being now reinforced by these veteran cohorts, found himself at the head of a regular army. His resolution, notwithstanding, began to falter. The weight and power of the Romans presented themselves to his mind; he balanced all consequences, and still remaining indecisive, judged it best to save appearances by making his whole army take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. He also sent a deputation to the two legions, which after their late defeat, retired to the old camp, inviting them to follow his example, and acknowledge the title of the new emperor. The legions returned for answer, "that it was not their custom to adopt the counsels of an enemy, much less of a traitor. Vitellius was their sovereign, and in his cause they would stand firm to the last. It was not for a deserter, a Batavian fugitive, to assume the style and character of an arbiter in the affairs of Rome. The punishment due to his crimes was what he had to expect." Enraged by this reply, Civilis roused the whole Batavian nation. The Bructerians and Tencterians[3] entered into the league, and by agents, despatched for the purpose, all Germany was invited to share in the spoil and glory of the conquest.

XXII. Mummius Lupercus and Numisius Rufus, the two Roman generals, saw a storm gathering round them, and, to maintain their post against the combined forces of the enemy, began to strengthen the fortifications of the old camp. A number of buildings, during a long peace, had been erected near the intrenchments, so thick as to resemble a municipal town; but, in time of war, they might favour the approach of an enemy, and, for that reason, were levelled to the ground. But a sufficient store of provisions was not laid up in the camp. The soldiers were permitted to seize the whole stock, as lawful plunder; and by consequence, that which might have held out for a considerable time, was in a few days entirely consumed. Civilis advanced with the main body of his army. He commanded the centre in person, at the head of the select Batavian forces. To strike the Romans with terror, he lined both banks of the Rhine with battalions of Germans, and ordered the cavalry to scour the country round. His fleet, at the same time, advanced against the current. To increase the pomp and terror of the war, the colours taken from the cohorts were displayed to view, and the images of wild beasts[4] were brought forth from the sacred groves, according to the custom of those barbarous nations rushing to a battle. The besieged saw the appearance of a civil and a foreign war upon their hands at once. The extent of the intrenchments, designed at first for the reception of two legions, and now defended by scarce five thousand men, inspired the Barbarians with hope and courage. It is true, that within the lines there was a numerous body of sutlers and followers of the army, who, on the first alarm, had fled to the camp for protection, and from those men some kind of service was expected.

XXIII. The camp stood partly on the side of a hill, that rose with a gentle acclivity, and partly on the level plain: originally the design of Augustus Cæsar, who had conceived, that the legions, stationed there in winter-quarters, would be able to bridle both the Germanies. That emperor did not foresee the time when the Barbarians would dare to seek the legions in their intrenchments. It followed, by consequence, that no pains were employed to add to the natural strength of the place; no works were thrown up to secure the ramparts; courage and military discipline were deemed a sufficient bulwark. The Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, did not advance to the attack in one united body. Jealous of their national honour, and eager to distinguish themselves by brave exploit, the several nations formed their lines in separate divisions. The assault began with missive weapons lanced at a distance; but no impression was made. The darts hung without effect upon the towers and pinnacles of the walls, while the discharge of stones from the fortifications overwhelmed all beneath. The barbarians resolved to storm the works. They rushed to the attack, rending the air with wild and furious howlings; they advanced their scaling-ladders, and formed a military shell. Some boldly gained the top of the parapet, but were driven back at the point of the sword, or beat down with bucklers. As they fell, numbers were crushed with stakes and javelins. Their own impetuous fury hurried them into danger. Encouraged by their former success, and sure of victory, they rushed on to the assault

3 For the Bructeri and Tencteri, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume; and Annals, xiii. s. 56.

4 The Barbarians carried the heads and images of wild beasts among their standards. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 7.

with that undaunted courage with which the thirst of prey inspires the minds of barbarians. Under every disadvantage, they still thought of plunder. They attempted, for the first time, to make use of battering-engines, but without sufficient skill. They were taught by prisoners and deserters to raise, with rude materials, a platform, in the shape of a bridge, and to move it forward upon wheels. From the top of the arch, as from a rampart, some were able to annoy the besieged, while others, under cover, endeavoured to sap the walls. But the weight of stones discharged from the engines of the Romans broke down and crushed the enormous fabric. The Batavians, however, did not desist. They began to prepare penthouses, and to form a covered way with hurdles. The besieged attacked them with a volley of flaming javelins, and poured such an incessant fire, that the assailants were on every side enveloped by the flames. In despair of carrying the works by force, they turned their thoughts to a regular blockade. They knew that the besieged had but a scanty store of provisions, by no means equal to the subsistence of a vast unwarlike multitude: Famine, they had no doubt, would conspire with the natural treachery of the slaves to kindle the flame of sedition in the camp. They relied, besides, on the unforeseen events of war, and had no doubt of being, in a short time, masters of the place.

XXIV. Hordeonius Flaccus, having received intelligence that the old camp was invested, sent despatches into Gaul for a reinforcement, and ordered Dillius Vocula, who commanded the eighteenth legion, to proceed at the head of a chosen detachment, by rapid marches along the banks of the Rhine; while he himself, disabled by bodily infirmity, and detested by his men, sailed down the river, to follow the motions of the army. The complaints of the soldiers against their general were loud and violent. "It was by his connivance that the Batavian cohorts departed from Magontiacum; he was blind, or pretended to be so, to the machinations of Civilis; and he wilfully suffered the German nations to be drawn into the revolt. Neither Antonius Primus, nor Mucianus, by their vigour and activity, so effectually served the interest of Vespasian. Open hostility declares itself at once, and men are on their guard: fraud works in secret, and the blow, because concealed, is not easily warded off. Civilis has thrown off the mask; above disguise, an open enemy, he heads his army in the field. Hordeonius Flaccus wages war in his chamber; he gives his orders in bed, and favours the operations of the enemy. And shall so many brave and warlike soldiers languish under a wretched valetudinarian? a superannuated general? Better to strike at once, and, by the death of a traitor, deliver the army from an impotent chief, under whose inauspicious banners they had nothing to expect but disgrace and ruin." While by these and such-like discourses the minds of the legions kindled to a blaze, letters from Vespasian added fuel to the flame. The receipt of those letters could not be concealed from the army. Flaccus, for that reason, read them to a full assembly of the soldiers, and sent the messengers bound in chains to Vitellius.

XXV. That proceeding had its effect: the men were pacified, and soon after arrived at Bonn, the winter station of the first legion. The soldiers at that place were still more enraged against the general. To his misconduct they imputed their late defeat. "By his order they marched out to offer battle to the Batavians, expecting, while they engaged the enemy in front, that the troops from Magontiacum were to fall upon the rear. But no succours arrived; the men fell a sacrifice to the treachery of the general. The other armies, wherever stationed, were kept in ignorance of all that passed, nor was any account transmitted to Vitellius. And yet it was evident, that, by the vigorous efforts of the adjoining provinces, the rebellion might have been crushed in the bud." To appease these discontents, Flaccus produced, and read, in the presence of the army, copies of the several letters by which he had endeavoured to obtain succours from Britain, Spain and Gaul. He descended to other compliances still more pernicious and disgraceful. He established a new rule, by which it was settled, that for the future, all letters should be delivered to the eaglebearers of the legions, to be by them communicated to the soldiers, before they underwent the inspection of the general officers. He then ordered one of the mutineers to be loaded with irons; not that the man was the only incendiary, but the general meant, by that act, to retain some shadow of authority. From Bonn the army proceeded to the Agrippinian colony. At that place they were joined by numerous succours that came pouring in from Gaul, where, in the beginning of the troubles the people still adhered to the interest of Rome. But, in a short time afterwards, when they saw the efforts of the Germans crowned with success, the different states of that country had recourse to arms, determined to recover their liberty, and, if the enterprise succeeded, with the ambitious design of imposing upon others the yoke which they shook off from their own shoulders. The fury of the legions was far from being appeased. The example of a single offender bound in chains made no impression. That very man was hardy enough to turn his own particular case into an argument against his general. He had been, he said, the confidential messenger between Flaccus and Civilis; and now, to hinder the truth from being brought to light, his testimony was to be suppressed by an unjust and cruel sentence. The

wickedness of this incendiary roused the indignation of Vocula. That spirited officer mounted the tribunal with a firmness that struck a general awe. He ordered the miscreant to be seized, and, notwithstanding the violence of his shrieks, sent him to instant execution. The seditious were overawed, and the well-disposed obeyed with alacrity. Vocula was now the favourite of the army. The soldiers, with one voice, insisted that he should be their general, and Flaccus resigned the command.

XXVI. The minds of the soldiers were still in agitation, and various causes conspired to inflame their discontents. Their pay was in arrear; provisions were scarce; the Gauls were not in a temper to pay their tribute, or to furnish supplies of men; the Rhine, by a long course of dry weather, almost unknown in that climate, was sunk so low as to be hardly navigable; supplies for the army were conveyed with difficulty; to hinder the Germans from fording over, a chain of posts was necessary on the banks of the river; and, by consequence, there was a dearth of grain, and many mouths to demand it. With vulgar minds, the shallowness of the stream passed for a prodigy. According to their interpretation, the very rivers deserted the Romans, and the ancient boundaries of the empire disappeared. That, which in time of peace[1] would have been no more than the effect of natural causes, was now called fate, and the wrath of the gods. The army marched to Novesium,[2] and was there joined by the thirteenth legion, under the command of Herennius Gallus, who was now associated with Vocula. The two generals were not inclined to seek the enemy. They pitched their camp at a place called Gelduba,[3] and, to keep their men in exercise, employed them in forming the line of battle, in digging trenches, throwing up ramparts, and other military works. To give them an opportunity to plunder, and by that incentive to animate their courage, Vocula marched with the main body into the territory of the Gugernians,[4] a people leagued with Civilis. Gallus in the meantime, with part of the troops, kept possession of the camp.

XXVII. It happened that a barge, laden with grain, was stranded in a shallow part of the river, at a small distance from the camp. The Germans exerted themselves to draw the vessel to their own bank. Gallus despatched a cohort to prevent the disgrace. The Germans poured down in great numbers. Succours arrived on both sides. An engagement followed. The Germans, after making a prodigious slaughter, secured the vessel. The Romans imputed their defeat not to their own want of valour, but to the treachery of the general. This, in all calamities, was the constant language of the army. The soldiers in their fury dragged Gallus out of his tent; they tore his clothes, and fell on him with blows, demanding who were the accomplices combined with him to betray the army? and what was the price of his perfidy? Their rage against Hordeonius Flaccus broke out again with increasing violence. He was the author of the crime, and Gallus was an instrument in his hands. In this extremity, to deliver himself from instant death, the general was obliged to yield to the passions of the men, and give his testimony against Hordeonius Flaccus. He was, notwithstanding, loaded with fetters, and not released till Vocula returned to the camp. That general, on the following day, ordered the ringleaders of the mutiny to be put to death. Such was the wonderful diversity of temper that showed itself in that army; at one moment, rage and madness, and, in quick succession, patience and resignation. The common men, beyond all doubt, were devoted to Vitellius, while the most distinguished officers inclined to Vespasian. Hence that astonishing medley of guilt and punishment, of dutiful behaviour and savage ferocity. The men were unwilling to be governed, and yet submitted to correction.

XXVIII. Civilis, in the meantime, grew every day more formidable. All Germany espoused his cause, and succours arrived from every quarter. The states beyond the Rhine delivered their prime nobility as hostages to bind the league in closer union. Civilis issued his orders, that the confederates, who lay contiguous to the Ubians[5] and Treverians, should harass the people by frequent incursions, and carry slaughter and devastation through their country. At the same time he gave directions that a strong party should pass over the Meuse, to invade the Menapians,[6] the Morinians, and the frontiers of Gaul. The soldiers in every quarter were enriched with plunder. The Ubians, in particular, felt the vengeance of the ravaging parties. Though they were originally of German extraction, they had renounced their country, and, proud of a Roman name, styled themselves the Agrippinian colony. Their cohorts, posted at a

1 The observation which Tacitus has compressed into a maxim, is explained by Cicero in his more open style. Having mentioned a number of prodigies, he says, *Atque hæc in bello plura et majora videntur timentibus; eadem non tam animadventunter in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo, cum credentur facilius, tum finguntur impunius.* Cicero de Divinatione, lib. ii. s. 27. This may account for the portents and prodigies which so often occur in the Roman historians, who are often said to be superstitious, when they are giving a true picture of the public mind. See the phenomena of this kind, Hist. i. s. 86.

2 For Novesium, see the Geographical Table.

3 For Gelduba, see the Geographical Table.

4 The Gugerni, originally a people of Germany, inhabiting the country now called *Cleves* and *Gueldre*, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*.

5 See the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

6 The Menapii and Morini, in the Geographical Table.

distance from the Rhine, and in that station thinking themselves secure, were surprised at the town of Marcodurum,[1] and cut to pieces. The Ubians, in their turn, penetrated into Germany, and at first committed depredations with impunity, till, in the end, they were overpowered by superior numbers. Through the whole of the war their fidelity to Rome was unshaken; but a train of misfortunes was their only recompense. Flushed with success, and pleased with the defeat of the Ubians, Civilis pressed the siege of the old camp with the utmost vigour. His first care was to cut off all communication, that no intelligence of intended succours might reach the garrison. The management of the battering-engines and other warlike preparations he left to the Batavians; and seeing that the forces from beyond the Rhine were eager for action, he ordered them to advance to the entrenchments, and by a sudden assault to force the works. They were repulsed, and by his order returned to the charge. In so numerous an army men might be sacrificed, and yet the loss not be felt.

XXIX. The night afforded no pause from the attack. The barbarians set fire to the clumps of wood, which they had ranged along the entrenchments, and betook themselves to feasting and revelry. Growing warm with liquor, they rushed with headlong fury to assault the works. Their darts were thrown at an enemy safe in obscurity, while the Romans were enabled by the glaring fires to view the scene of action, and take aim at the combatants, who made themselves conspicuous by their valour or the splendour of their arms. Civilis saw the disadvantage, and ordered the fires to be extinguished. Confusion, darkness, and wild uproar, followed. Dissonant shouts were heard; random blows were given; chance directed, and none could see where to press or avoid the enemy. Where the noise was loudest, they faced about to that quarter, and discharged their weapons in the dark. Valour was undistinguished, and the bravest often fell by the hand of the coward. The Germans fought with the rage of madmen; the Romans with their usual discretion, like soldiers inured to danger. Their poles pointed with iron were never darted at random, nor did they discharge their massy stones without being sure of their effect. Whenever they heard the barbarians sapping the foundations of the walls, or found their scaling-ladders applied to the ramparts, they made sure of their blow, and with their bucklers or their javelins drove the assailants headlong down the steep. Some gained the summit of the walls, and perished on the spot. The night passed in this manner, and the day brought on a new mode of attack.

XXX. A tower with two floors for the soldiers, had been constructed by the barbarians. With this huge machine they now advanced against the works at the prætorian gate,[2] the ground on that side of the camp being smooth and level. The Romans directed their strong beams and other instruments with so much force that the whole structure was crushed to pieces, and the soldiers, who had been posted in the galleries, lay buried under the ruins. In that moment the besieged made a successful sally. The legionary soldiers, in the mean time, framed with skill a number of new machines. One, in particular, struck the enemy with terror and amazement. This was so constructed,[3] that an arm, projecting from the top, waved over the heads of the barbarians, till, being suddenly let down, it caught hold of the combatants, and, springing back with sudden elasticity, carried them up in the air, in the view of the astonished Germans, and, turning round with rapidity, threw them headlong into the camp. Civilis found himself baffled in every attempt. He despaired of carrying the place by storm, and once more turned the siege into a close blockade; in the meantime tampering with the garrison, and, by false intelligence as well as ample promises, endeavouring to seduce the men from their duty.

XXXI. The transactions, which we have here related, happened in Germany before the battle of Cremona.[4] The first account of the victory at that place was sent by Antonius Primus, with Cæcina's proclamation annexed to his letters. The news was further confirmed by Alpinus Montanus, the commander of one of the vanquished cohorts, who, after the defeat, made the best of his way into Germany. By this event the minds of the Roman army were thrown into violent agitations. The auxiliaries from Gaul, a mercenary band, who neither loved one party nor hated the other, mere soldiers of fortune, without sentiment or principle, were soon persuaded by their officers to abandon the cause of Vitellius. The veteran soldiers remained for some time in suspense. Overruled at length by Hordeonius Flaccus, and importuned by the tribunes, they swore fidelity to Vespasian; but with an air of reluctance, and a stern ferocity that plainly showed their hearts were not in unison with their words. In repeating the form of the oath, they faltered at the name of Vespasian, never pronouncing it distinctly, but muttering to themselves, and, in general, passing it over in silence.

XXXII. A letter from Antonius to Civilis

1 Marcodurum. See the Geographical Table.

2 The prætorian gate of a Roman camp was opposite to the Decuman. See Annals, i. s. 66.

3 This extraordinary engine was invented by Archimedes, the celebrated geometrician, during the siege of Syracuse, which was conducted by Marcellus. See Polybius, lib. viii.

4 The victory at Cremona was about the end of October. Hist. iii. s. 22.

was read to a full assembly of the legions. The style in which that active partisan was treated as a friend to the new emperor, while the legions were considered as enemies, excited a general indignation. An account of these transactions was soon after transmitted to the camp at Gelduba, where the same compliance, and the same discontents, prevailed. Montanus was deputed to Civilis, with instructions to require, that he would "lay down his arms, and cease to varnish hostile intentions with the specious pretence of fighting in the cause of Rome. If, in fact, he meant to serve Vespasian, that end was answered, and it was time to sheath the sword." To this message Civilis replied with guarded subtlety; but perceiving in Montanus an active genius, and a spirit of enterprise, he opened his mind without reserve. "I have served," he said, "in the Roman armies for five and twenty years: in that time I have encountered various perils; and what has been my reward? I have seen the death of a brother; I have been loaded with fetters; and I have heard the clamours of the Roman army, with rage and violence demanding my blood. If, in return, I seek the blood of my enemies, I stand justified by the law of nations. As to you, ye Treverians, and you, ye abject nations, who can tamely submit to a foreign master, what do you expect will be the fruit of all your toil, and all your blood lavished in the service of Rome? Endless warfare, eternal tributes, the lictor's rod, the axe, and the wanton cruelty of your imperious masters; those are the rewards that wait you. Behold in me the prefect of a single cohort; behold the Caninefates and the Batavian forces: they are but a mere handful of men, a small portion of Gaul: and yet, what have we not achieved? That spacious camp, the proud display of Roman labour, is, at this moment, tottering to its fall. If their legions hold out famine will devour them; if famine forbears, the sword must end them. In a word, by daring nobly, we shall recover our liberty: if we fail, our condition cannot be worse than it was before." By this animated speech Civilis roused the ambition of Montanus. He then dismissed him, with directions to report his answer in milder terms. Montanus obeyed his orders, content with reporting that he failed in his negotiation. He suppressed the rest; but the whole broke out afterwards with redoubled fury.

XXXIII. Civilis turned his attention to the motions of Vocula and his army. Having reserved for himself a sufficient force, he despatched to Gelduba his veteran cohorts, and the bravest of the Germans, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor. The last was nephew to Civilis, being a sister's son. The two chiefs arrived at Asciburgium,[5] and there stormed the winter-encampment of a squadron of horse. From that place they made a forced march, and fell with such unexpected fury on the camp at Gelduba, that Vocula had neither time to harangue his men, nor to form his line of battle. All he could do, was to order the legionary soldiers to draw up in the centre. The auxiliaries, in a tumultuary manner, ranged themselves in the wings. The cavalry advanced to the attack; but making no impression on the well embodied ranks of the Germans, they soon gave ground, and fled with precipitation. From that moment, it was a scene of slaughter, not a battle. The Nervians quitted their post through fear or treachery, and, by their flight, left the flank of the Romans open to the enemy. The Barbarians following their advantage, penetrated to the centre. They drove the legions into their entrenchments; they seized their standards, and made a dreadful carnage. But a reinforcement coming up in time, the fortune of the day was changed. The Gascon cohorts,[6] formerly levied by Galba, had received orders to join the army. Hearing, as they approached the camp, the din of arms, and the uproar of battle, they advanced to the attack, and charged the Batavians in the rear. The terror that seized the enemy, was greater than could be expected from so small a number. Some imagined that succours arrived from Novesium; others thought of nothing less than the whole army from Magontiacum. The mistake revived the drooping courage of the Romans. Depending on the valour of others they began to exert their own. The Batavian infantry was put to the route. Their cavalry escaped, and carried with them the prisoners and standards, which they had taken in the beginning of the action. The number slain on the part of the Romans greatly exceeded the loss of the enemy; but the slaughter fell on the worst of their troops, whereas the Germans lost the flower of their army.

XXXIV. The commanders on both sides were equally in fault. By their misconduct, they deserved the check they met with; and, when fortune favoured their arms, neither of them knew how to improve his advantage. Had Civilis sent into the field a stronger force, it is evident that his men could not have been hemmed in by so small a number. Having forced the entrenchments, he might have razed them to the ground. On the other hand, Vocula had sent out no scouts to watch the motions of the enemy. Taken by surprise, he marched out of his camp, and was defeated. Having afterwards gained a victory, he made no use of it, but lost several days before he made a forward movement. Had he pursued his advantage,

5 For Asciburgium, see the Geographical Table.

6 The Vascones inhabited the country of *Navarre*.

7 For Novesium and Magontiacum, see the Geographical Table.

and given the enemy no time to rest, one vigorous effort would have raised the siege of the camp. Civilis exerted every effort, determined to profit by the inactivity of the Roman general. He endeavoured, by his messengers, to shake the firmness of the garrison; he represented the forces under Vocula as entirely overthrown; he boasted of a complete victory; he displayed the banners taken from the enemy, and, with ostentation, made a show of the prisoners. The spirit with which one of them behaved deserves to be recorded. With a clear and audible voice, he called out to the besieged, and told them the event of the late battle. For this gallant action, he was butchered on the spot. That act of vengeance gave credit to his story. The besieged, at the same time, saw the blaze of villages on fire, and the country laid waste on every side. This announced the approach of a victorious army. Vocula commanded his men to halt in the sight of the camp, and, having erected his standards, ordered a fosse to be made, and a palisade to be thrown up, that, the baggage being safely deposited, he might offer battle with greater security. The soldiers thought it loss of time, they desired to be led on to the attack; and, according to custom, threats of vengeance resounded through the army. No order of battle was formed. Fatigued by their march, and their ranks in confusion, they rushed on with impetuous fury. Civilis was in force, and ready to receive them. He relied no less on the vices of his enemy, than on the valour of his own troops. The Romans fought with various turns of fortune. The bold and forward in sedition were cowards in the field. A sense of honour prevailed with some. They remembered their late exploits, and, flushed with victory, maintained their post; they attacked the barbarians, and by deeds of valour roused the spirit of their comrades. Having restored the broken ranks, and renewed the battle, they waved their hands to the besieged, inviting them to sally out, and use their opportunity. The legions from their ramparts saw the scene of action, and rushed out at every gate. An accident disconcerted Civilis. His horse fell under him. A report that he was slain, or dangerously wounded, ran through both armies. Consternation covered the Batavian ranks, and joy inspired the Romans with new ardour.

XXXV. Vocula did not think fit to harass the barbarians in their retreat. Instead of hanging on their rear, he amused himself with repairing the works of the camp, as if he expected a second siege. The consequence was that he who so often neglected to make use of his victory, was thought no enemy to a linger- [illegible] of provisions was what [illegible] man army. To remedy [illegible] all his useless people, [illegible], with intent that, by the return of the same convoy, a supply of corn might be brought to the camp. The conveyance by land was necessary, as the enemy were masters of the river. The first attempt succeeded, Civilis not having then recovered his strength. Being informed soon after that a second party was on their way to Novesium, with a few cohorts marching in all the negligence of a profound peace, their colours and standards thinly guarded, their arms laid up in the wagons, and the men scattered in loose disorder, he resolved to attack them by surprise. Having first secured the bridges over the river, and the defiles of the country, he advanced in order of battle. The Romans, though their lines were stretched to a vast length, made a brave resistance, till night put an end to the conflict. The cohorts arrived at Gelduba, and found the entrenchments and the garrison in good condition. The difficulty of returning, after this check, to the old camp was now too apparent. Vocula resolved to march to their assistance. For this purpose he drafted from the fifth and fifteenth legions a thousand chosen men, who had stood the siege in the old camp, and were distinguished by their rancorous animosity to their commanding officers. These he added to his army. A number of others, without orders, thought fit to follow, declaring aloud that they would neither bear the distress of famine, nor the treachery of their chiefs. Among those who remained behind, the spirit of discontent was no less violent. They complained, that, by drawing off a part, the whole was weakened. Hence two seditions raged at the same time; one demanding the return of Vocula, and the other resolved never again to enter the camp.

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bed, and murdered him on the spot. The same catastrophe was prepared for Vocula; but that officer, in the disguise of a slave, made his escape. The fury of the mutineers began to relent: fear succeeded to rage; they dreaded the consequences, and, in their distress, despatched some of the centurions, with letters to the states of Gaul, requesting a supply of men and money.

XXXVII. Being left without a leader, they were no better than a senseless multitude, bold and wavering, rash and cowardly, by turns. Civilis advanced to offer battle; they seized their arms, they laid them down and betook themselves to flight. Even in distress they could not act with a spirit of union; they quarrelled among themselves, and the soldiers from the upper Rhine abandoned the common cause. The images of Vitellius were, notwithstanding, set up in the camp, and the adjacent Belgic cities; but Vitellius was then no more.[1] The soldiers of the first, the fourth, and the eighteenth legions, returning to a sense of their duty, put themselves under the command of Vocula, and having, by his direction, taken the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, marched to raise the siege of Magontiacum. A motley army of the Cattians,[2] the Usipians, and the Mattiaci had invested the place; but, on the approach of the Romans, they decamped with a load of booty. The legions fell in with their straggling parties, and put a great number to the sword. The Treverians had sunk a fence and raised a palisade, to defend the frontier of their country against the inroads of the Germans, whom they attacked with alternate success, and no small effusion of blood. In the end, they deserted from the Romans, and, by their perfidy, sullied the lustre of all their former services.

XXXVIII. Meanwhile, Vespasian and his son Titus, though both absent from Rome, entered on the year of their joint consulship. [A. U. C. 823. A. D. 70.] A melancholy gloom hung over the city. The minds of men were distracted with different apprehensions, and to their natural fears imagination added a train of groundless terrors. It was supposed that Africa,[3] at the instigation of Lucius Piso, was in open rebellion. Piso was, at that time, governor of the province; but the love of innovation made no part of his character. It happened that the roughness of the winter interrupted the navigation, and, the corn ships not arriving regularly, the populace, who have never more than one day's provision, dreaded an approaching famine. Of all that concerns the public, the price of grain is their only care.[4] Their fear at present was, that, to cut off supplies from Rome, the coast of Africa was guarded; and what they feared they easily believed. The Vitellians, not having yet renounced the spirit of party, did what in them lay to confirm the report. Even the conquerors did not dislike the news. Convulsions of the state were not unwelcome to men of their description, whose avarice no foreign conquest could appease, and no civil war could satisfy.

XXXIX. On the calends of January, the senate, convened by Julius Frontinus,[5] the city prætor, passed a vote of thanks to the general officers, the armies, and the kings in alliance with Rome. Tertius Julianus, who had quitted the legion under his command, as soon as the men declared for Vespasian, was, for that offence, deprived of the prætorship. Plotius Griphus succeeded to the office. Hormus was raised to the equestrian rank. Upon the voluntary abdication of Frontinus, Domitian, who had the additional title of Cæsar, assumed the dignity of city-prætor. From that time, all edicts and public instruments were issued in his name; but the authority of government still centred in Mucianus, though sometimes counteracted by Domitian. That young prince, encouraged by his friends, or spurred on by his own ambition, by fits and starts assumed the character of first minister. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were the persons whom Mucianus viewed with a jealous eye. They were both recent from the field of glory; both covered with laurels, idolized by the army, and, as all the blood they had spilt was in the field of battle, they were both respected by the populace. Antonius, it was confidently said, had invited Scribonianus Crassus[6] to the head of the commonwealth. Crassus was descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, and derived additional lustre from his brother, whom Galba made, by adoption, heir apparent of the empire. Thus distinguished, he would not have wanted partisans; but he was deaf to all temptation. A man of his way of thinking, who would have refused himself to a party already formed, was not to be dazzled by a distant and uncertain prospect. Mucianus found that he had, in the person of Antonius, a powerful rival. To ruin him by open hostility were a dangerous attempt. He

1 Vitellius died about the end of December.

2 For the Catti, Usipii, Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table at the end of the volume.

3 The province of Africa, now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

4 To have plenty of corn is the only patriot care of the vulgar. Juvenal adds the love of spectacles in the circus:

——duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses. Sat. x. ver. [illegible]

5 Brotier says that several works by Frontinus [illegible] show more labour than genius are [illegible] as, *Strategemata*. *De Coloniis*. *De Aquæductibus*. [illegible] ing city-prætor, he [illegible] the [illegible] of January in the absence of the consuls, [illegible] his son Titus.

6 Scribonianus Crassus was the brother of [illegible] Galba adopted. Hist. i. c. 15 and 16.

and given the enemy no time to rest, one vigorous effort would have raised the siege of the camp. Civilis exerted every effort, determined to profit by the inactivity of the Roman general. He endeavoured, by his messengers, to shake the firmness of the garrison; he represented the forces under Vocula as entirely overthrown; he boasted of a complete victory; he displayed the banners taken from the enemy, and, with ostentation, made a show of the prisoners. The spirit with which one of them behaved deserves to be recorded. With a clear and audible voice, he called out to the besieged, and told them the event of the late battle. For this gallant action, he was butchered on the spot. That act of vengeance gave credit to his story. The besieged, at the same time, saw the blaze of villages on fire, and the country laid waste on every side. This announced the approach of a victorious army. Vocula commanded his men to halt in the sight of the camp, and, having erected his standards, ordered a fosse to be made, and a palisade to be thrown up, that, the baggage being safely deposited, he might offer battle with greater security. The soldiers thought it loss of time, they desired to be led on to the attack; and, according to custom, threats of vengeance resounded through the army. No order of battle was formed. Fatigued by their march, and their ranks in confusion, they rushed on with impetuous fury. Civilis was in force, and ready to receive them. He relied no less on the vices of his enemy, than on the valour of his own troops. The Romans fought with various turns of fortune. The bold and forward in sedition were cowards in the field. A sense of honour prevailed with some. They remembered their late exploits, and, flushed with victory, maintained their post; they attacked the barbarians, and by deeds of valour roused the spirit of their comrades. Having restored the broken ranks, and renewed the battle, they waved their hands to the besieged, inviting them to sally out, and use their opportunity. The legions from their ramparts saw the scene of action, and rushed out at every gate. An accident disconcerted Civilis. His horse fell under him. A report that he was slain, or dangerously wounded, ran through both armies. Consternation covered the Batavian ranks, and joy inspired the Romans with new ardour.

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XXXVI. Civilis, in the mean time, returned to the siege. Vocula retired to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium. Civilis took possession of Gelduba, and soon after, in an engagement of the cavalry, near Novesium, gained a victory. All events, whether prosperous or otherwise, were now alike to the Romans, incensed on every occasion, against their general officers. Being reinforced by the detachment from the fifth and fifteenth legions, they grew more outrageous than ever; and having gained intelligence, that a sum of money was sent by Vitellius, they clamoured loudly for the immediate discharge of their donative. Hordeonius Flaccus complied without hesitation, but in the name of Vespasian. By this step the flame of sedition was kindled to a blaze. The men betook themselves to feasts and revelling; they caroused during the night, and, in their liquor, their old antipathy to Flaccus revived with all its virulence. They rushed to his tent; the darkness of the night served to muffle their horrible design, and no sense of shame remained. Neither tribune nor centurion dared to interpose. They dragged their general out of his

bed, and murdered him on the spot. The same catastrophe was prepared for Vocula; but that officer, in the disguise of a slave, made his escape. The fury of the mutineers began to relent: fear succeeded to rage; they dreaded the consequences, and, in their distress, despatched some of the centurions, with letters to the states of Gaul, requesting a supply of men and money.

XXXVII. Being left without a leader, they were no better than a senseless multitude, bold and wavering, rash and cowardly, by turns. Civilis advanced to offer battle; they seized their arms, they laid them down and betook themselves to flight. Even in distress they could not act with a spirit of union; they quarrelled among themselves, and the soldiers from the upper Rhine abandoned the common cause. The images of Vitellius were, notwithstanding, set up in the camp, and the adjacent Belgic cities; but Vitellius was then no more.[1] The soldiers of the first, the fourth, and the eighteenth legions, returning to a sense of their duty, put themselves under the command of Vocula, and having, by his direction, taken the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, marched to raise the siege of Magontiacum. A motley army of the Cattians,[2] the Usipians, and the Mattiaci had invested the place; but, on the approach of the Romans, they decamped with a load of booty. The legions fell in with their straggling parties, and put a great number to the sword. The Treverians had sunk a fence and raised a palisade, to defend the frontier of their country against the inroads of the Germans, whom they attacked with alternate success, and no small effusion of blood. In the end, they deserted from the Romans, and, by their perfidy, sullied the lustre of all their former services.

XXXVIII. Meanwhile, Vespasian and his son Titus, though both absent from Rome, entered on the year of their joint consulship. [A. U. C. 823. A. D. 70.] A melancholy gloom hung over the city. The minds of men were distracted with different apprehensions, and to their natural fears imagination added a train of groundless terrors. It was supposed that Africa,[3] at the instigation of Lucius Piso, was in open rebellion. Piso was, at that time, governor of the province; but the love of innovation made no part of his character. It happened that the roughness of the winter interrupted the navigation, and, the corn ships not arriving regularly, the populace, who have never more than one day's provision, dreaded an approaching famine. Of all that concerns the public, the price of grain is their only care.[4] Their fear at present was, that, to cut off supplies from Rome, the coast of Africa was guarded; and what they feared they easily believed. The Vitellians, not having yet renounced the spirit of party, did what in them lay to confirm the report. Even the conquerors did not dislike the news. Convulsions of the state were not unwelcome to men of their description, whose avarice no foreign conquest could appease, and no civil war could satisfy.

XXXIX. On the calends of January, the senate, convened by Julius Frontinus,[5] the city prætor, passed a vote of thanks to the general officers, the armies, and the kings in alliance with Rome. Tertius Julianus, who had quitted the legion under his command, as soon as the men declared for Vespasian, was, for that offence, deprived of the prætorship. Plotius Griphus succeeded to the office. Hormus was raised to the equestrian rank. Upon the voluntary abdication of Frontinus, Domitian, who had the additional title of Cæsar, assumed the dignity of city-prætor. From that time, all edicts and public instruments were issued in his name; but the authority of government still centred in Mucianus, though sometimes counteracted by Domitian. That young prince, encouraged by his friends, or spurred on by his own ambition, by fits and starts assumed the character of first minister. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were the persons whom Mucianus viewed with a jealous eye. They were both recent from the field of glory; both covered with laurels, idolized by the army, and, as all the blood they had spilt was in the field of battle, they were both respected by the populace. Antonius, it was confidently said, had invited Scribonianus Crassus[6] to the head of the commonwealth. Crassus was descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, and derived additional lustre from his brother, whom Galba made, by adoption, heir apparent of the empire. Thus distinguished, he would not have wanted partisans; but he was deaf to all temptation. A man of his way of thinking, who would have refused himself to a party already formed, was not to be dazzled by a distant and uncertain prospect. Mucianus found that he had, in the person of Antonius, a powerful rival. To ruin him by open hostility were a dangerous attempt. He

1 Vitellius died about the end of December.

2 For the Catti, Usipii, Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table at the end of the volume.

3 The province of Africa, now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

4 To have plenty of corn is the only patriot care of the vulgar. Juvenal adds the love of spectacles in the circus:

——— duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses. SAT. x. ver. 80.

5 Brotier says that several works by Frontinus, which show more labour than genius, are still extant; such as, *Stratagemata*, *De Coloniis*, *De Aquæductibus*. Being city-prætor, he convened the senate on the first of January in the absence of the consuls, Vespasian and his son Titus.

6 Scribonianus Crassus was the brother of Piso, whom Galba adopted. Hist. i. s. 15 and 16.

resolved to act by stratagem, accordingly, in the senate, grew lavish in his praise. He amused him in private with splendid promises; he offered him the government of the nethermost Spain, then vacant by the absence of Cluvius Rufus, and bestowed favours on his friends, assigning to some the rank of præfect, and raising others to military honours. He flattered the ambition of Antonius, and was, at the same time, at work to undermine him. He sent the seventh legion, known to be devoted to his rival, into winter-quarters. The third was in the interest of Arrius Varus, and for that reason sent into Syria. Part of the army was ordered back to Germany; and, the seeds of tumult and sedition being in this manner removed, the city began to resume its ancient form; the laws revived, and the magistrates discharged the functions of their office.

XL. Domitian, on the day of his first appearance in the senate, lamented, in a short speech, the absence of his father and his brother Titus. Of himself he spoke with becoming diffidence. His deportment was graceful, and his manner interesting. The vices of his heart being then unknown, the blush of youth was considered as the mark of an ingenuous mind. He proposed that the name of Galba should be revived with all the honours due to his memory. Curtius Montanus added to the motion the name of Piso. A decree was passed accordingly, but, as far as it related to Piso, never executed. A number of commissioners were drawn by lot; some with power to restore to the lawful owners the property wrested from them during the violence of civil war; others, to inspect the tables of brass, on which the laws were engraved, and to repair such as were defaced by the injuries of time; to examine the public registers, and erase the expressions of servile adulation,[1] with which, at different periods, they were all contaminated; and finally, to set due limits to the public expenditure. Tertius Julianus, it now appeared, fled from his legion, to join the banners of Vespasian, and thereupon the prætorian dignity was restored to him; but the honours of that rank were by a decree confirmed to Griphus. The prosecution commenced by Musonius Rufus[2] against Publius Celer was resumed, and brought to a hearing. Celer was convicted, and by the sentence of condemnation he made atonement to the manes of Soranus. This act of justice was honourable to the fathers, and not less so to Musonius. Men applauded the constancy with which he vindicated the memory of his friend. Nothing could equal his glory, except the infamy that attended Demetrius,[3] a professor of the cynic philosophy, who, with more ambition than virtue, employed his eloquence in the cause of a notorious criminal, who, in the hour of danger, had neither courage nor ability to defend himself. The event gave the signal for a general attack on the whole race of informers; and, accordingly, Junius Mauricus[4] moved for an order to lay the journals of the late emperors before the senate, that in those records it might be seen, who were the men of a persecuting spirit, and against whom their malice had been levelled. Domitian was of opinion, that in a matter of such magnitude, the emperor ought to be consulted.

XLI. The senate, on the motion of some of the leading members, devised a new form of oath, by which they called the gods to witness, that no man by any act of theirs had been aggrieved, and that they themselves had derived no kind of advantage from the calamity of the times. The magistrates took this oath with the most ready compliance; and the fathers, in regular succession, followed their example. Some, whom their conscience reproached in secret, endeavoured, by various subtleties, to weaken or to vary the form of the words. The remorse of scrupulous minds the fathers approved, but equivocal swearing they condemned as perjury. That judgment, delivered by the highest authority, fell with weight upon Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Actianus, and Cestius Severus, three notorious informers in the reign of Nero. The first of these offenders added to his former practices the recent guilt of attempting the same iniquity under Vitellius. The fathers, fired with indignation, threatened to lay violent hands on him, and never desisted till they forced him to withdraw from the senate house. Pactius Africanus was the next object of resentment. It was he, they said, who made Nero sacrifice to his cruelty the two Scribonii,[5] those excellent brothers, not more distinguished by the splendour of their fortunes, than by their affection for each other. The miscreant had not the contumacy to avow the fact, and to deny it was not in his power. He turned short upon Vibius Crispus,[6] who pressed him with pointed questions; and, since he could not justify his own conduct, he contrived, by blending it with the guilt of his accuser, to soften resentment against himself.

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1 The calendar in Nero's time was filled with days of supplication and public thanks.

2 See this book, s. 10.

3 Demetrius attended Thrasea in his last moments. Annals, xvi. s. 35. And now the same defends the prosecutor of Soranus: such was the consistency of a philosopher by profession!

4 See the praise of Junius Mauricus in Pliny the younger, lib. iv. epist. 22. See also Life of Agricola, s. 45.

5 The two Scribonii, whose names were Rufus and Proculus, were put to death by Nero, at the instigation of Pactius Africanus, A. U. C. 820. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 11.

6 For Vibius Crispus, see History, ii. s. 10; and see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

XLII. In the debates of that day, Vipstanius Messala, though a young man, not yet of senatorian age,[7] gained immortal honour, not only by his eloquence, but for natural affection and the goodness of his heart. He had the spirit to stand forth for his brother, Aquilius Regulus,[8] and to implore, in his behalf, the lenity of the fathers. By the ruin of the ancient family of the Crassi, and the illustrious house of Orphitus,[9] Regulus had drawn upon himself the public detestation. Of his own motion he undertook the prosecution against those eminent citizens. He had no motives of fear, no danger to ward off from himself. The early genius of the man made him an informer from his youth; and by the destruction of others he hoped to open his road to honours. His brother, notwithstanding, interceded for him; but, on the other hand, Sulpicia Prætextata, the widow of Crassus, with her four fatherless children, attended the senate, ready, if the cause came to a hearing, to demand the vengeance due to his crimes. Messala did not enter into the merits of the cause. Without attempting to make a defence, he sued for mercy, and succeeded so well, that many of the fathers were softened in his favour. To counteract that impression, Curtius Montanus[10] rose, and, in a speech of great warmth and vehemence, went so far as to charge, in direct terms, that Regulus, as soon as Galba was despatched, gave a purse of money to the ruffian that murdered Piso, and, throwing himself on the body with unheard-of malice, gnawed the head with his teeth. "This," he said, "was an act of barbarity not imputable to Nero. Did that tyrant order it, or did you, Regulus, advance your dignity by that atrocious deed? Did your personal safety require it? Let us, if you will, admit, in some cases, the plea of necessity: let those, who, to save themselves, accomplish the ruin of others, be allowed, by such excuses, to extenuate their guilt. You, Regulus, have not that apology: after the banishment of your father, and the confiscation of his effects, you lived secure, beyond the reach of danger. Excluded by your youth from public honours, you had no possessions to tempt the avarice of Nero; no rising merit to alarm his jealousy. A rage for blood, early ambition, and avarice panting for the wages of guilt, were the motives that urged you on. Unknown at the bar, and never so much as seen in the defence of any man, you came upon mankind with talents for destruction. The first specimen of your genius was the murder of illustrious citizens. The commonwealth was reduced to the last gasp, and that was the crises in which you plundered the remaining spoils of your country. You seized the consular ornaments, and, having amassed enormous riches, swelled your pride with the pontifical dignities. Innocent children, old men of the first eminence, and women of illustrious rank, have been your victims. It was from you that Nero learned a system of compendious cruelty. The slow progress with which he carried slaughter from house to house, did not satisfy your thirst for blood. The emperor, according to your doctrine, fatigued himself and his band of harpies, by destroying single families at a time, when it was in his power, by his bare word, to sweep away the whole senate to destruction. Retain amongst you, conscript fathers, if such be your pleasure, retain this son of mischief, this man of despatch, that the age may have its own distinctive character, and send down to posterity a model for imitation. Marcellus and Crispus gave lessons of villany to your fathers: let Regulus instruct the rising generation. We see, that daring iniquity, even when unsuccessful, has its followers; when it thrives and flourishes, will it want admirers? We have before us a man, no higher at present than the rank of quæstor; and if we are now afraid of proceeding against him, what think you will be the case, when we see him exalted to the prætorian and the consular dignity? Do we flatter ourselves, that the race of tyrants ended with Nero? The men who survived Tiberius reasoned in that manner; after the death of Caligula they said the same; but another master succeeded, more cruel, and more detestable. From Vespasian we have nothing to fear. He is at the time of life when the passions subside; the virtues of moderation and humanity are his: but virtue operates slowly while pernicious examples remain in force, and teach a system of cruelty when the tyrant is no more. As to us, conscript fathers, we have lost all our vigour: we are no longer the senate, that condemned Nero to death, and in the spirit of ancient times called aloud for vengeance on the ministers and advisers of that evil period. The day that succeeds the downfall of a tyrant is always the best."

XLII. This speech was heard with such marks of general approbation, that Helvidius Priscus, taking advantage of the temper of the fathers, thought it a fair opportunity to have his full blow at Eprius Marcellus. He began with an encomium on the character of Clu-

7 Messala, not of senatorian age, that is, not five and twenty.

8 Regulus was a practised informer. Pliny calls him *Bipedum nequissimas*. Lib. i. epist. 5. See lib. ii. epist. 20.

9 Crassus Camerinus and Scribonianus Camerinus were accused by Regulus in the reign of Nero, and put to death. See Pliny, lib. i. epist. 5. Cornelius Orphitus was consul in the time of Claudius, A. U. C. 804. Annals, xii. s. 41. He was afterwards a time-serving orator under Nero, Annals, xvi. s. 12.

10 Curtius Montanus is mentioned with contempt and ridicule; a man distinguished by the enormous size of his belly:

Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus.

vius Rufus; a man of wealth, and distinguished eloquence, yet never known, through the whole reign of Nero, to have employed his talents against the life or fortune of any person whatever. As a contrast to this bright example, he painted forth, in glaring colours, the flagitious practices of Marcellus. The fathers heard the charge with indignation. Marcellus saw the temper of the assembly, and, rising in his place, addressed himself to Helvidius: "I withdraw," he said, "and leave you to give your laws to the senate. Preside if you will, and, even in the presence of the emperor's son, usurp the supreme authority." He spoke, and quitted his seat. Vibius Crispus followed him; both enraged, but with different passions in their looks; Marcellus with eyes that darted fire: Crispus, with a malignant smile. Their friends prevailed on them to return to their places. The whole assembly was in a flame. The men of integrity were on one side, and formed the largest party: the opposite faction were few in number, but they had weight and influence. A violent contest followed, and ended in nothing. The day was lost in altercation.

XLIV. At the next meeting of the senate, Domitian proposed a general amnesty, in order to bury in oblivion all complaints, all resentments, and all the grievances of former times. Mucianus went at large into the case of the informers, and, in a tone of mild persuasion, entreated such as wanted to revive dormant prosecutions to desist from their purpose. The fathers had hitherto entertained hopes of recovering the independent exercise of their rights; but the present opposition convinced them, that liberty was not to be favoured. Mucianus apprehending, that, by this check, a blow might appear to be given to the authority of the senate, and that, by consequence, impunity would be claimed by all the delinquents of Nero's time, remanded to the islands, to which they had been banished, Octavius Sagitta, and Antistius Sosianus, both of senatorian rank. The former had lived in a course of adultery with[1] Pontia Posthumia; and not being able to prevail on her to marry him, in the fury of disappointed love murdered the woman whom he adored. Sosianus,[2] by his evil practices, had been the ruin of numbers. Both had been condemned by a solemn decree of the senate; and though, in other instances, similar judgments had been remitted, against these two offenders the law was enforced with rigour. Musianus expected that these measures would soften prejudice, and conciliate the public favour; but his plan did not succeed. Sosianus and Sagitta might have been allowed to remain at Rome without any disadvantage to the public. They were men despised, and must have lived in obscurity. The grievance, under which the people laboured, arose from the encouragement given to the tribe of informers. The talents, the riches, and the influence of that pernicious crew, spread a general terror through the city.

XLV. A cause, which was soon after brought forward, and heard in due form, according to ancient usage, contributed, in some degree, to calm the discontents of the senate. A complaint was made to that assembly, by Manlius Patruitus, a member of their body, that, at a meeting of the people in the colony of the Senensians,[3] he was assaulted, and even struck, by order of the magistrates. Nor did the injury stop there; they buried him in effigy in his own presence, compelling him not only to be a spectator of the scene, but to bear the insulting mockery of funeral lamentations, to see the images of his ancestors carried in a ludicrous procession, and to hear a torrent of opprobrious language thrown out against the senate. The parties accused were cited to appear. The cause was heard, and the guilty suffered condign punishment. The fathers added a decree, by which the people of the colony were required to be more observant of decency and good order. About the same time, Antonius Flamma, at the suit of the inhabitants of Cyrene, was convicted of extortion, and, his case being aggravated by acts of cruelty, the fathers ordered him into banishment.

XLVI. During these transactions, a violent uproar broke out in the camp, and almost rose to open sedition. The soldiers, disbanded by Vitellius, and afterwards embodied in the service of Vespasian, claimed a right to their former rank in the prætorian guards. At the same time, a number of others, who had been drafted from the legions, under a promise of being promoted to that station, demanded their right, and the pay annexed to it. In this dilemma another difficulty occurred. The soldiers who had been retained in the army by Vitellius, could not be dismissed without great hazard and even bloodshed. Mucianus entered the camp. In order to ascertain the period of time, during which they all had carried arms, he directed that the victorious troops, leaving proper distances between the respective companies, should be drawn up under arms, with all their military ornaments. The Vitellians, who, as has been mentioned, surrendered at Bovillæ, together with all the stragglers that could be found either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, advanced forward in one collected body. Nothing could be more wretched than their appearance; all in a

1 The murder committed by Octavius Sabinus Sagitta is related more fully, Annals, xiii. s. 44.

2 Antistius Sosianus was banished for his verses against Nero. Annals, xiv. s. 48. See also Annals, xvi. s. 14.

3 For Colonia Senensis, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

ragged condition, and almost naked. Such of them as came from Britain, from Germany, or any other province, had orders to range themselves in separate divisions. The field presented an awful spectacle. The Vitellians saw before them the victors in the late battle, arrayed in terror, and brandishing their arms. They looked around, and found themselves inclosed, in a defenceless state, displaying their nakedness and deformity. Being ordered to remove to different parts of the field, they were seized with a general panic. The Germans, in particular, thought themselves led forth to slaughter; they embraced their comrades; they hung about their necks; and, with prayers and tears, implored their fellow-soldiers not to desert them in the last distress. Their cause, they said, was common, and why should their fate be different from the rest? They appealed to Mucianus; they invoked the absent prince; they offered up their supplications to the gods. Mucianus appeased their fears: he told them, they were all fellow-soldiers in the service of the same prince, all bound by the common obligation of the same military oath. The victors were touched with sympathy, and by their acclammations, showed that they felt for the unhappy. Nothing further happened on that day. In a short time afterwards, Domitian addressed them in a public harangue. The men had recovered their courage. They listened to the young prince with an air of confidence firm and intrepid. Domitian proposed an allotment of lands: they refused the offer, desiring to continue in the service, and receive the arrears of their pay. They made their request in an humble style; but the request was in the nature of a demand, not to be resisted. They were all incorporated with the prætorian guards. The superannuated, and such as had served out their time, were discharged with honour from the service. Some were cashiered for misbehaviour, but by slow degrees, and without disgrace. They were weeded out man by man; a sure expedient to prevent cabals and factions in the army.

XLVII. The poverty of the public treasure, real, or, for political reasons, pretended, was brought forward in the senate. A scheme was proposed for raising by loan from private persons, the sum of six hundred thousand sesterces. The management of the business was committed to Poppæus Silvanus; but the project was soon after dropped, the plea of necessity ceasing, or the motives for dissimulation being removed. A law was proposed by Domitian, and enacted by the senate, by which the several successions to the consulship, as they stood appointed by Vitellius, were declared null and void. The funeral of Flavius Sabinus[4] was performed with all the pomp annexed to the censorian dignity; a striking instance of the caprice of fortune, which, like the tempest, mixing the highest and the lowest in wild confusion, sunk Sabinus to the depth of misery, and, after his death, raised him to unavailing honours.

XLVIII. About this time, Lucius Piso, the proconsul, was murdered. The particulars of that tragic event I shall relate with the fidelity of an historian; and if I go back to trace the origin and progress of all such atrocious deeds, the inquiry will not be without its use. By the policy of Augustus, and afterwards, by the same system continued under Tiberius, the legion quartered in Africa, together with the auxiliaries employed to defend the frontier of the province, obeyed the sole authority of the proconsul. The wild and turbulent genius of Caligula changed that arrangement. Suspecting Marcus Silanus, then governor of Africa, he transferred the command of the legion to an imperial lieutenant, whom he sent into Africa for the purpose. By that measure, the power of granting military preferment was divided between two rivals: a struggle for pre-eminence soon took place; their orders clashed; strife and emulation followed, and passions on both sides inflamed the dispute. In process of time, the imperial lieutenant gained the ascendant. His continual residence on the spot gave him the advantage, and, as is usual in subordinate stations, the second in authority was the most eager to grasp at power. The proconsuls, conscious of their own dignity, despised the little arts of aggrandizing themselves. They took care to act with circumspection, and, content with personal safety, formed no schemes of ambition.

XLIX. During Piso's administration in Africa, Valerius Festus had the command of the legion; a young man of unbounded expense; a voluptuous prodigal, and an aspiring genius. He was nearly allied to Vitellius, and that circumstance filled him with disquietude. Whether it be true, that, in private conferences, he endeavoured to incite Piso to a revolt, or, on the other hand, that, being himself solicited, he withstood the temptation, must remain uncertain. No man was admitted into their secrets. After the death of Piso, the public was disposed to think favourably even of the murderer. The natives of the province, as well as the soldiers, were disaffected to Vespasian. It is likewise certain, that the partisans of Vitellius, who escaped from Rome, endeavoured to fire the ambition of Piso. They represented Gaul on the eve of a revolt, and the Germans ready to take up arms; they stated the dangerous situation in which Piso stood, and open war, they said, was preferable to a dangerous peace. In that juncture, Claudius Sagitta, who commanded the squadron of horse called Petrina, arrived in Africa. Favoured with a quick passage, he got the start

4 Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was murdered by the Vitellians. Hist. iii. s. 74.

of Papirius, a centurion, despatched by Mucianus, with secret instructions, as Sagitta affirmed, to assassinate Piso. He added, that Galerianus, the proconsul's near relation, and also his son-in-law, had already met his fate. For the proconsul himself, there remained nothing but a bold and daring enterprise. For this purpose two schemes presented themselves; one, by calling forth the province under arms; the other, by passing over into Gaul, there to show himself at the head of the Vitellian party. Piso remained deaf to these remonstrances. In the mean time, the centurion sent by Mucianus arrived in Africa. He landed at Carthage, and no sooner entered that city, than he proclaimed, with an air of joy, that Piso's affairs were in a prosperous train, and that the imperial dignity was already his. The people stood astonished at a revolution so unexpected. The centurion desired them to spread the news, with shouts and demonstrations of joy, and, accordingly, the credulous multitude rushed to the forum, calling aloud on Piso to make his appearance. The city rung with acclamations. About the truth no man inquired: all pressed forward to pay their court to the new emperor. Piso, in the mean time, alarmed by the evidence of Sagitta, or, perhaps, restrained by his own native modesty, resolved not to stir from his house. He examined the centurion; and finding that the whole was a snare to involve him in a rash attempt, and thereby give a colour to the intended murder, he ordered the ruffian to be put to death; not imagining that, by that vindictive measure he could save his own life, but because he saw with indignation the assassin of Clodius Macer ready to imbrue his hands in the blood of the proconsul. Having made this sacrifice to justice, he issued a proclamation, in strong terms condemning the rash behaviour of the Carthaginians. From that moment, renouncing all the duties of his station, he confined himself to his own house, determined that nothing on his part should be the occasion of new disturbances.

L. Festus was duly apprised of all that passed. The excesses committed by the populace, the death of the centurion, and other reports, magnified, as usual, by the voice of fame, determined him to cut off the proconsul without delay. He despatched a party of horse to perpetrate the deed. The assassins made a rapid march in the night, and at the dawn of day rushed, sword in hand, into Piso's house. Being men picked for the purpose from the Carthaginian or the Moorish auxiliaries, they did not so much as know the person whom they intended to murder. Near his chamber-door they met one of the slaves, and sternly asked him, Who are you? and where is Piso? With a generous and splendid falsehood, the man replied, "I am Piso." He was butchered on the spot. Piso in a short time after met his fate. It happened that he was known to one of the ruffians, by name Bebius Massa,[1] an imperial procurator in Africa, even then the avowed enemy of every worthy character, and, in the miseries that followed, an actor frequently to appear in scenes of blood and cruelty. Meanwhile, Festus remained at Adrumetum,[2] waiting for the issue of the business. Having received intelligence, he proceeded to the legion, and there ordered Cetronius Pisanus, the prefect of the camp, to be loaded with fetters. His motive for this proceeding was a personal grudge, disguised, however, under a pretended charge, that the prisoner was the friend and partisan of Piso. He punished some of the soldiers, and rewarded others, with no good reason for either, but purely to give himself the important air of having crushed a civil war. A quarrel subsisted between the Œensians[3] and the people of Leptis; but by the interposition of Festus the dispute was compromised. Those cities complained of depredations committed in their respective territories, and both were, preparing to hazard a battle. The Œensians were, in fact, inferior in number to their adversaries; but they had formed a league with the Garamantes, a fierce and savage race, that lived altogether by plunder, and, by consequence, the people of Leptis were reduced to the last extremity. They saw their lands laid waste, and were obliged to take shelter in their fortified towns, till the Roman cohorts and cavalry advanced to their relief. The Garamantes abandoned the siege, leaving behind them the whole of their booty, except what some of their flying parties had conveyed to their huts in the midst of deserts, or sold to the inhabitants of distant regions.

LI. Vespasian, at this time, had received intelligence of the victory at Cremona, and the success of his arms in every quarter. The death of Vitellius was announced to him by men of rank and condition, who had the spirit, in that rough season of the year, to undertake a voyage in order to be the first to communicate that important event. Vologeses, the Parthian king, offered by his ambassadors to assist him with forty thousand of his cavalry. Nothing could be more glorious than the situation in which Vespasian stood: the allies paid their court, and he was in no need of their assistance. He returned thanks to Vologeses, desiring, at the same time, since the peace of the empire was now established, that he would send ambassadors to the senate. Vespasian now began to turn his

1 For more of Bebius Massa, see Life of Agricola, c. 45. He is mentioned by Juvenal as a noted informer:

——Quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus.

2 For Adrumetum, see the Geographical Table.

3 For the cities of Œensis and Leptis, see the Geographical Table.

thoughts towards Italy, and the affairs of Rome. The accounts which he received concerning his son Domitian were by no means favourable. The young prince was said to assume beyond his years, and to tower above the rank even of the emperor's son. For the present, Vespasian thought fit to place his son Titus at the head of the army, and leave him to carry on the war against the Jews.

LII. Titus, we are told, before he set out to take upon him the command, used his best influence to mitigate his father in favour of Domitian. "The tales," he said, "of insidious whisperers ought not to be regarded: a son may fairly claim a right to be heard in his defence, nor should a father harbour prejudices against him. Fleets and armies are not always the strongest bulwarks: the best resources of the sovereign are in his own family. Friends moulder away; time changes the affections of men; views of interest form new connections; the passions fluctuate; desires arise that cannot be gratified; misunderstandings follow, and friendships are transferred to others; but the ties of blood still remain in force, and in that bond of union consists the security of the emperor. In his prosperity numbers participate; in the day of trouble, who, except his relations, takes a share in his misfortunes? Even between brothers, concord and unanimity are seldom lasting; and how should it be otherwise, if the father ceases to give a laudable example?"

Vespasian listened to these remonstrances, charmed with the amiable disposition of his son, yet not reconciled to Domitian. He desired Titus to banish all anxiety, and proceed, with a mind firm and erect, in the great work of enlarging the dominion and the glory of the empire. For himself, it should be his business to improve the arts of peace, and secure the welfare of his family. Vespasian's next care was to provide a supply of grain for the city of Rome. He ordered a number of swift-sailing vessels to be loaded with corn, and, though it was still the tempestuous season of the year, to put to sea without delay. Rome, in that juncture, was reduced to an alarming situation, not having in the public granaries, when the fleet arrived, more than ten days' provision.

LIII. The care of rebuilding the capitol was committed to Lucius Vestinus,[4] a man no higher than the equestrian rank, but in credit and dignity of character equal to the first men in Rome. Under his direction the soothsayers were convened. Their advice was, that the ruins of the former temple should be removed to the marshes, and that the new structure should be raised on the old foundation; for the gods would not permit a change of the ancient form. On the eleventh day before the calends of July, the sky being remarkably serene, the ground assigned for the foundation was encompassed with ribbons and chaplets of flowers. Such of the soldiers as had names of auspicious import[5] entered within the inclosure, bearing in their hands branches from the favourite trees of the gods. The vestal virgins followed in procession, with a band of boys and girls, whose parents, male and female, were still living. They sprinkled the place with water drawn from three clear fountains, and three rivers. Helvidius Priscus, the prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus, the pontiff, sacrificed a swine, a sheep, and a bull; and, having spread the entrails upon the green turf, invoked Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, praying of them, and all the tutelar deities of Rome, that they would favour the undertaking, and, with their divine assistance, carry to perfection a work begun and consecrated by the piety of man.

After this solemn prayer, Helvidius laid his hand upon the fillets that adorned the foundation-stone, and also the cords by which it was to be drawn to its place. In that instant, the magistrates, the priests, the senators, the Roman knights, and a number of citizens, all acting with one effort, and general demonstrations of joy, laid hold of the ropes, and dragged the ponderous load to its destined spot. They then threw in ingots of gold and silver, and other metals, which had never been melted in the furnace, but still retained, untouched by human art, their first formation in the bowels of the earth. The soothsayers had directed, that neither stone nor gold, which had been applied to other uses, should profane any part of the building. The walls were raised higher than before. Religion allowed no other alteration. To the magnificence of the former structure[6] nothing but elevation could be added; and that, in a place designed for the reception of prodigious multitudes, was allowed to be necessary.

LIV. Meanwhile, the news of Vitellius's death, spreading through Gaul and Germany, gave rise to two wars at once. Civilis, no longer managing appearances, declared open hostility against the Romans; and the Vitellian soldiers, rather than acknowledge Vespasian, were ready to submit to slavery under a foreign yoke. The Gauls began to breathe new life and vigour, persuaded that the Roman armies, wherever stationed, were broken and dispirited. A rumour was current among them, and universally

4 Lucius Vestinus was a native of *Vienne*, a city near Lyons.

5 Upon all solemn occasions the Romans made choice of men whose names they thought auspicious. See Cicero De Divinatione, lib. i. s. 102.

6 The splendour and magnificence of the Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter are described by Plutarch, Life of Poplicola.

believed, that the Dacians and Sarmatians had laid siege to the encampments in Mæsia and Pannonia. Affairs in Britain were supposed to be in no better situation. Above all, the destruction of the capitol announced the approaching fate of the Roman empire. The Druids,[1] in their wild enthusiasm, sung their oracular songs, in which they taught, that, when Rome was formerly sacked by the Gauls, the mansion of Jupiter being left entire, the commonwealth survived that dreadful shock; but the calamity of fire, which had lately happened, was a denunciation from heaven, in consequence of which, power and dominion were to circulate round the world, and the nations on their side of the Alps were in their turn to become masters of the world. A report prevailed, at the same time, that the chieftains of Gaul, who had been employed by Otho, against Vitellius, bound themselves by solemn league, if the civil dissensions of Rome continued, to watch their opportunity, and by one brave effort, recover their natural independence.

LV. Before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, this confederacy was a profound secret. That tragic event no sooner happened, than a negotiation took place between Civilis and Classicus, who commanded a squadron of Treverian horse, and was, at that time, a leading chief among the Gauls, in fame and wealth surpassing the rest of his countrymen. He derived his origin from a royal line; a race of men who had made themselves famous for the wisdom of their counsels, and their courage in the field. Thus descended, Classicus made his boast, that he was the hereditary enemy, not the ally, of Rome. His plot was strengthened by the accession of Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus; the former a Treverian; the latter, one of the Lingones. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to a command on the banks of the Rhine. Sabinus to his natural vanity united the pride, however ill founded, of an illustrious descent. He pretended, that his great-grandmother attracted the regard of Julius Cæsar during his wars in Germany, and from that embrace he deduced his pedigree.

The conspirators made it their business, in secret conferences, to sound the temper of others; and, having drawn into their plot a number of accomplices, held a general meeting in the Agrippinian colony. A private house was their scene of action. In that city the public mind abhorred all dangerous conspiracies. There were, notwithstanding, some of the inhabitants, and a party of Tungrians,[2] present at the meeting: but the Treverians and Lingones gave life and vigour to the cause. Men of their spirit thought they lost their time in debate. They broke out at once, declaring with vehemence, "that Rome was brought, by the madness of her own intestine divisions, to the brink of ruin; her armies were cut to pieces; Italy was laid waste, and the city taken by storm. In other parts of the empire the legions have different wars upon their hands; what then remains but to take possession of the Alps? Secure the passes over those mountains, and Gaul will not only recover her liberty, but establish an independent empire. She may then deliberate where to fix the extent and boundaries of her own dominions."

LVI. This great and daring project was approved as soon as heard. How to dispose of the remaining Vitellian soldiers, was the next consideration. A general massacre was proposed. All agreed, that men of their description, seditious, turbulent, void of principle, the murderers of their superior officers, deserved no quarter. And yet there were political reasons for extending mercy: "The Vitellians might be roused to an act of brave despair. It were better to entice them into the confederacy. Let their officers bleed, and, after that sacrifice, the common men, conscious of their crimes, yet entertaining hopes of impunity, would be ready to join in any great and daring enterprise." Such was the plan of their revolt. Their next step was, by their agents and emissaries, to kindle the flame of discord all over Gaul. The conspirators, in the mean time, with a specious show of duty, submitted to the commands of Vocula, determined to deceive him at first, and ruin him in the end. The plot, however, was not entirely concealed from the Roman general: he received intelligence, but in a difficult juncture, when his legions were incomplete, and wavering in their duty. Vocula found himself surrounded with perfidious soldiers, and secret conspirators. In that distress he judged it best to play against his enemies their own insidious game. With this design he set out for the Agrippinian colony. At that place he met Claudius Labeo, who, as already mentioned, had been sent by Civilis to be detained in custody by the Frisians. Having corrupted his guard, this man made his escape, and fled for refuge to the Romans. He now was willing to assist their cause. To that end he offered, at the head of a detachment, to penetrate into Batavia, and, by his influence, to engage the chiefs of the country in the interest of Rome. He obtained a small party of foot and cavalry, and with that force passed over into the island, but attempted nothing against the

1 The order of Druids had been suppressed in Gaul by Tiberius. Pliny, lib. xxx. s. 4; and the emperor Claudius extinguished their religion. Suetonius, in Claud. s. 25. It is probable, therefore, that a race of Druids was sent from Britain.

2 For the Ubii, Tungri, Treviri, and Lingones, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

Batavians. The whole of his service consisted in prevailing on a party of the Nervians and Betasians[3] to take up arms. With that reinforcement he ventured to attack the Caninefates and Marsacians, not indeed in an open and regular war, but, in the style of a freebooter, by sudden incursions.

LVII. The Gauls found means to impose upon Vocula. That commander fell into the snare, and marched in quest of the enemy. As soon as he approached the old camp, called Vetera, Classicus and Tutor, under colour of exploring the motions of the enemy, advanced to a considerable distance from the army, and, having there concluded a treaty with the German chiefs, threw off the mask at once. They encamped apart, and began to throw up intrenchments. Vocula, with indignation, exclaimed against the measure. "Rome," he said, "was not so humbled by her own divisions as to become the scorn of the Treverians and Lingones. She had still great resources, a number of provinces firm in her interest; victorious armies, and the auspicious fortune of the empire. The avenging gods were still on her side. The fate of Sacrovir[4] and the treacherous Æduans may be still remembered. The overthrow of Vindex[5] is a more recent instance. A single battle was sufficient to quell those insurrections; and what have the violators of all good faith to expect at present? The same gods, the same vengeance, the same fate, awaits them. Julius Cæsar was the person who best understood the national character of the Gauls. He knew how to deal with a perfidious race. Augustus followed his example. Galba granted an exemption from tributes, and, by that indulgence, gave encouragement to sedition. Your burden has been lessened, and rebellion is your gratitude: when you are once more subdued, and reduced to poverty, you will then be taught that submission is the duty of the vanquished." The tone of firmness, and even ferocity, with which this speech was uttered, made no impression on Classicus and Tutor. Vocula marched back to Novesium. The Gauls encamped at the distance of two miles. The centurions and soldiers visited them without restraint, and settled the price for which they were willing to sell themselves. In that vile bargain and sale, a Roman army, with a baseness of spirit till then unheard of, submitted to swear fidelity to a foreign power; and, to ratify the horrible contract, agreed to murder their officers, or deliver them up bound in chains. In this distress, Vocula was advised to save himself by flight; but that general was resolved to face every danger. With a mind superior to distress, he called his men together, and harangued them as follows:

LVIII. "I have often addressed you, my fellow-soldiers, but never with so much anxiety for your welfare; never with so little concern for myself. You have conspired against me, and I hear it without regret. Encompassed as I am by so many enemies, I can welcome death as the end of human misery. But I feel for you: for you my heart bleeds inwardly. You are neither going forth to the attack, nor does the enemy offer battle. In either case, that would be the lot of war, and I should be willing to share the danger. You are now to draw your unhallowed swords against your country: Classicus expects it; he hopes to make you traitors and parricides. He places before your eyes the empire of Gaul; he invites you to swear fidelity to that imaginary state. But still reflect for a moment: if fortune has deserted you, if your courage fails, are there no bright examples transmitted to you by your ancestors, to rouse your valour? Have you forgot how often the Roman armies, rather than desert their post, have died bravely sword in hand? The allies of Rome have seen their cities wrapped in fire, and, with their wives and children, perished in the flames: and what was their motive? They preserved their faith inviolate, and they died with glory. Even at this moment you have before your eyes the noblest example: in the old camp, the legions, amidst the horrors of a siege and the miseries of famine, still maintain their post, undismayed by danger, unseduced by promises. We have arms and men; a camp well fortified, and provisions sufficient for a long and tedious war. That there is no want of money, yourselves are witnesses: you have received your donative; and whether you impute it to Vespasian or Vitellius, it is the bounty of the emperor. And will you, my fellow-soldiers, after all your victories, after routing the enemy at Gelduba and the old camp, will you now shrink at once, and sully all your fame? If you dread an engagement, behold your walls and fortifications, your trenches and palisades: those will defend you; with those advantages you may stand at bay till succours arrive from the neighbouring provinces. Does your general displease you? There are other officers; there are tribunes, centurions, and, if you will, there are common men, to take the command. In all events, let not the world hear the monstrous story, that Classicus and Civilis, with Roman arms and Roman soldiers, have invaded Italy.

"But let me ask you: Should the Gauls and Germans be able to conduct you to the walls of Rome, will you there lift your impious hands against your country? My heart recoils with horror from the thought. Shall Roman soldiers be placed as sentinels at the tent of Tutor the Treverian? Shall a Batavian give the word of

3 Betasii, inhabitants of what is now called *Brabant*.

4 For Sacrovir, see Annals, iii. s. 46.

5 For Vindex, and the revolt in Gaul under his conduct, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

command? Will you serve as recruits to complete the German battalions? And what is to be the issue? When the Roman legions appear before you in order of battle, what part will you act? Deserters already, will you become so a second time? From traitors to your country, will you turn traitors to your new allies? Bound by your former oaths, distracted by your last, and between both confounded, you will be lost in a maze of guilt, detesting yourselves, and still more detested by the gods. Immortal Jove, supreme of gods, to whom, for so many triumphs during a space of eight hundred and twenty years, Rome has bowed down with praise and adoration! thee I invoke; and thee too, Romulus, thou mighty founder of the Roman name! on thee I call: if it is your awful will, that, under my command, this camp shall not remain inviolate, yet hear my humble prayer; preserve it from the pollution of Barbarians; save it from such men as Tutor and Classicus. To these, my fellow-soldiers, grant unshaken virtue; or, if that cannot be, inspire them with remorse, that they may see their error, and avert the horror of flagitious deeds."

LIX. This speech was heard with various emotions. Hope, fear, and shame, rose in the minds of the soldiers. Vocula retired, with his own hand determined to deliver himself from a seditious army. His slaves and freedmen interposed, but their officious care reserved him for a harsher fate. Classicus despatched his assassin, by name Æmilius Longinus, a deserter from the first legion. That ruffian struck the fatal blow. Herennius and Numisius, who had each the command of a legion, were secured in chains. Classicus, in a short time afterwards, entered the camp, with the pomp and apparel of a Roman commander; and though he brought with him a mind prompt and daring, he made no attempt to harangue the men, content with repeating the words of the oath. The soldiers swore fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. The murderer of Vocula was raised to rank in the army. The rest were rewarded in proportion to their crimes. Tutor and Classicus took their different shares in the conduct of the war. Tutor proceeded with a strong force to the Agrippinian colony, and, having invested the place, compelled the inhabitants to bind themselves by an oath to the new empire. He exacted the same submission from the soldiers stationed on the Upper Rhine. Classicus marched to Magontiacum, and, by his order, the tribunes who refused obedience were put to death. The prefect of the camp betook himself to flight. From those who submitted, Classicus selected the most distinguished for their profligacy, and sent them to the old camp, with directions to promise a free pardon to all who were willing to surrender, and, in case of wilful obstinacy, to give notice, that famine, the devouring sword, and all the horrors of military vengeance, would be their portion. To these instructions the messengers added their own example, and the motives that influenced their conduct.

LX. The besieged were now in the last distress. Their sense of duty was still an active principle, and, on the other hand, famine stared them in the face. Between honour and infamy they were held in suspense, and the conflict was for some time undecided. Their store of provisions was exhausted. They were in want, not only of common food, but even of such as necessity might suggest. They had lived on horse-flesh; their beasts of burden were consumed, and even of animals impure and filthy none remained. Reduced to this extremity, they tore up shrubs by the root; they broke down twigs and branches; they gathered the wretched herbs that grew penuriously between the stones. A generous band! exhibiting, in the last distress, an example of patience and heroic fortitude! Men for ever memorable, if they had not at last, by sending deputies to sue for mercy, tarnished all their glory. The haughty Batavian refused to listen to their supplications till they swore fidelity to the empire of Gaul. By the terms of the capitulation, every thing in the camp was to be delivered up to Civilis. A band of soldiers was, accordingly, sent to guard the money, the slaves, the victuallers, and the baggage. The legions marched out destitute of every thing, with a strong party to escort them. They had not proceeded above five miles, when the Germans, contrary to all good faith, attacked them with sudden fury. The brave and resolute died on the spot; others betook themselves to flight, and were cut off by the pursuers; the survivors made their way back to the camp. Civilis called the behaviour of the Germans a violation of the law of nations: but whether he was acting a part, or, in fact, had not sufficient authority to restrain a body of undisciplined barbarians, must remain problematical. Having pillaged the camp, the Batavians threw in combustibles, and the whole was reduced to ashes. All who had lately escaped from the fury of the sword, perished in the flames.

LXI. Civilis, when he first took up arms against the Romans, bound himself by a solemn vow,[1] according to the custom of those barbarous nations, to cherish the growth of his hair, which was now waving about his shoulders, dishevelled, long, and red. Thinking himself absolved by the slaughter of the legions, he cut it

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1 To bind themselves by a solemn vow, not to clip their hair or beard till they had accomplished their revenge, was usual among barbarians. The custom obtained in civilized nations, insomuch that Suetonius tells us of Julius Cæsar, *Milites diligebat usque adeo, ut, audita clade Tituriana, barbam capillumque summiserit, nec ante dempserit, quam vindicasset.* Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 67. See also the Manners of the Germans, s. 7.

short for the first time during the war. He is said to have given to his infant son some Roman prisoners, as a mark to be levelled at with little darts and arrows, for the diversion of a child. It is worthy of notice, that in the height of his zeal for the empire of Gaul, he neither swore fidelity himself, nor required that act of submission from the Batavians. He relied on the valour of the Germans; and should it be necessary to contend for the sovereign power, he considered his own abilities, and his fame in arms, as a decided superiority. Mummius Lupercus, the commander of a legion, was sent, among a number of ample presents, as a gift to Veleda, a prophetess of the Bructerian nation.[2] She ruled over a large tract of territory. Her name was held in veneration throughout Germany. The superstition of the country ascribed to numbers of women a preternatural insight into future events; and, in consequence of that persuasion, many have been revered as goddesses. Veleda, at that time, was the oracle of Germany. She had foretold the success of her countrymen, and the destruction of the legions. Her name, in consequence of that prediction, rose to the highest pitch. Lupercus was murdered on the road. A few centurions and tribunes, who were natives of Gaul, were reserved as hostages in the hands of Civilis, to bind the alliance between the two nations. The winter camps of the cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions, excepting one at Magontiacum, and another at Vindonissa, were levelled to the ground, or destroyed by fire.

LXII. The thirteenth legion, with the auxiliaries that surrendered at the same time, received orders to march, on a day appointed, from Novesium to the colony of the Treverians. The interval was big with anxiety, terror, and distraction. The dastardly thought of nothing but the massacre of the old camp, and expected to have that scene renewed. The better sort, who still retained some sense of honour, blushed to see the humiliating condition to which they were reduced. "What kind of march were they to undertake? and who was to conduct them? It was their own act, they said, that made the Barbarians arbiters of life and death: every thing depends upon their will and pleasure." Others cared for nothing but their money and their effects. To pack up what they valued most, and brace it round their bodies, was their only employment. About shame and dishonour they felt no solicitude. A few prepared their arms, as if for the field of battle. The fatal day arrived, more dismal and afflicting than their imaginations had represented it. In the camp their wretched appearance passed without notice: the open field and the glare of day displayed a scene of deformity. The images of the emperors were torn down from the ensigns; and the Roman standards, stripped of their ornaments, seemed to droop in disgrace, while the colours of the Gauls fluttered in the air, and glittered to the eye. The march was slow, silent, melancholy; a long and dismal train, resembling a funeral procession. Claudius Sanctus, a man deformed by the loss of an eye, of a ferocious countenance, and remarkable stupidity, was their leader. Their disgrace was aggravated by the arrival of another legion from the camp at Bonn. This wretched state of captivity was rumoured about the country, and the people, who a little before shuddered at the Roman name, flocked together in crowds to behold their reverse of fortune. The fields were deserted; houses were left empty; a prodigious multitude assembled from all quarters to enjoy the novelty of the spectacle. The insolence of the rabble was more than the squadron of horse, called Picentina,[3] had patience to endure. They marched off in disdain, directing their route towards Magontiacum; nor could Sanctus, their commander, by threats or menaces, divert them from their purpose. In their way they met Longinus, the murderer of Vocula, and killed him on the spot. By that sacrifice they began to expiate their own disgrace. The legions, without altering their course, proceeded to the city of the Treverians, and pitched their tents under the walls.

LXIII. Civilis and Classicus, elated with success, had it in contemplation to give the Agrippinian colony to the fury of the soldiers. Their own natural ferocity and love of plunder conspired to prompt them to this act of barbarity; but motives of policy counterbalanced their inclinations. They knew that to the founders of a new empire the fame of clemency is always an advantage. Civilis had other reasons: his son, on the first breaking out of the war, was taken into custody by the Agrippinians, and treated with marks of respect. Civilis felt the obligation, and gratitude touched his heart; but the nations beyond the Rhine saw the opulence of the place, and the increase of population, with an eye of envy. They insisted, that, to terminate the war, it was necessary either to make it an open city for all Germany, or to demolish it at once, and, by that stroke, exterminate the Ubian race.

LXIV. The Tencterians, a people dwelling on the opposite bank of the Rhine, thought fit to send ambassadors to the Agrippinian colony, with directions to explain to an assembly of the state the sentiments of the German nations. The person among the deputies most distinguished by his

2 For *Veleda* and other prophetic women, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 8.

3 A squadron of cavalry raised by the people of Picentia, whose territory, called *Ager Picentinus*, lay on the Tuscan sea.

ferocity spoke as follows: "That you have restored yourselves to your country, and are become Germans in fact as well as in name, we return thanks to the gods, whom we adore in common, and in particular to Mars, the supreme of deities. We congratulate you on this great occasion; you will live, henceforward, among nations born in freedom, and you will enjoy your natural rights. The Romans hitherto were masters of our lands, our rivers, and even of the elements over our heads. They excluded us from all intercourse with you: if at any time we were allowed access to your city, it was under the eye of a guard; and, what to a warlike people was the worst indignity, we were forced to visit you without arms, defenceless and almost naked, nay, obliged to pay a tax for the favour. Would you now establish our mutual friendship on a firm foundation? These are the conditions: demolish the walls of your city, those monuments of your former slavery. The fiercest animals, if you keep them close confined, grow mild in time, and forget their nature. Rise at once, and by a general massacre extirpate the Roman race. Liberty and the presence of a master are incompatible. When you have destroyed your enemies, let their goods be brought into a common stock; allow no embezzlement, nor suffer any man to think of his own advantage. Our common ancestors enjoyed both banks of the Rhine: let those rights be now restored. The use of light and air is given by nature to us all, and the same liberal hand has opened to the brave and valiant a free passage to every region of the globe. Revive the customs of your ancestors: restore the primitive laws, and renounce the charm of baneful pleasures. The Romans, hitherto, have waged a war of luxury, and have succeeded more by their vices[1] than by their valour. Prove yourselves Germans, shake off the yoke; be a regenerated, a brave, unmixed, and warlike people; you will then be upon a footing of equality with your neighbours: in time, perhaps, you may rise to the dignity of giving laws to others."

LXV. The Agrippinians desired time for deliberation. If they complied with the terms, they trembled at the consequences; and, in their present condition, a peremptory refusal was more than they dared to hazard. Their answer was as follows: "As soon as we perceived the dawn of returning liberty, we seized the opportunity, with more zeal than prudence, to make common cause with you and the rest of our German relatives. But when the Roman armies are assembling on every side, is that a time to demolish our fortifications? The juncture requires that we should rather add to their strength. If, heretofore, there have been within our territories emigrants from Italy and the provinces of Rome, the rage of war has destroyed them, or they have made their escape to their native home. As to those who formerly transplanted their families, and settled amongst us, they have been for a long time part of the colony, intermixed and blended with us by intermarriages and the ties of consanguinity. Their descendants are our own progeny: this is their native land, and this their country. And are we now required to cut the throats of our fathers, our brothers, and our children? That black design cannot be imputed to the Tencterians. A free commerce shall be established: all duties, that are a restraint on trade and liberty, shall be repealed. Our city shall be open to you, but with this restriction: you must come unarmed, and in open day, that these regulations, at present new and therefore feeble, may gain strength from time, and grow into established usage. We desire that Civilis and Veleda may arbitrate between us. Under their sanction the treaty shall be ratified." The Tencterians acquiesced. Ambassadors were sent with presents to Civilis and Veleda, and, by their mediation, all matters were adjusted to the satisfaction of the Agrippinians. The deputies, however, were not admitted to the presence of Veleda. To increase the veneration paid to her character, all access to her person was denied. She resided in the summit of a lofty tower. A near relation, chosen for the purpose, conveyed to her several questions, and from that sanctuary brought back oracular responses, like a messenger who held commerce with the gods.

LXVI. Strengthened by his alliance with the Agrippinian colony, Civilis turned his thoughts to the neighbouring states; determined, if gentle measures proved ineffectual, to subdue them by force. The Sunicians[2] had already submitted to his arms, and he had formed the youth of the country capable of bearing arms into regular cohorts. To oppose his progress, Claudius Labeo advanced at the head of a considerable body of Betasians, Tungrians, and Nervians, raised by sudden levies. Having taken an advantageous post, where he commanded the bridge over the Meuse, he ventured an engagement. The battle was, for some time, fought in a narrow defile with doubtful success, till the Germans, with their usual dexterity in swimming, crossed the river, and charged Labeo's forces in the rear. Civilis, with a bold effort of courage, or in consequence of a preconcerted measure, rushed among the Tungrians, proclaiming aloud, "that the object of the war was not to procure for the Batavians and Treverians dominion over the

1 The Romans kept the nations in subjection, not so much by their arms as by the allurements of pleasure, which they called civilization. See the Life of Agricola, s. 21.

2 For the Sunici, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

nations. We have no such arrogance, no such wild ambition. We court your alliance: I am ready to join you; your general, if you will; if not, a common soldier." This speech had its effect. The common men felt the impression, and sheathed their swords. In that moment, Campanus and Juvenalis, the leading chieftains of the Tungrians, in behalf of themselves and their whole nation, submitted to Civilis. Labeo made his escape. The Betasians and the Nervians in like manner surrendered. Civilis incorporated them with his army, and, in a tide of success, saw his strength increasing every day. The adjacent nations were overawed by the terror of his arms, or voluntarily entered into the confederacy.

LXVII. Meanwhile, Julius Sabinus, having destroyed all public monuments of the alliance[3] between Rome and the Lingones, caused himself to be proclaimed by the title of Cæsar. He put himself, soon after, at the head of an undisciplined multitude of his countrymen, and marched against the Sequanians,[4] a neighbouring state, at that time faithful to Rome. The Sequanians did not decline the conflict. Fortune favoured the juster cause. The Lingones were defeated. The rashness with which Sabinus rushed on to the attack, was equalled by nothing but the precipitation with which he fled the field. He escaped to a cottage, and, in order to spread a report of his death, set fire to the place. It was generally believed that he perished in the flames. He lived nine years afterwards. The various arts by which he protracted his days, and the subterraneous places in which he lay concealed, together with the constancy of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina,[5] shall be recorded in their proper place. The victory obtained by the Sequanians checked the progress of the war. The states of Gaul began to think with moderation, and to reflect on the law of nations and the faith of subsisting treaties. The people of Rheims[6] set the example. By a proclamation dispersed through Gaul, they summoned a convention of delegates from the several provinces, in order to consult which was most for the general interest, a settled peace, or a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty.

LXVIII. At Rome, in the mean time, these transactions, exaggerated always beyond the truth, kept Mucianus in a state of anxiety. He had already appointed Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis to command the German armies; but, though they were both officers of distinguished merit, there was reason to fear that they would prove unequal to the weight of the war. Rome, at the same time, could not be left without a ruler. From the unbridled passions of Domitian every thing was to be apprehended. Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were both suspected. The latter commanded the prætorian guards, and by consequence, had arms and men in his power. Mucianus removed him from his office, and, to soften his fall, made him superintendent of the public granaries. To reconcile Domitian, the known friend of Varus, to the measure, he gave the vacant post to Arretinus Clemens, a man nearly related to the house of Vespasian, and high in favour with the young prince. His father, in the reign of Caligula, held the same command, with considerable reputation. The name, Mucianus observed, would be welcome to the soldiers; and the new officer, though a member of the senate, would be able to discharge the duty of both stations. An expedition against the Germans was now a settled measure. The principal men at Rome had notice to attend the army. Numbers offered themselves with views of ambition. Domitian and Mucianus prepared to set out, but with different motives; the prince with the ardour of youth, panting for the novelty of enterprise; Mucianus, with studied delays, endeavouring to protract the time, in order to allay the impetuosity of Domitian. A young man of his rank, hurried away by his passions, or misled by evil counsellors, might, at the head of the army, so embarrass every thing, that it would be impossible either to wage war with advantage, or to conclude an honourable peace.

Two of the victorious legions, namely, the sixth and eighth, with the twenty-first from the Vitellian party, and the second from the forces lately raised, had orders to march into Gaul by different routes; some over the Penine and Cottian Alps, and others over the Graian mountains. The fourteenth legion was recalled from Britain, and the sixth and tenth from Spain. Alarmed by these preparations, the states of Gaul, already disposed to pacific measures, held a convention at Rheims. The deputies of the Treverians attended the meeting, and with them Tullius Valentinus, a fierce incendiary, and the most active promoter of the war. In a speech prepared for the purpose, he poured forth a torrent of declamation, abounding with all the topics of invective usually urged against the authority of extensive empires, and all the injurious reflections that could be cast on the Roman name. To inflame sedition was the talent of the man. Possessing a daring genius and a turbulent vein of eloquence, no wonder that he was the favourite orator of the vulgar.

3 Tables of brass, on which was engraven the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Lingones.

4 For the Sequani, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

5 The account here promised of Epponina's fidelity has not come down to us. She was discovered in a cavern with Sabinus her husband nine years afterwards, and with him conveyed to Rome. Plutarch, who relates the particulars, says that her death was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 23.

6 The Remi inhabited what is now called the Diocese of *Rheims*.

LXIX. Julius Auspex, a leading chief among the people of Rheims, rose in opposition to the Treverian. He painted forth the power of the Romans, and the blessings of peace. "Nations," he said, "might be involved in all the calamities of war by men of no account in the field. The coward may begin hostilities, but the brave and valiant are left to shed their blood in the quarrel. Even then the Roman legions were advancing, and to oppose them would be a vain attempt." He urged the faith of treaties, and by that consideration succeeded with men of sober judgment: the young and ardent were restrained by the magnitude of the approaching danger. All admired the spirit of Valentinus, but the advice of Auspex was adopted. The states of Gaul had not forgot, that, in the commotions excited by Vindex, the Treverians and Lingones[1] had sided with Verginius, and that conduct was still felt with resentment. The mutual jealousy with which the several provinces beheld each other, was still another reason to prevent their acting in concert. "Who was to have the conduct of the war? Under whose auspices were the troops to take the field? And, if their efforts were crowned with success, where were they to fix the seat of empire?" By this spirit of emulation all were thrown into violent debate; they had gained no victory, and yet were quarrelling for the spoils. One state talked of its alliances; another was rich and powerful; a third boasted of its ancient origin, and all with arrogance claimed the superiority. The result was a general resolution to prefer their present condition to the uncertain issue of a dangerous war. Letters were despatched to the Treverians in the name of the states of Gaul, requiring them to lay down their arms, while repentance might obtain their pardon, and their friends were ready to solicit for them. Valentinus opposed all terms of accommodation. His countrymen, by his advice, were deaf to all remonstrances. But war was not the talent of their leader. Skilled in debate, he was a factious demagogue, and an inactive soldier.

LXX. The exertions of the Treverians, the Lingones, and other revolted states, were in no proportion to the importance of the occasion. Between their generals no concerted plan, no union of counsels. Civilis traversed the defiles and devious parts of Belgia,[2] with no object in view but that of making Labeo his prisoner, or forcing him to fly the country. Classicus loitered away the time in indolence, pleased with his imaginary empire, and swaying a sceptre not yet in his possession. Even Tutor neglected to secure the banks of the Upper Rhine, and the passes of the Alps. In the meantime, the one and twentieth legion, by the way of Vindonissa, penetrated into Gaul, and Sextilius Felix, with the auxiliary cohorts, forced his way through Rhætia.[3] He was joined by a squadron of horse, embodied first by Vitellius, and afterwards listed under Vespasian. Their commanding officer was Julius Briganticus, whose mother was the sister of Civilis. The uncle and the nephew hated each other; and, as is often the case in family quarrels, their animosity was deep, envenomed, and implacable. Tutor found means to augment his army by new musters in the country of the Vangiones,[4] the Caracatians, and Tribocians. He added a body of Roman veterans, both horse and foot, whom he had either inveigled by promises, or compelled by menaces. A cohort detached by Sextilius Felix appeared in sight. The veteran legionaries put the whole corps to the sword; but seeing the approach of Roman generals and a Roman army they went over to that side, and by a second desertion atoned for the disgrace of the first. The Tribocians, the Vangiones, and the Caracatians, followed their example.

Tutor, being now deserted by all but his countrymen the Treverians, thought it best to make his retreat. He avoided Magontiacum, and made the best of his way to Bingium,[5] where, having destroyed the bridge over the river Nava,[6] he thought himself posted to advantage. Felix, with a cohort under his command, hung closely on his rear. Having found a fordable place, his men crossed the river, and rushed on to the attack. Tutor was put to the rout, and totally defeated. The Treverians, struck with terror, laid down their arms, and dispersed themselves about the country. Some of their chiefs, to claim the merit of a voluntary submission, fled for refuge to such states as had not joined the revolt. The legions which had been removed, as already mentioned, from Novesium and Bonn to the territory of the Treverians, seized their opportunity to renew their oath of fidelity to Vespasian. Valentinus was absent in some other quarter. He returned breathing vengeance, and bent on new commotions; but the legions quitted the country, and pursued their route to [7]Mediomatricum, a city in alliance with Rome. By the zeal and ardour of Tutor and Valentinus, the Treverians were once more incited to take up arms. To strengthen the band of union by cutting off all hopes of pardon, they murdered Herennius and Numisius, two commanders of legions; and by that exploit hoped to rouse the desperate valour of their countrymen.

1 See Appendix to Annals, xvi.
2 The country about *Bruges*.
3 The Rhæti, now the *Grisons*.
4 Vangiones, now the diocese of *Worms*.
5 For Bingium, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.
6 Nava, a river that runs into the Rhine. See the Geographical Table.
7 Mediomatrici, now the diocese of *Metz*.

LXXI. Such was the state of the war when Petilius Cerealis reached Magontiacum. By his arrival the face of things was changed. That general, always eager to give battle, and, by his natural temper, more disposed to hold the enemy in contempt than to prevent a surprise, harangued his men, and by his manly eloquence inspired them with new ardour. He desired that they would hold themselves in readiness for action, as he was resolved to seize the first opportunity that offered. The levies, which had been raised in Gaul, he ordered back to their own country, with directions to publish every where, that the legions were sufficient to defend the empire; and, therefore, that the allies might return to the employments of peace, secure from danger, since the Roman armies had taken the field. By this message the Gauls were wrought to a more pacific temper. Their young men being thus restored to their country, they felt their tribute lighter; and, their service being no longer wanted, their zeal rose in proportion.

Civilis and Classicus saw the sad reverse of their affairs. Tutor was defeated, the Treverians were cut to pieces, and fortune began to smile on the Roman arms. In this distress, they drew together their scattered forces; taking care, in the meantime, to warn Valentinus, by repeated messengers, not to stand the hazard of a decisive engagement. Cerealis was the more impatient to strike a sudden blow. He despatched proper officers to Mediomatricum, with orders to bring forward the legions from that place, by the shortest route. Having, in the meantime, united the soldiers stationed at Magontiacum with the forces which he brought with him from Italy, he proceeded by rapid marches, and in three days arrived at Rigodulum.[8] At that place Valentinus, at the head of a large body of Treverians, had taken post in a strong situation, defended on one side by the Moselle, and in other parts inclosed by mountains. To the natural strength of the place he added a deep fosse, and a rampart of stones piled on one another. The Roman general was determined to surmount all difficulties. He ordered the infantry to rush on to the assault, while the cavalry gained the higher ground. He despised an enemy consisting of new levies; an undisciplined army, to whom their fortifications could give no advantage which Roman valour was not able to conquer. The first ascent was difficult. For some time the soldiers were retarded by the missive weapons of the enemy; but in spite of every obstacle they gained the summit. A close engagement followed. The Barbarians were hurled headlong from the steep, as if their fortifications tumbled down in ruins. In the meantime a party of the cavalry, having circled round the smooth edges of the hill, made the principal Belgic chiefs prisoners of war, with Valentinus, their general, in the number.

LXXII. On the following day Cerealis entered the capital of the Treverians. The soldiers panted for the destruction of the city. "It was the birth-place of Classicus and of Tutor. By them the legions had been besieged and massacred. What was the guilt of Cremona? That unfortunate city checked the career of a victorious army for a single night, and, for that offence, was swept from the bosom of Italy. And shall a hostile city, standing on the confines of Germany, be allowed to subsist, and even to flourish, rich with the spoil of plundered armies, and reeking with the blood of slaughtered generals? Let the booty be added to the public treasure; but let the place be wrapt in flames, and the whole colony laid in ruins. That just revenge would atone for the loss of so many Roman camps. The soldiers ask no more." Cerealis dreaded the consequence of suffering his army to retaliate by acts of cruelty, which, he knew, would brand his name with infamy. He checked the fury of his men, and they obeyed. The rage of civil war was over, and against foreign enemies there was nothing to embitter the soldier's mind. There was, besides, another object, that touched every heart with compassion. The legions from Mediomatricum presented a spectacle truly wretched. Conscious of their guilt, they stood with their eyes fixed on the ground. Between the two armies no mutual salutation passed. The men in disgrace heard the words of consolation from their friends, and made no answer. They retired in silence to their tents, wishing to hide themselves from the face of day. Fear made no part of their distress. They felt the infamy of their conduct, and shame and anguish of heart overwhelmed them. Even the men who were flushed with their recent victory, stood at gaze in mute astonishment. They pitied their fellow soldiers, but did not dare to raise their voices in their favour. They showed their compassion by their pathetic silence, and interceded for them with their tears. Cerealis removed all cause of apprehension. He declared that all that had happened, either in consequence of dissensions among the superior officers, by sedition among the soldiers, or the treachery of the enemy, was the effect of fatal necessity. "But now," he said, "the revolted soldiers are once more the soldiers of their country. From this day you are enlisted in the service, and from this day you are bound by the oath of fidelity. The emperor has forgot all that has happened, and your general will remember nothing." The penitent troops were admitted into the camp; and the general gave out in orders to every company, that no man should presume, upon any occasion, public or private, to mention the revolt of the legions, or the disasters that happened afterwards.

8 Rigodulum; now *Rigol*, on the *Moselle* near *Treves*.

LXXIII. Cerealis, without loss of time, called an assembly of the Treverians and Lingones. His speech was to the following effect: "Eloquence is not my province: it is a talent which I never cultivated. Arms have been my profession: in the field of battle I have given you proof of Roman valour. But words, and what you call eloquence, are, in your estimation, superior gifts, of power to change the colours of good and evil. It is not by the nature of things that you form your judgment: the speech of a seditious incendiary has more weight and influence. But a few plain words may prove a seasonable antidote. I shall, therefore, explain myself to you on certain points, which, now the war is over, it will be more your interest to hear, than mine to enforce. When the Roman generals at the head of their armies entered your territories, and the other provinces of Gaul, they were neither led by their own ambition, nor the lust of conquest. They were invited by your ancestors, at that time torn by intestine divisions, and driven to the brink of ruin. You had called the Germans to your aid, and those Barbarians proved the worst of tyrants: they enslaved, without distinction, those who invited them, and those who resisted. The battles which Rome has fought with the Teutones[1] and the Cimbrians, need not be mentioned. Her wars in Germany, and the toil and vigour of her legions, with the various events that followed, are all sufficiently known. If the legions seized the banks of the Rhine, can the defence of Italy be deemed the motive? The protection of Gaul was the object, that another Ariovistus[2] may not aspire to reign over you. And do you now imagine that Civilis, or the Batavians, or the nations beyond the Rhine, have that affection for you and your welfare which your forefathers never experienced from their ancestors? The same motives that first incited the Germans to cross the Rhine, will ever subsist: ambition, avarice, and the love of new settlements, will be perpetual incentives. The Germans will be ready, at all times, to change their swampy fens and barren deserts for your fertile plains, and fruitful valleys. On your own soil they wish to lord it over you. They come to ravage your lands, and liberty is the pretext. But the rights of man, and other specious names, are the language of all who want to usurp dominion over others.

LXXIV. "Your country, till you put yourselves under our protection, was at all times harassed with wars, and oppressed by tyrants. Rome has been often insulted, often provoked, by the unruly spirit of the Gauls; and what has been the use of her victories? She required no more at your hands than what was necessary for the aid of a government that defends and protects you.[3] To maintain the tranquillity of nations, arms are necessary; soldiers must be kept in pay; and without a tribute from the provinces, how are supplies to be raised? In common with the citizens of Rome, you enjoy every benefit. Our legions are often commanded by you; you are governors of your own provinces, and even of others subject to the empire. All posts of honour are open to you; nothing is precluded. Does a virtuous prince reign at Rome; though placed at a distance, you feel the mildness of his government. Does a tyrant rule with an iron rod, his weight is felt by those immediately within his reach. Natural evils, such as incessant rains, and barren seasons, you are forced to bear:[4] political evils, such as the avarice and prodigality of princes, should in like manner be endured. As long as there are men, there will be vices. But vice is not without interruption. Better times succeed, and the virtue of a good prince atones for antecedent evils. But, perhaps, you expect from Tutor and from Classicus a mild and equitable reign. Under their auspices armies must be raised to repel the Germans and the Britons; and this, you fancy, will be done with lighter taxes than you pay at present. Overturn the Roman power, (may the gods avert so dire a calamity!) and what think you will be the consequence? The nations will rise in arms, and the world will be a theatre of war. During a space of eight hundred years, the mighty fabric of the empire has been raised by the valour of the legions, and a series of victories; nor can that fabric be rent from its foundation, without burying all who prevail against it in one general ruin. In that scene of wild commotion, Gaul will be the sufferer. You have gold and riches, those great incentives of ambition, and the prime cause of war. Peace is your interest. Cherish it, therefore, and honour the city of Rome: a city, that protects her subjects, and is ever ready to receive the conquered upon equal terms with her own inhabitants. Take warning from your own experience; you have known the smiles and the frowns of fortune; it will now be yours to show that you have the wisdom to

1 See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 8 and 12; Plutarch in Mario; and Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark, vol. i. p. 13.

2 For Ariovistus, the German chief who pushed his conquests in Gaul, see Cæsar De Bell. Gall. i. s. 31.

3 No tribute was required from the Gauls, but what was absolutely necessary for the support of government.

4 Seneca expresses himself to the same effect: *Omnia itaque sic patitur sapiens, ut hiemis rigorem, et intemperantiam cœli, ut fervores morbosque, et cætera forte accidentia.* Seneca, De Constantia Sapientis, cap. 9. Pope has said in the same spirit:

If plagues or earthquakes break not heaven's design,
Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

prefer to a revolt, which may involve you all in ruin, a pacific temper, and a due regard to your own internal happiness." This speech revived the drooping spirits of the Gauls. They expected to be treated with rigour, and their fears were dissipated.

LXXV. The Romans were in possession of the Treverian state, when Cerealis received letters from Civilis and Classicus, in substance as follows: "Vespasian is no more; though the secret is suppressed with care, the fact is well known. Italy and Rome are reduced to the last extremity by their own dissensions. Domitian and Mucianus are high-sounding names, yet signify nothing. If Cerealis aspired to the sovereignty of Gaul, Civilis and Classicus would rest contented with the Batavian dominions. If he preferred the decision of the sword, they were willing to try the fortune of the field." To this message Cerealis returned no answer, but sent the letter, and the person who brought it, to Domitian. Meanwhile, the barbarians, in detached parties, came pouring down from every quarter. Cerealis was censured for suffering an army to be assembled, when he might have attacked the enemy in separate divisions, before they formed a junction. He had even neglected to fortify his camp, and at last contented himself with a fosse and a palisade.

LXXVI. The chiefs of the German army were divided in opinion about their future operations. Civilis was for waiting till the nations arrived from the other side of the Rhine. "The Romans," he said, "would shrink with terror from the approach of those gallant warriors. The Gauls were of no account; a race of dastards, and the ready prey to the conqueror. The Belgians are the strength of their nation; and yet those states are either in arms against the Romans, or with us in their hearts." Tutor opposed this advice. "By protracting the war, the enemy would gain time to augment their army. Their legions were advancing on every side. One was already arrived from Britain, others were on their march from Spain, and more from Italy; all hardy veterans, inured to the fatigue and the perils of war. The Germans, for whom we are desired to wait, are strangers to discipline; men unaccustomed to obey their officers, without any other guide than their own caprice, and the impulse of the moment. Besides this, they are a venal race; money is their passion, and with those sinews of war the Romans are best provided. And when the price of inactivity is equal to the wages of war, what soldier will not prefer the former? If we offer battle, what force has Cerealis to bring against us? His legions are the poor remains of the German army, the refuse of the sword, all lately bound by solemn oaths to the empire of the Gauls. On what does the Roman found his hopes? He put to the rout an undisciplined handful of men under the conduct of Valentinus: but that very circumstance will be his ruin. The general and his army are inspired with a fit of valour, and will soon have reason to repent of their rashness. Let him hazard an engagement: it will not be with Valentinus, a young orator, fluent in words, but of no skill in war: the affair will be with Civilis and with Classicus. The sight of those chiefs will cover the legions with consternation: their defeat, their flight, their famine, and their ignominious surrender, will all be present to their minds, and all will plunge them in despair. As to the Treverians and Lingones, will they be faithful to the Romans? Remove their fears,[5] and the next moment they are on our side." Such was the advice of Tutor. Classicus adopted it, and the measure was forthwith carried into execution.

LXXVII. The chiefs drew up their men in order of battle. In the centre they stationed the Ubians and Lingones, the Batavian cohorts in the right wing, the Bructerians and Tencterians in the left. They resolved to attack the Romans in their camp. One division poured down from the hills, while the rest advanced with rapidity over the plain that lay between the high road and the Moselle. The blow was struck with such sudden vigour, that Cerealis, who passed the night out of his camp, received in bed the news of the attack and the defeat. He gave no credit to the account, but persisted with anger to condemn the folly of the messengers, till he saw a scene of carnage. The Germans had forced the intrenchments; the cavalry was routed; and the bridge over the Moselle, which made a communication between the Treverians and the Agrippinians, was in possession of the enemy. Undismayed in the moment of danger, he rushed forward, without waiting for his armour, to retrieve the loss. He threw himself into the middle of the fray, and faced every danger, defying darts and javelins, animating the brave, and stopping such as fled from their post. His example roused a spirit of emulation. Numbers went to his assistance. His happy temerity recovered possession of the bridge, and that important pass was secured by a chosen band.

Cerealis returned to the camp. He there saw the legions which had been captured at Novesium and Bonn, dispersed in wild disorder, their standards well nigh abandoned, and the eagles in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at the sight, he exclaimed aloud, "It is not Flaccus, it is not Vocula, whom you thus abandon; against me you have no charge of treachery. The confidence which I reposed in you is my only crime. I was weak

5 The Treviri and Lingones had been persuaded by Cerealis to lay down their arms.

enough to believe that you repented of your submission to the empire of Gaul; I thought you capable of remembering, with remorse, your violated oath of fidelity to your country: but I was too credulous. Add me to the list of your murdered generals; stretch me in death with Herennius and Numisius; let it be the fate of all your commanders to perish by the hands of their soldiers, or to be butchered by the enemy.[1] Go, tell Vespasian, or, if you will, tell Classicus and Civilis (for they are nearer), tell the Barbarians, all your brave exploits, and make it a merit with them that you have deserted your general. But remember that the legions are at hand. They will revenge my death, and your crimes will not remain unpunished."

LXXVIII. These reproaches were founded in truth: the tribunes and other officers urged the same topics. The soldiers rallied, but could only form in cohorts, or in separate companies. Surrounded as they were by the enemy, and forced to engage within their intrenchments, amidst the tents and baggage, they were not able to present a regular line of battle. Tutor, Classicus, and Civilis, at the head of their respective divisions, enacted wonders. They invited the Gauls to liberty, the Batavians to immortal glory, and the Germans to the plunder of the camp. All things conspired in their favour, till the one and twentieth legion, finding an open space, drew up in regular order, and, after sustaining for some time the shock of superior numbers, turned the fortune of the day. The gods, in that moment, became propitious to the cause of Rome. Nothing but their special protection could work that wonderful change, in consequence of which, the conquerors, who the instant before were bearing down all opposition, fled in a sudden panic from inferior numbers. Their consternation, as they declared afterwards, was occasioned by the cohorts that rallied after their defeat, and showed themselves on the ridge of the hills. They seemed to the Batavians a reinforcement just arrived. But the fact is, their love of plunder was the cause of their ruin. When they had gained the advantage, and ought to have pursued it, they began to quarrel among themselves for their share of the booty. On the other hand, Cerealis, by his negligence, well nigh lost his army; but his bravery afterwards redeemed his character. Determined to make the best use of his victory, he took the enemy's camp on that very day, and rased it to the ground.

LXXIX. The interval allowed to the soldiers to repose from their fatigue was but short. Cerealis marched to the Agrippinian colony, where the inhabitants were ready to deliver up the wife and sister of Civilis, with the daughter of Classicus, all three left in their hands as hostages for the due performance of mutual treaties. They had, at this time, massacred all the Germans throughout their colony. For this act they dreaded the vengeance of an enraged nation, and applied for succours, before the enemy could be again in force to renew the campaign, and revenge their slaughtered countrymen. For that purpose Civilis had already planned his measures. He depended on the assistance of a cohort of distinguished bravery, composed of Chaucians and Frisians, and, as he imagined, safely posted at Tolbiacum,[2] in the Agrippinian territory. At the head of this resolute band he had projected a sudden attack, but, on the road, had the mortification to hear that those gallant soldiers were all destroyed. They had been invited by the Agrippianians to a sumptuous feast, and, in the night, as they lay oppressed with sleep and wine, their cottages being set on fire, the whole cohort perished in one general conflagration. At the same time, Cerealis made a forced march to the relief of the city. Civilis had now another care to distract his attention. He saw that the fourteenth legion, co-operating with the fleet from Britain, might harass the Batavians on the sea-coast, and lay waste the country. That legion, however, marched over land,[3] under the conduct of Fabius Priscus, to invade the Tungrians and the Nervians. Those two states submitted to the Romans. The Caninefates, in the mean time, attacked the fleet, and either took or sunk the greatest part. By the same people a large body of the Nervians, who had taken up arms in favour of the Romans, was totally overthrown. Classicus, in another part of the country, fell in with a party of horse, detached by Cerealis to Novesium, and engaged them with good success. These, it is true, were petty advantages; but, being frequent, they tarnished the fame of the victory lately obtained by Cerealis.

LXXX. During these transactions, Mucianus, who was still at Rome, ordered the son of Vitellius[4] to be put to death. Political necessity was the colour which he gave to this proceeding: if the seeds of discord were not destroyed, the rude scene of civil commotion would never be closed. He still continued to foster ill will to Antonius, and, for that reason, excluded him from the train appointed to attend Domitian

1 Hordeonius Flaccus and Vocula were murdered by their own soldiers. Numisius and Herennius died by the sword of the enemy.

2 Tolbiacum, now *Zulpich*, in the diocese of *Cologne*.

3 Brotier says, a military road may still be traced from *Gessoriacum* (now *Boulogne*) to *Atuatuca* the capital of the *Tungri*; now *Tongres*, in the Bishopric of *Liege*.

4 The son of Vitellius, called Germanicus, Hist. ii. c 59.

into Gaul. The affections of the army, he well knew, were fixed on a general, who had led them on to victory; and such was the pride of Antonius, that so far from bending to a superior, he could not brook an equal. Being superseded by Mucianus, he set out, in disgust, to join Vespasian. The reception which he met with from the emperor, though it bore no marks of displeasure, did not, however, answer his expectation. Vespasian was divided between opposite motives: he knew that the services of Antonius were too glaring to be overlooked, and that the war was terminated by his ability; but still Mucianus, by his letters, continued to infuse the rancour of his own private animosity. The courtiers were also leagued against Antonius: they represented him in odious colours, as a man of high ambition, fierce, and overbearing. Nor did their malice fail to revive the reproaches of his former conduct.[5] Antonius was at no pains to soften prejudice. His arrogance provoked new enemies. He magnified his own exploits, and talked in degrading terms of other officers, particularly of Cæcina, a man, he said, of an abject spirit, who had surrendered with disgrace.[6] By this conduct Antonius gave umbrage to all. His consequence declined, and the emperor, still preserving the exteriors of friendship, lost all affection for his person.

LXXXI. Vespasian passed some months at Alexandria, having resolved to defer his voyage to Italy till the return of summer, when the winds, blowing in a regular direction, afford a safe and pleasant navigation. During his residence in that city, a number of incidents,[7] out of the ordinary course of nature, seemed to mark him as the particular favourite of the gods. A man of mean condition, born at Alexandria, had lost his sight by a defluxion on his eyes. He presented himself before Vespasian, and, falling prostrate on the ground, implored the emperor to administer a cure for his blindness. He came, he said, by the admonition of Serapis,[8] the god whom the superstition of the Egyptians holds in the highest veneration. The request was, that the emperor, with his spittle, would condescend to moisten the poor man's face and the balls of his eyes. Another who had lost the use of his hand,[9] inspired by the same god, begged that he would tread on the part affected. Vespasian smiled at a request so absurd and wild. The wretched objects persisted to implore his aid. He dreaded the ridicule of a vain attempt; but the importunity of the men, and the crowd of flatterers, prevailed upon the prince not entirely to disregard their petition.

He ordered the physicians to consider among themselves, whether the blindness of the one, and the paralytic affection of the other, were within the reach of human assistance. The result of the consultation was, "that the organs of sight were not so injured, but that, by removing the film or cataract, the patient might recover. As to the disabled limb, by proper applications and invigorating medicines, it was not impossible to restore it to its former tone. The gods, perhaps, intended a special remedy, and chose Vespasian to be the instrument of their dispensations. If a cure took place, the glory of it would add new lustre to the name of Cæsar; if otherwise, the poor men would bear the jests and raillery of the people. Vespasian, in the tide of his affairs, began to think that there was nothing so great and wonderful, nothing so improbable or even incredible, which his good fortune would not accomplish. In the presence of a prodigious multitude, all erect with expectation, he advanced with an air of serenity, and hazarded

5 See Hist. ii. s. 86.

6 Cæcina was kept in chains by his own soldiers, Hist. iii. s. 31.

7 It is not clear that Tacitus placed any faith in this extraordinary story. He says, indeed, that two miracles were attested by men who were eye-witnesses, and had no longer any interest to corrupt their testimony. But that very observation implies that there might have been, at the point of time, *mendacio pretium*: if so, men who have been the authors of a lie, are not always willing to convict themselves. It is moreover evident that they might have been imposed upon. We see that Vespasian was afraid of exposing himself to public ridicule, and therefore consulted the physicians, who reported that the two men were curable; and in consequence of that opinion, Vespasian was willing to hazard the attempt, as Suetonius says, before a public assembly, *palam pro concione*. The physicians, it is highly probable, produced the two patients when they had by their previous arts insured the emperor's success. The story is not related by Tacitus with the air of a man who believed the fact: he has elsewhere given his reason for sometimes admitting the improbable into his narrative: *Vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim*. Voltaire seems to be the only writer who has endeavoured to establish this miraculous cure. He says, *De toutes les guerisons miraculeuses, les plus attestees, les plus authentiques, sont celles de cet aveugle a qui l'empereur Vespasian rendit la vue, et de ce paralytic auquel il rendit l'usage de ses membres. Ce n'est pas lui qui cherche a se faire valoir par des prestiges, dont un mon-arque affermi n'a pas besoin*. Voltaire's reason for giving credit to the story is highly unfortunate. Vespasian was far from being established in the imperial seat. Suetonius expressly says, he was not then possessed of the sovereign majesty: *Autoritas et quasi majestas quædam novo principi deerat*. See Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 7. The new emperor was advised by his friends to act his part on the occasion. The pretended power of working miracles was thought good policy. Voltaire does not appear to have examined the story with due attention. It is well known that his remarks are often made with a sinister purpose.

8 In case of sickness, it was the custom of the common people, by the advice of the Egyptian priests, to abstain from food, and lie in the temple of Serapis, stretched on the skins of victims slain at the altar. Hence the distempered visions of crazed imaginations, which were considered as *light divine and prophecy*.

9 Suetonius relates the two miracles; but what Tacitus calls a paralytic hand, he says was a *paralytic leg*. In Vesp. s. 7.

the experiment. The paralytic hand recovered its functions, and the blind man saw the light of the sun. By living witnesses, who were actually on the spot, both events are confirmed at this hour, when deceit and flattery can hope for no reward.[1]

LXXXII. Vespasian was now determined to visit the sanctuary of Serapis, in order to consult the god about the future fortune of the empire. Having given orders to remove all intruders, he entered the temple. While he adored the deity of the place, he perceived, in the midst of his devotion, a man of principal note among the Egyptians advancing behind him.[2] The name of this person was Basilides, who, at that moment, was known to be detained by illness at the distance of several miles. Vespasian inquired of the priests, whether they had seen Basilides that day in the temple. He asked a number of others, whether they had met him in any part of the city. At length, from messengers whom he despatched on horseback, he received certain intelligence, that Basilides was no less than fourscore miles distant from Alexandria. He concluded, therefore, that the gods had favoured him with a preternatural vision, and from the import of the word BASILIDES,[3] he inferred an interpretation of the decrees of Heaven in favour of his future reign.

LXXXIII. Concerning the origin of the god Serapis, a subject hitherto untouched by the Roman writers, the account given by the priests of Egypt is as follows: At the time when Ptolemy, the first of the Macedonian race, who settled the government of Egypt, had raised walls and ramparts to defend the new-built city of Alexandria, and afterwards gave a temple and the rites of national worship, a youth of graceful mien, and size above the human form, appeared to him in a midnight vision, commanding him to send some of his trusty friends as far as Pontus, to bring from that place into Egypt the statue of the preternatural being then before him. By his compliance with those directions the prosperity of the whole kingdom would be advanced, and the city which should be so happy as to possess that valuable treasure, would be great among the nations. In that instant the youth was seen mounting to heaven in a column of fire. Ptolemy had recourse to the Egyptian priests, the usual interpreters of dreams and prodigies. But those religionists had no knowledge of Pontus, nor of any foreign modes of worship. Timotheus, the Athenian, a man descended from the race of the Eumolpides,[4] was called in to their assistance. Ptolemy had, before this time, invited him from the city of Eleusis, to preside over the mysteries and the established worship of the country. He now desired Timotheus to explain what god had visited the king in his dreams, and what were the rites and ceremonies of his new religion. Timotheus addressed himself to such as had travelled into Pontus, and, upon inquiry learned that there was in those parts a city called Sinope,[5] and near it a temple of great celebrity, sacred to Pluto. Such was the opinion of the natives, founded on tradition, and confirmed by the statue of the god erected in the temple, with a female form at his side, supposed to be Proserpina. Ptolemy, like other kings, was easily alarmed; but, soon recovering from his apprehensions, forgot the whole business, addicting himself entirely to his pleasures, and little solicitous about religious matters. The same form appeared to him a second time, arrayed in terror, and in a tone of menace denouncing vengeance on the king and his whole empire, if the orders already given were not obeyed. After this visitation Ptolemy sent his deputies with magnificent presents to Scydrothemis, the prince then on the throne of Sinope. The ambassadors had it in their instructions to touch at the isle of Deles, there to consult the Pythian Apollo. They sailed with favourable winds, and had a quick passage. The answer of the oracle was in explicit terms: Pursue your course, carry off the statue of my father, and let that of my sister be unremoved."

LXXXIV. Having reached Sinope, they presented their gifts, and opened their commission to Scydrothemis. That monarch hesitated for some time. He dreaded the displeasure of an angry deity; the clamours of his people alarmed him; and, at times, the gifts and presents of the ambassadors dazzled his imagination. The business remained three years in suspense. Ptolemy never desisted from his purpose. He renewed his entreaties; he omitted no arts of persuasion; he added new dignities to his embassy, increased the number of ships, and made his presents still more magnificent. A dreadful vision appeared to Scydrothemis, threatening dreadful consequences, if he persisted in his opposition to the measures of a god. The king fluctuated between opposite counsels. His delay was punished by a variety of disasters, by sore disease, the manifest signs of divine vengeance, and calamities increasing every day. In that distress he called an assembly of the people, and laid before them the orders of the god, the

1 Tacitus wrote his History in the reign of Trajan when the Vespasian or Flavian family was extinct.

2 This account of Vespasian and Basilides, is related by Suetonius in Vesp. s. 7.

3 The name of Basilides, from the Greek word Βασιλευς, gave Vespasian stronger hopes of attaining the sovereign power.

4 The descendants of Eumolpus called Eumolpidæ, were the priests of Ceres, who presided over the rites called, from the town of *Eleusis*, the *Eleusinian mysteries*.

5 For Sinope, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Volume.

visions of Ptolemy, as well as those which he saw himself, and the miseries that threatened the whole community. The populace clamoured in opposition to their sovereign. They envied the Egyptian monarch, and, trembling for themselves, rushed in a body to guard the avenues of the temple. Common fame, at all times delighting in the marvellous, spread a report, that the god, of his own motion, quitted the temple, and embarked on board one of the vessels that lay at anchor in the harbour. To complete the miracle, though a large tract of sea divided Sinope from Alexandria, the voyage was performed in less than three days. A temple, such as suited a great and opulent city, was built at a place called Rhacotis,[6] where, in ancient times, a chapel had been dedicated to Serapis and Isis.

Such is the history of the god Serapis, and his first introduction into Egypt. There is, however, a different account, which places the whole transaction in the reign of the third Ptolemy, who, it is said, brought the statue from Seleucia, a city of Syria: others assert, that it was found at Memphis,[7] the celebrated capital of ancient Egypt. Concerning the god himself the opinions of antiquarians are not less at variance. On account of his healing art, he is by some called Æsculapius; by others, Osiris, the most ancient deity of the country; and many, who think him the governing mind of the universe, give him the name of Jupiter. But the prevailing doctrine maintains that Pluto is the true deity. That hypothesis is either founded on the reasoning of mystic interpreters, or confirmed by certain symbols, that manifest the attributes of the god.

LXXXV. We return to the affairs of Rome. Domitian and Mucianus set out on their expedition. They had hardly reached the foot of the Alps, when they received advice of the victory gained by Cerealis over the Treverians. Of this news they entertained no doubt when they saw Valentinus[8] brought in a prisoner, loaded with irons. Even in ruin that gallant chief appeared with a mind unconquered. The spirit that animated him in the field, was still visible in his countenance. He was heard in vindication of his conduct; but curiosity and a desire to try the spirit of the man were the only motives. Being condemned to suffer death, he persevered with unshaken constancy. In his last moments he was told, with an air of insult, that his country was reduced to subjection; he calmly answered, "You have reconciled me to my fate: I die without regret." Mucianus thought it time to change the plan of his expedition. The design had been long rolling in his mind, though he now started it as a new scheme suggested by the events of war. "The gods (he said) had favoured the Roman arms, and crushed the turbulent spirit of the enemy. At such a time, it would ill become Domitian to snatch the laurel from the brow of the general who had fought with such brilliant success. If the majesty of the empire, or the security of the provinces of Gaul, were exposed to danger, the crisis would be worthy of the emperor's son; but the Caninefates and the Batavians were the proper quarry of inferior commanders. The prince might now proceed as far as Lyons. At that place he might display the pomp of imperial grandeur, superior to the little ambition of engaging in petty skirmishes, yet near at hand, and ready, if occasion called, to undertake a great and important enterprise.

LXXXVI. The veil was too thin to hide the designs of Mucianus; but to yield to his artifice, without seeming to detect it, was judged the best policy. Domitian proceeded to Lyons. At that place he is said, by secret messengers, to have tampered[9] with Cerealis, in order to sound the disposition of that officer, and learn beforehand, whether, on the appearance of the prince at the head of the army, he would be willing to resign the command. Whether Domitian had it in contemplation to levy war against his father, or to strengthen himself against his brother Titus, remains uncertain. Cerealis had the wisdom to decline the overture, considering it as nothing more than the vain project of youth and inexperience. Domitian saw himself slighted by the superior officers, and, in disgust, withdrew from all public business, never interfering afterwards, nor taking upon him to direct in such inferior matters as had been heretofore committed to his authority. With a specious appearance of humble content and modesty, he chose to live in solitude, pretending that poetry and literary pursuits[10] were his only passion. Under this artful disguise he hoped to conceal the native passions of his heart, and to give no jealousy to his brother. From his own frame of mind he judged of Titus, commenting with malignity on the milder virtues that adorned the character of that amiable prince.

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6 For the city of Rhacotis, see the Geographical Table.

7 For Memphis, see the Geographical Table.

8 Valentinus, mentioned in this book, s. 71.

9 Domitian is praised by Silius Italicus for the ability and conduct with which he ended the Batavian war:

At tu transcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum,
Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo.
Lib. iii. ver. 607.

But Silius Italicus offered the incense of a poet to the reigning prince. Cerealis was the general that conquered the Batavian chief. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 1.

10 Domitian is highly praised by Quintilian for his love of literature, lib. x. cap. 1: and also by Silius Italicus, lib. iii. ver. 618. Suetonius agrees with Tacitus: *Simulavit et ipse modestiam, imprimisque poetica studium, tam insuetum antea sibi, quam postea spretum et abjectum.* Suetonius, in Domit. s. 2.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK V.

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These transactions passed in the

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls
823	70	Flavius Vespasianus, Titus, his son.

THE

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK V.

I. In the beginning of this year, Titus was appointed by his father to complete the reduction of Judæa. This young[1] commander, while Vespasian was yet no higher than a subject, had gained a reputation for brave exploit and military talents. His fame and authority were now in their meridian splendour. The armies of the empire and the several provinces exerted themselves with emulation to assist him in his enterprise. Titus, on his part, made it his study to show himself superior to the fortuitous advantages of his station. Active in the field, and elegant in his manners, he endeavoured to merit esteem by affability and a strict discharge of his duty. He attended the works; he marched in the ranks, and mixed with the common soldiers, without impairing the dignity of his character. He was received in Judæa at the head of three legions, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth;[2] all experienced veterans, who had served under Vespasian. To these were added the twelfth, from Syria; and the third, and twenty-second, from Alexandria. He had, besides, twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse. The two kings Agrippa and Sohemus, joined his standard. Antiochus sent the forces of his kingdom. A formidable body of Arabs, with that animosity which often embitters neighbouring nations against each other, took the field as avowed enemies of the Jewish nation. The number that passed over from Rome and Italy, to serve as volunteers under a prince not yet decided in his friendships, was considerable. With this force Titus advanced into the enemy's country in order of battle, by his scouts exploring the motions of the enemy, and always prepared for action. In this manner, he arrived at Jerusalem, and encamped before the town.

II. Being now to relate the progress of a siege that terminated in the destruction of that once celebrated city, it may be proper to go back to its first foundation, and to trace the origin of the people. The[3] Jews, we are told, were natives of the isle of Crete. At the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, they abandoned their habitations, and gained a settlement at the extremity of Lybia. In support of this tradition, the etymology of their name is adduced as a proof. Mount Ida, well known to fame, stands in the isle of Crete; the inhabitants are called Idæans; and the word, by a barbarous corruption, was changed afterwards to that of Judæans.[4] Accord-

1 Titus served with his father in Britain, in Germany, and Judæa. Suetonius in Vesp. s. 4; in Tito, s. 4.

2 See an account of the army under Titus; Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 6.

3 This account of the origin of the Jewish nation has been the subject of much elaborate criticism. The commentators are not a little surprised that an historian, of an enlarged and comprehensive mind, should not have thought it worth his while to gain the most exact information concerning a people, whose final ruin he was to relate. That neglect is still more surprising when it is considered that, in the reign of Trajan, when Tacitus published his work, the page of Jewish history was fully disclosed, and accessible to the curiosity of every Roman. Josephus lived at Rome, under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and under the last of those emperors his History of the war in Judæa was published. Tacitus, however, neglecting all these advantages, has given an account so mixed with fable, that the gleam of truth, which breaks out in one short passage, is almost extinguished by the surrounding rubbish. He deduces the origin of the Jews from five different nations; namely, the Cretans, the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, the Assyrians, and the Solymans mentioned by Homer. These various opinions are reported with an air of indecision that leaves the reader to choose for himself. The Jews, it is true, were beheld by the Romans with contempt and detestation. Tacitus charges the whole nation with a fixed and sullen hatred of all mankind, *adversus omnes alios hostile odium:* and it is therefore probable, that, with regard to such a race, he did not think it necessary to enter into a minute inquiry though the materials were within his reach; and it is certain that no people whatever have been so careful to preserve the proofs of their descent from a single founder, and to transmit to posterity the regular genealogy of their severel families.

4 This was the fabulous tradition of the Greeks, who deduced all things from Jupiter and Saturn, and were at great pains to embellish and disseminate their own mythology.

ing to others, they were a colony from Egypt, when that country, during the reign of Isis, overflowing with inhabitants, poured forth its redundant numbers under the conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda. A third hypothesis makes them originally Ethiopians,[1] compelled by the tyranny of Cepheus, the reigning monarch, to abandon their country. Some authors contend that they were a tribe of Assyrians,[2] who for some time occupied a portion of Egypt, and, afterwards transplanting themselves into Syria, acquired in their own right a number of cities, together with the territories of the Hebrews. There is still another tradition, which ascribes to the Jews a more illustrious origin, deriving them from the ancient Solymans[3] so highly celebrated in the poetry of Homer. By that people the city was built, and from its founder received the name of Hierosolyma.

III. In this clash of opinions, one point seems to be universally admitted. A pestilential disease, disfiguring the race of man, and making the body an object of loathsome deformity[4] spread all over Egypt. Bocchoris, at that time the reigning monarch, consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon,[5] and received for answer, that the kingdom must be purified, by exterminating the infected multitude, as a race of men detested by the gods. After diligent search, the wretched sufferers were collected together, and in a wild and barren desert[6] abandoned to their misery. In that distress, while the vulgar herd was sunk in deep despair, Moses, one of their number, reminded them, that, by the wisdom of his councils, they had been already rescued out of impending danger. Deserted as they were by men and gods, he told them, that if they did not repose their confidence in him, as their chief by divine commission, they had no resource left. His offer was accepted. Their march began, they knew not whither. Want of water[7] was their chief distress. Worn out with fatigue, they lay stretched on the bare earth, heartbroken, ready to expire, when a troop of wild asses,[8] returning from pasture, went up the steep ascent of a rock covered with a grove of trees. The verdure of the herbage round the place suggested the idea of springs near at hand. Moses traced the steps of the animals, and discovered a plentiful vein of water. By this relief the fainting multitude was raised from despair. They pursued their journey for six[9] days without intermission. On the seventh they made halt, and, having expelled the natives, took possession of the country, where they built their city, and dedicated their temple.

IV. In order to draw the bond of union closer, and to establish his own authority, Moses gave a new form of worship, and a system of religious ceremonies, the reverse of every thing[10] known to any other age or country.

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1 The Ethiopians, according to Pliny the elder, lib. vi. s. 29, were in remote ages a great and powerful people. They held Egypt in subjection, and were the founders of an empire in Syria. Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities has a tradition, that Moses commanded armies in Ethiopia. Hence the Jews were said to have issued from Ethiopia.

2 We have in this passage something that borders on the truth. Abraham went forth from Ur of the Chaldees; Genesis xi. ver. 31. He went into Egypt to sojourn there, Genesis xii. ver. 10. The history of his posterity in Egypt, and the journey into Syria and the land of Canaan, clearly prove the descent of the Jews from Abraham, and throw a light upon what our author says of their Assyrian origin. Tacitus, however, not having investigated the fact, gives the various opinions that were floating in the world, and leaves the truth to rest on better authority.

3 Homer was held in such high veneration throughout Greece, that his verses often decided the limits of disputed lands, and threw a lustre round every state or people recorded in his poems.

4 Justin mentions this epidemic distemper, and calls it *scabiem ac vitiliginem:* that is, the leprosy. Justin, lib. xxxvi. s. 2. We now know that it was inflicted by God, who said to Pharaoh, *Let my people go, that they may serve me; for if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, there shall be a very grievous murrain.* See Exodus ix. ver. 1, 2, 3, and 10. That the passage through the Red Sea should be omitted by Tacitus, Brotier observes, cannot be a matter of wonder, since it is related even by Josephus in a manner that adds no authenticity to the miracle.

5 The oracle of Jupiter Hammon is mentioned by Pliny, lib. v. s. 9. *In Cyrenaica Hammonis oraculum, fidei inclitæ.* See also Pomponius Mela, lib. i. cap. 8.

6 In the wide plains of Arabia.

7 And they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water. Exodus xv. ver. 22.

8 This discovery of springs in a shady grove calls to mind what Moses tells us: *And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and three score and ten palm trees.* Exodus xv. ver. 27. Where Tacitus found the romantic incident of the troop of wild asses, does not appear. The story is amusing, and probably was adopted in the narrative, to prepare the reader for the consecration of that animal, as mentioned in the following section.

9 Brotier observes, that a journey into Palestine, through the deserts of Arabia, could not be performed in six days, as it appears, in the Memoirs of the French Missionaries in the Levant, tom. vii. p. 5, that father Sicard went over that whole tract of country, and did not reach Mount Sinai till the thirtieth day. Brotier adds, that in what Tacitus relates, something like the truth is still to be found, since we are told that Joshua and the children of Israel went round the city of Jericho once, and continued so to do SIX DAYS, and on the SEVENTH DAY, which was the sabbath, entered the city; and, having extirpated the inhabitants, became masters of the country, where David built a city, and Solomon dedicated a temple. See Joshua vi. 3, 20, and 21.

10 Moses introduced a system of religion very different from the polytheism and superstitious ceremonies of the Romans. Tacitus speaks with marked disapprobation; but the errors of prejudice have been long since refuted.

Whatever is held sacred by the Romans,[11] with the Jews is profane: and what in other nations is unlawful and impure, with them is fully established. The figure of the animal[12] that guided them to refreshing springs, is consecrated in the sanctuary of their temple. In contempt of Jupiter Hammon, they sacrifice a ram. The ox,[13] worshipped in Egypt for the god Apis, is slain as a victim by the Jews. From the flesh of swine they abstain altogether. An animal, subject to the same leprous disease[14] that infected their whole nation, is not deemed proper food. The famine, with which they were for a long time afflicted, is frequently commemorated[15] by a solemn fast. Their bread, in memory of their having seized a quantity of grain to relieve their wants,[16] is made without leaven. The seventh day[17] is sacred to rest, for on that day their labours ended; and such is their natural propensity to sloth, that, in consequence of it,[18] every seventh year is devoted to repose and sluggish inactivity. For this septennial custom some account in a different manner; they tell us, that it is an institution in honour of Saturn,[19] either because the Idæans, expelled, as has been mentioned, from the isle of Crete, transmitted to their posterity the principles of their religious creed, or because, among the seven planets, that govern the universe, Saturn moves in the highest orbit,[20] and acts with the greatest energy. It may be added, that the period, in which the heavenly bodies perform their revolutions, is regulated by the number seven.[21]

V. These rites and ceremonies, from whatever source derived, owe their chief support to their antiquity. They have other institutions, in themselves corrupt, impure, and even abominable, but eagerly embraced, as if their very depravity[22] were a recommendation. The scum and refuse of other nations, renouncing the religion of their country, flocked in crowds to Jerusalem, enriching the place with gifts and offerings. Hence the wealth and grandeur of the state. Connected amongst themselves by the most obstinate and inflexible faith,[23] the

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11 Whatever was sacred at Rome, was beyond all doubt, profane at Jerusalem. The Jews worshipped one God, and, by consequence, the pagan mythology fell into contempt.

12 The veneration here said to have been paid in the temple to the image of an ass, is refuted by Tacitus himself, who says in the following section, that the Jews suffered no consecrated statues or images to be erected either in their cities or their temples. *Nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sinunt.* He tells us afterwards, that when Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and made his entry into the temple, he found neither statues nor images, but a void and empty tabernacle. *Nulla intus deum effigie, vacuam sedem, et inania arcana.* See this book, s. 9.

13 An ox or calf was worshipped at Memphis as a god, under the name of Apis. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 20. The Jews, before they were instructed in the knowledge of the true God, were willing, in imitation of the Egyptians, to worship a golden calf. Exodus xxxii. ver. 4. But the sacrifices in contempt of Jupiter Hammon, and the superstitious rites of Memphis, are not vouched by any good authority. Whoever killed an ox, or lamb, or goat, was ordered to bring it as an offering at the tabernacle. Leviticus xvii.

14 The leprosy, described in Leviticus xiii. and xiv.

15 There was scarce a month in the Jewish calendar without a number of fast-days; but they were instituted to record signal events, not in commemoration of the famine in the desert.

16 The unleavened bread, mentioned in Exodus xii. 8. It was not, as Tacitus insinuates, their common food: it was, as we read in Deuteronomy xvi. the *bread of affliction*, which they were to eat for seven days, in memory of the day when they came forth out of the land of Egypt.

17 The seventh day was a day of rest, but not for the reason given by Tacitus; it was the sabbath of the Lord; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it. Exodus xx. ver. 10, 11.

18 The seventh year was also a year of rest, not for the sake of sluggish inactivity, but in consequence of an express command: *Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard; but in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord.* Leviticus xxv. ver. 3 and 4. There was still another sabbath of more importance: *The space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be forty-nine years, and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year; for it is the jubilee, it shall be holy unto you.* Leviticus xxv. ver. 8, 10, and 12. Josephus says that Julius Cæsar, when he imposed an annual tribute on the Jewish nation, made an exception of the seventh year, which was called the sabbath, when the people neither reaped nor sowed. See Cæsar's decree, Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. cap. 10.

19 It was natural enough that they, who deduced the origin of the Jews from the inhabitants of Mount Ida, should consider the sabbath as an institution in honour of Saturn; but that hypothesis has been sufficiently refuted in the two last notes.

20 The orbit which Saturn describes is at a greater distance from the sun than any planet in the solar system: but judicial astrology has been long considered as a vain exploded science.

21 Tacitus says that the life of man is governed by the revolutions of the seven planets: that doctrine was not only taught by the Egyptian and Pythagorean philosophy, but has been adopted by modern astrologers. Hence the calculation proceeding by a series of seven years to the grand climacteric, at the age of sixty-three. The Jews, however, had very different reasons for their sabbaths of years.

22 The force of national prejudice was never more strongly displayed. Tacitus thought nothing orthodox but the creed of his own country; and, in his eyes, the depravity of the Jews consisted in preferring the worship of one God to Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and the rest of the monstrous deities with which superstition had peopled heaven.

23 The Jews were not entirely confined within the limits of Palestine; they went forth in quest of gain, and settled in every quarter where trade and commerce flourished. Wherever they fixed, they retained their own principles, and despised the established religion of the place. This is called *adversus omnes alios hostile odium.* Not being able to attend the tabernacle with their offerings, they collected among themselves a considerable

Jews extend their charity to all of their own persuasion, while towards the rest of mankind they nourish a sullen and inveterate hatred. Strangers are excluded from their tables. Unsociable to all others, they eat and lodge with one another only; and, though addicted to sensuality, they admit no intercourse with women from other nations. Among themselves their passions are without restraint. Vice itself is lawful.[1] That they may know each other by distinctive marks, they have established the practice of circumcision.[2] All, who embrace their faith, submit to the same operation. The first elements of their religion teach their proselytes to despise the gods, to abjure their country, and forget their parents, their brothers, and their children. To encourage their own internal population is a great object of their policy. No man is allowed to put his children[3] to death. The souls of such as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal. Hence two ruling passions; the desire of multiplying their species, and a fixed contempt of death. The bodies of the deceased are never burned:[4] they choose rather to inter them, after the example of the Egyptians. With that people they agree in their belief of a future state; they have the same notion of departed spirits,[5] the same solicitude, and the same doctrine. With regard to the Deity[6] their creed is different. The Egyptians worship various animals, and also certain symbolical representations, which are the work of man; the Jews acknowledge one God only, and him they see in the mind's eye, and him they adore in contemplation, condemning, as impious idolaters, all who, with perishable materials, wrought into the human form, attempt to give a representation of the Deity. The God of the Jews is the great governing mind,[7] that directs and guides the whole frame of nature, eternal, infinite, and neither capable of change, nor subject to decay. In consequence of this opinion, no such thing as a statue was to be seen in their city, much less in their temples. Flattery had not learned to pay that homage to their own kings, nor were they willing to admit the statues of the Cæsars. Their priests, it is true, made use of fifes and cymbals: they were crowned with wreaths of ivy,[8] and a vine wrought in gold was seen in their temple. Hence some have inferred, that Bacchus, the conqueror of the East, was the object of their adoration. But the Jewish forms of worship have no conformity to the rites of Bacchus. The latter have their festive days, which are always celebrated with mirth and carousing banquets. Those of the Jews are a gloomy ceremony, full of absurd enthusiasm, rueful, mean, and sordid.[9]

VI. The country of Judæa is bounded on the east by Arabia;[10] on the south by Egypt; on the west by Phœnicia and the sea; the northern frontier stretches to a great length along the confines of Syria. The natives are strong, and patient of labour. The climate is dry and sultry; rain is seldom seen, and the soil is rich and fertile. Besides the fruits known in Italy, the palm and balm tree flourish in great luxuriance. The palm is beautiful as well as lofty; the balm is of moderate growth. Its branches, when the

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treasure, and sent it as an annual tribute to the Temple of Jerusalem. Hence the immense heaps of gold and silver that fell into the hands of the Romans; and hence the Jews were said to love one another, and to hate the rest of mankind.

1 It is unnecessary to cite from Deuteronomy the laws against adultery, and the virgins of Israel that suffered themselves to be seduced. Tacitus transfers the guilt of individuals to the whole nation.

2 Circumcision is called a token of the covenant, Genesis xvii. ver. 2. This shows that it was not derived from the Egyptians, according to the notion entertained by some of the learned.

3 The Romans had power of life and death over their own children, and were not willing to be encumbered with a numerous issue.

4 It is certain that the Hebrews interred their dead, since Abraham's burying-place is frequently mentioned in Scripture. That the Egyptians buried their dead, is plain from their usage of embalming them. It is probable that the practice of burning the bodies of the deceased, sprung originally from a design to prevent any outrage to the bodies from their enemies. Sylla, among the Romans, was the first of his family who ordered his body to be burned, lest the barbarities which he had exercised on the remains of Marius should be retaliated on his own. Cicero says, *Proculdubio cremandi ritus a Græcis venit, nam sepultum legimus Numam ad Aniensis fontem, totique genti Corneliæ solemne fuisse sepulchrum usque ad Syllam, qui primus ex ea gente crematus est.* Tully De Legibus, lib. 2.

5 The Egyptians believed in a state of future rewards and punishments. See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. s. 51.

6 The Jews believed in one God; the Egyptians were polytheists, and even worshipped brute animals; *omnigenumque deum monstra.*

7 We have here a sublime idea of one great, supreme, and governing Mind; of one omnipotent, eternal God. It is astonishing that Tacitus did not pause in deep reflection upon what he could so well describe.

8 No mention is made in any part of the Bible of Jewish priests crowned with ivy. A vine wrought in gold, of prodigious weight, is mentioned by Josephus as a magnificent ornament. See Jewish Antiquities, book xv. chap. 11.

9 The Roman *dies festus* signified a day consecrated to joy, and song, and dance, and public spectacles. It was otherwise with the Jews. At stated periods they commemorated public misfortunes: and grief and fasting, sackcloth and ashes, distinguished their religious ceremonies, wholly different from the rites of Bacchus, and therefore called absurd and sordid. Tacitus, it must be said, has given us an unfavourable picture of the Jews. Voltaire has painted them in harsher colours; but he concludes that they ought to be exempted from the fires of the Inquisition: *Il ne faut pas pourtant les brûler.*

10 Arabia extended from Egypt to Chaldæa, and from the Euphrates, which washes Syria, to the Arabian gulf. It is divided into three parts, viz. *Arabia Felix, Petræa,* and *Deserta.*

juices circulate, seem to call for an incision, but they dread the application of steel; the veins shrink from its approach. The operation is performed with a shell, or pointed stone. The liquor that distils from the wound is of use in medicine. Libanus is the highest mountain in the country. It rises to a great height, affording shade under its verdant groves, and, even in the ardent heat of that sultry region, covered at the top with eternal snow.[11] From this mountain the river Jordan[12] derives its source, and the abundance of its waters. The stream does not discharge itself into the sea: it runs into two different lakes,[13] preserving through both a clear and unmixed current, till it loses itself in a third. The last of these lakes is of immense extent, resembling a sea, but more nauseous to the taste, and, by its fetid exhalations, pernicious to the neighbourhood. The winds occasion no undulation: the surface is never ruffled. No fish can live in these waters. The birds that love to dip the wing, avoid the place. The fluid element, for it can scarce be called water, supports, as it were on a solid expanse, whatever is thrown in. Between those who cannot swim, and the perfect masters of the art, there is no difference:[14] all float with equal ease. At certain seasons of the year, the lake throws up a quantity of pitch,[15] or bitumen. Experience, the mother of all useful arts, has taught men how to gather it. It is a liquid substance, naturally of a black hue. The infusion of vinegar gives cohesion to the parts. When thus condensed, it floats on the surface, and you may grasp it with your hand. Those who make it their business to collect it, draw one end into their boats; the rest of the mass follows without toil or difficulty, and continues loading the vessel, till the viscous substance is cut in two. The separation is neither made with iron nor with brass. Touch it with blood, or with linen tinged with menstrual evacuations, and the parts instantly divide. Such is the account transmitted to us by ancient authors. We learn, however, from modern experience, that this extraordinary substance, floating in heaps up and down the lake, is driven towards the shore, or easily drawn by the hand; and when the vapour that exhales from the land, or the heat of the sun, has sufficiently dried and hardened it, it is then cut asunder, like wood or stone, by wedges, or the stroke of the hatchet.

VII. At a small distance from the lake lie those wide-extended plains, which tradition says were formerly a rich and fruitful country, abounding with populous cities,[16] but long since destroyed by fire from heaven, and now a barren desert. Amidst the ruins, which still remain, we are told that the marks of celestial vengeance may be clearly traced, and that the soil, consumed and parched, has lost the powers of vegetation. Whatever the earth produces, whether by the prolific vigour of nature, or the cultivation of man, nothing ripens to perfection. The herbage may shoot up, and the trees may put forth their blossoms; they may even attain the usual appearance of maturity; but, with this florid outside, all within turns black, and moulders into dust. To speak my own opinion, though it be true that great and flourishing cities have been destroyed by fire from heaven, yet the desolation here described may be accounted for from natural causes. The exhalations from the lake seem sufficient to blast the vital principle of the soil, and to infect the whole atmosphere. By consequence, all manner of grain, and the fruits of the autumn, naturally perish in a climate so hostile to vegetation. The river Belus[17] empties itself into the sea that washes the coast of Judæa. The sands, which the stream carries down in large quantities, are taken up at its mouth, and, being mixed with nitre, dissolve by the action of fire, and soon afterwards harden into glass. The shore is of small extent,

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11 The snow of *Lebanon* is mentioned, Jeremiah xviii. ver. 14.

12 Now the *Jourdain*. See an elegant description of this river, Pliny, lib. v. s. 15.

13 The first of the lakes is Samachonites, mentioned by Josephus; the second Cinnereth, by Joshua; the third Asphaltus, called by Milton the Asphaltic Pool, by others Mare Mortuum, from the immobility of its waters. It is said by Josephus to be seventy miles in length, and in some places twelve or thirteen in breadth.

14 All travellers agree in stating the noxious taste and smell of the Asphaltic Lake. See Pococke, Description of the East, tom. ii. p. 37, where we also read that the water, impregnated with salt and sulphur, or *bitumen*, weighs much more than fresh water, and, consequently, lets nothing sink. Pliny says of this lake, *Asphaltites nihil præter bitumen gignit; unde nomen: tauri camelique fluitant. Inde fama nihil in eo mergi.* Pliny, lib. v. s. 16. It is related by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to make an experiment, ordered some prisoners, with their hands tied behind their backs, to be thrown into the lake; when they all emerged and floated on the surface. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. v. ver. 8.

15 Brotier says, upon the authority of an eminent traveller in the east, that the slime, or *bitumen*, by the Greeks called *asphalte*, is thrown up on the surface of the waters during the autumn, probably from the places mentioned in the Bible. *The vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea, was full of slime-pits.* Genesis xiv. ver. 3 and 10. And this concretion, after floating for some time, is driven by the wind to the shore, where it is carefully collected by the Arabs for their own use and profit, after delivering a certain proportion to the bassa of Jerusalem.

16 The cities were *Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboïm.* Genesis xiv. ver. 2. *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain.* Genesis xix. ver. 24 and 25.

17 Belus, a river of Galilee, running from the foot of Mount Carmel, and emptying itself into the Mediterranean. Strabo says that the whole coast has a sand fit for glass, but that the sand of the river Belus is the best sort. Here the art of making glass was first discovered. See Pliny, lib. v. s. 19.

and, though constantly searched, these ingredients still remain unexhausted.

VIII. The face of the country is covered with villages. There are likewise towns of considerable note. Jerusalem is the capital. The temple is distinguished by its wealth, no less than by its magnificence. The fortifications of the city are its first defence; the royal palace is the second; the inclosure, where the temple stands, forms the third. Even a Jew is not admitted beyond the portal. No man, except the priests, has access to the interior parts. While the Assyrians, and after them the Medes and Persians, were masters of the oriental world, the Jews, of all the nations then held in subjection, were deemed the vilest. At a subsequent period, when the Macedonian monarchy was established, Antiochus, the reigning king, formed a plan to weed out the superstition of the country. To reform, if possible, so corrupt a race, he intended to introduce the manners and institutions of Greece; but a war with the Parthians (Arsaces being then in arms) rendered that design abortive. In process of time, when the Macedonians were by degrees enfeebled, when the Parthian state was in its infancy, and the Romans were yet at a distance, the Jews seized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own.[1] Their kings were soon deposed by the caprice and levity of the people. They returned, however, in a short time, and, having recovered the throne by force of arms, made the people feel the weight of their resentment. A scene of oppression followed; citizens were driven into exile; whole cities were demolished; brothers, wives, and parents, were put to death; and, in short, every species of cruelty, usual among despotic kings, was enforced with rigour by the usurpers. They saw that superstition is among the instruments of tyranny; and, to strengthen their ill-gotten power, they not only supported the national rites and ceremonies, but united in their own persons the sacerdotal and regal functions.

IX. Pompey was the first Roman[2] that subdued the Jews. By right of conquest he entered their temple. It is a fact well known, that he found no image, no statue,[3] no symbolical representation of the Deity; the whole represented a naked dome; the sanctuary was unadorned and simple. By Pompey's orders the walls of the city were levelled to the ground, but the temple was left entire. In the civil wars that afterwards shook the empire, when the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Mark Antony, Pacorus,[4] the Parthian king, made himself master of Judæa; but being, in a short time after, put to death by Ventidius, his forces retired beyond the Euphrates. Caius Sosius once more reduced the Jews to obedience. Herod[5] was placed on the throne by Mark Antony, and Augustus confirmed the sceptre in his hand. On the death of Herod, a man of the name of Simon[6], without deferring to the authority of the emperor, usurped the sovereignty. He, however, was punished for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the kingdom, by an equal partition, was divided between the three sons of Herod. During the reign of Tiberius things remained in a state of tranquillity. Caligula[7] ordered his statue to be erected in the temple. The Jews, rather than submit, had recourse to arms. Caligula was assassinated, and the contest died with him. In the following reign, the Jewish kings being either dead, or their dominion reduced to narrow limits, the rest of Judæa[8] was converted into a Roman province. Claudius committed the administration to Roman knights, or to his favourite freedmen. Antonius Felix[9] was of the latter description; a man who, from low beginnings, rose to power, and, with the true

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[1] 1 Justin informs us, that the power of Demetrius I. and his successors, kings of Syria, not being supported with vigour, the Jews took their opportunity to shake off a foreign yoke, and assert their liberty. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. ver 1 and 3. In confirmation of this, we read in Maccabees a treaty between Demetrius and Simon the high-priest, A. U. C. 611; before Christ 143; and thus *the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, and the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high-priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.* 1 Maccabees, xiii. ver. 41 and 42.

2 Pompey made himself master of Jerusalem, A. U. C. 691; before Christ 63. He entered the Temple and the Holy of Holies; but, according to Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. 4. abstained from plunder, content with imposing an annual tribute. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 5; and Cicero, *pro Flacco*, s. 28

3 This passage affords another proof that the effigy of an ass was not consecrated in the Temple, as mentioned by Tacitus. This book, s. 4.

4 Brotier observes, that Pacorus was son of Orodes, king of Parthia, and therefore thinks it probable that Tacitus wrote *F. R. Parthorum Pacorus*, that is *Filius Regis Panthorum Pacorus*. He was sent by his father Orodes to wage war in Judea, A. U. C. 714; and in the following year defeated and put to death by Ventidius, the favourite general of Mark Antony. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. 13, 14, and 15.

5 Herod was raised to the throne by Mark Antony A. U. C. 714, and his title was confirmed by a decree of the senate, A. U. C. 717. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. 26 and 28.

6 The Simon mentioned in this place must not be confounded with the chief of that name, who was taken prisoner at the siege of Jerusalem, and afterwards executed at Rome. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 20.

7 Caligula had the frantic ambition to have his statue placed in the Temple of Jerusalem: but the Jews had recourse to arms; another proof of their resolution not to suffer the tabernacle to be profaned by images of any kind. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 4.

8 See Annals, xii. 23.

9 Felix was brother to Pallas, the favourite freedman and minister of the emperor Claudius. Annals, xii. s. 54. Suetonius, in Claud. s. 28.

genius of a slave, exercised the tyranny of an eastern prince. He married Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Mankind had then two extraordinary objects to gaze at; one in the person of Claudius, emperor of Rome; and the other, an enfranchised slave; each the grandson of Mark Antony.[10]

X. The Jews, though harassed by various acts of oppression, continued to give proofs of their patient spirit, till Cassius Florus,[11] in the character of procurator, took upon him the administration of the province. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallius,[12] the governor of Syria, endeavoured to crush the revolt. He fought a number of battles, in most of them unsuccessful. After his death, which was, perhaps, hastened by disappointment and vexation, Vespasian, by the appointment of Nero, succeeded to the command. Supported by his great military character, and the good fortune that attended his arms, with the additional advantage of able officers under him, that general, in two summer campaigns,[13] overran the whole country, and made himself master of all the inferior cities. Jerusalem was the only place that held out. In the following year, the war with Vitellius engaged his attention, and the Jews enjoyed an interval of repose. The peace of Italy being at length restored, foreign affairs demanded his immediate care. The Jews were the only nation that refused to submit. The obstinacy of that stubborn people filled Vespasian with resentment. But what sudden emergencies might involve a new reign in difficulties, could not be foreseen. In order to be prepared for all events, Vespasian judged it the wisest measure to leave his son Titus at the head of the army. The prince, as already mentioned, encamped under the walls of Jerusalem, and drew out his legions in the face of the enemy.[14]

XI. The Jews appeared in force on the plains under the ramparts, determined, if successful, to push their advantage, and, if obliged to give ground, sure of a retreat within their fortifications. The Roman cavalry, with a detachment from the light-armed cohorts, advanced to the attack. A battle was fought, but with doubtful success. The Jews took shelter within their walls, venturing, however, for several days afterwards, to sally out in small parties, till, tired by repeated losses, they resolved to shut themselves up within their fortifications. Titus prepared to carry the place by storm. To linger before it, till famine compelled a surrender, appeared unworthy of the Roman name. The soldiers were eager to brave every danger: courage, ferocity, and the hope of gaining the rewards of victory, inspired the whole army. Titus had his private motives: Rome was before his eyes; wealth and magnificence dazzled his imagination; and pleasure had its allurements. If the city was not taken by assault, a siege in form would detain him too long from the splendid scene that lay before him. But Jerusalem stood upon an eminence, difficult of approach. The natural strength of the place was increased by redoubts and bulwarks, which, even on the level plain, would have made it secure from insult. Two hills[15] that rose to a prodigious height, were inclosed by walls constructed with skill, in some places projecting forward, in others retiring inwardly, with the angles so formed, that the besiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank. The extremities of the rock were sharp, abrupt, and craggy. In convenient places, near the summit, towers were raised sixty feet high, and others, on the declivity of the sides, rose no less than a hundred and twenty feet. These works presented a spectacle altogether astonishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city, there were other fortifications inclosing the palace of the kings. Above all was seen, conspicuous to view, the tower of Antonia,[16] so called by Herod, in honour of the triumvir, who had been his friend and benefactor.

XII. The temple itself[17] was a strong fortress, in the nature of a citadel. The fortifications were built with consummate skill, surpassing, in art as well as labour, all the rest of the works. The very porticoes that surrounded it were a strong defence. A perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were scooped under the rock. The rain-water was saved in pools and cisterns. It was foreseen by the founders of the city, that the manners and institutions of the nation, so repugnant to the rest of mankind, would be productive of frequent wars; hence so many precautions against a siege. Since the reduction of the place by Pompey, experience taught the Jews new modes of fortification; and the corruption and venalty that pervaded the whole reign of Claudius, favoured all their projects. By bribery they obtained permission to rebuild their walls.[18]

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10 Claudius was son of Antonia, the daughter of Mark Antony. See the Genealogical Table, No. 100.

11 The Jewish war, occasioned by the misconduct of Cassius Florus, began A. U. C. 818; of Christ 65. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 4.

12 For more of Cestius Gallus, see Appendix to Hist. v. s. 4.

13 Vespasian's rapid success against the Jews was A. U. C. 820 and 821.

14 See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 2. Titus's first camp was near the Mount of Olives. See D'Anville's plan.

15 See Appendix to this book, s. 5.

16 See Appendix, s. 5; and D'Anville's plan.

17 For a description of the Temple, See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 5; and Appendix to this book, s. 5.

18 Pompey had destroyed the outward walls of Jerusalem as mentioned in this book, s. 9. The fortifications we find were made stronger than ever. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 4.

The strength of their works plainly showed that, in profound peace, they meditated future resistance. The destruction[1] of the rest of their cities served to increase the number of the besieged. A prodigious conflux poured in from all quarters, and among them the most bold and turbulent spirits of the nation. The city, by consequence, was distracted by internal division. They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls, forming the widest extent, were defended by Simon: John, otherwise called Bargioras, commanded in the middle precinct: Eleazar kept possession of the temple. The two former commanded the greatest number of soldiers; the latter had the advantage of situation. The three parties quarrelled among themselves. Battles were fought within the walls;[2] stratagems were practised; conflagrations destroyed parts of the city, and a large quantity of grain was consumed in the flames. Under colour of performing a sacrifice,[3] John contrived to send a band of assassins, to cut off Eleazar and his whole party in one general massacre. By this atrocious deed he gained possession of the temple. From that time two contending factions threw every thing into confusion, till the enemy at their gates obliged them to unite in their common defence.

XIII. Portents and prodigies announced the ruin of the city: but a people, blinded by their own national superstition, and with rancour detesting the religion of other states, held it unlawful[4] by vows and victims to deprecate the impending danger. Swords were seen glittering in the air;[5] embattled armies appeared, and the temple was illuminated by a stream of light, that issued from the heavens. The portal flew open, and a voice more than human denounced the immediate departure of the gods. There was heard, at the same time, a tumultuous and terrific sound, as if superior beings were actually rushing forth. The impression made by these wonders fell upon a few only: the multitude relied upon an ancient prophecy, contained, as they believed, in books kept by the priests, by which it was foretold, that, in this very juncture, the power of the East would prevail over the nations, and a race of men would go forth from Judæa to extend their dominion over the rest of the world. The prediction, however, couched in ambiguous terms, related[6] to Vespasian and his son Titus. But the Jewish mind was not to be enlightened. With the usual propensity of men ready to believe what they ardently wish, the populace assumed to themselves the scene of grandeur which the fates were preparing to bring forward. Calamity itself could not open their eyes. The number besieged in Jerusalem, including both sexes and every age, amounted, according to the best accounts, to no less than six hundred thousand.[7] All who were capable of serving appeared in arms. The number of effective men was beyond all proportion greater than could be expected, even in so vast a multitude. The women, no less than the men, were inflamed with zeal and ardour. If doomed to quit their country, life, they declared, was more terrible than death itself. Against a city so strongly fortified, and defended by such an obstinate race, Titus saw that nothing could be done, either by surprise or a general assault. He threw up mounds and ramparts, and prepared battering-engines. He stationed the legions at different posts, and assigned to each a distinct share of the duty. For some time no attack was made. In the interval, the Romans prepared all the machines of war, which either the ancients had employed, or modern genius invented.

XIV. It will now be proper to return to the affairs of Germany. Civilis, after the check which he received in the country of the Treverians, recruited his army by levies made in Germany. With these forces he fixed his station in the old camp, called VETERA,[8] depending on the strength of the place. The exploits already performed on that very spot, he hoped, would rouse the valour of his men. Cerealis followed him by rapid marches, with an army more than double his former number, having been joined by the second, the sixth, and the fourteenth legions. To these were added the cohorts and cavalry, which had some time before received

1 For the several conquered cities, See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.

2 The factions that distracted the city of Jerusalem, attacked one another with a degree of animosity more inveterate than they ever showed in battle with the Romans.

3 See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 6.

4 When the Romans heard of a monstrous birth, or were told that a cow spoke, their priests employed superstitious rites and sacrifices to avert impending danger. The Jews were not so easily alarmed; but however inclined they had formerly been to propitiate Heaven by prayer and sacrifice, their final doom was drawing nigh, as foretold by Christ, St. Matthew xxiv.; St. Mark xiii.; St. Luke xxi.

5 For these prodigies, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5; and see Appendix to this book, s. 6.

6 Tacitus condemns the Jews for not rightly understanding a prophecy, which he himself has misapplied. But it is evident that it could not relate to the short reigns of Vespasian and his two sons. The Christian religion was at that time striking root in Judæa, and we know it has been since extended over the world. We cannot, however, wonder at the misconception of Tacitus, when it is considered that Josephus, willing, perhaps, to pay his court to the imperial family, did not hesitate to say that the prophecy related to Vespasian. Bell. Jud. v. cap. 5.

7 Josephus says that eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 9.

8 For Vetera Castra, see the Geographical Table. Civilis had made himself master of the place; Hist. iv. 60.

orders to come up to his assistance. They did not immediately obey; but since his victory they lost no time. The commanders on both sides were eager to engage. Delay was not the genius of either; but the two armies were separated by a marshy plain of vast extent. The natural humidity of the soil was increased by the skill of Civilis, who had contrived, by obstructions thrown across the bed of the Rhine, to stop the current, and discharge a vast body of water on the neighbouring plains. A treacherous spot like this, covered with an inundation, that concealed the solid ground, was highly disadvantageous to the Romans, who carried a weight of armour, and had no skill in swimming. The Germans, on the contrary, had every thing in their favour. To make their way through the floods and rivers was their usual practice. They were lightly armed, and their size and stature enabled them to wade through the waters.

XV. The Batavians advanced near enough to insult the Romans. An engagement followed. The legions were thrown into disorder. Their arms and horses were swallowed up in the fens, while the barbarians, acquainted with the shallows and fordable places, advanced with alacrity, yet not daring to attack the front of the lines, but making their impression on the flank and rear. The conflict had no appearance of two armies engaged on a solid plain: it resembled a naval fight, where the combatants are driven at the mercy of the waves. Wherever a firm footing could be found, to that spot every effort was directed. The sound, the wounded, those who could swim, and those who were unused to the waters, were all, without distinction, involved in one general scene of distress. The slaughter, however, was inconsiderable. The Germans, not daring to hazard a battle out of their fens, returned to their camp. The event of the day made the generals on both sides wish for a decisive action; but they wished with different motives. Civilis wanted to pursue his advantage, and Cerealis to retrieve his honour. Success inspired the barbarians; the Romans were roused by a sense of shame. The night was passed by both armies in a very different manner. War-songs and savage uproar resounded from the German camp; the Romans continued silent, breathing revenge, and meditating future carnage.

XVI. At the return of day, Cerealis drew out his army. In the front he placed the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, and, to support them, the legions in the rear. He took post himself at the head of a chosen band, to act as occasion might require. Civilis, instead of presenting a regular line, formed his men in separate divisions. On the right stood the Batavians and Gugernians; the left was occupied by the Germans, with the Rhine on their flank. No general harangue was made to either army. The commanders, on both sides, passed through the ranks, exhorting their men as the occasion prompted. Cerealis called to mind the glory of the Roman name, and the victories of ancient as well as modern date. "You may now," he said, "by one vigorous effort, exterminate a base, a treacherous, and a vanquished race. It is not a battle you are to expect: you are going forth the avengers of your country, to punish a rebellious crew. In the late engagement you were inferior in number, and yet their bravest troops fled before you. You see the refuse of your swords; a set of runaways, who in their minds still bear the galling memory of their late defeat, and on their backs the print of ignominious wounds." He next addressed the legions, in the style peculiarly suited to each. The fourteenth he called the conquerors of Britain. The sixth raised Galba to the imperial dignity. The soldiers of the second were now to flesh their maiden swords, and in that field to consecrate their banners and their eagle. From the legions he passed to the German army, and, with hands outstretched, pointed to the fields around, and there, he said, "There is your station; that bank of the Rhine, and that camp, was yours; wade through the blood of your enemies, and recover your own." The general was heard with shouts of applause. The whole army panted for the onset: those who were weary of a long peace, were eager to signalize their valour; while others, harassed out with the toils of war, hoped, by one glorious victory, to find the end and recompense of all their labours.

XVII. In the opposite army Civilis was neither silent nor inactive. "These fields," he said, "have seen your brave exploits. The Batavians and the Germans, at every step they take, tread on the monuments of their own fame, and the bones of slaughtered legions. The Romans, whichever way they turn their eyes, have nothing before them but memorials of their own captivity, their defeat, and their disgrace. If in the Treverian territories the issue of the battle was unpropitious, the event of that day ought to make no impression. In that field the Germans conquered; but, too eager for plunder, they suffered the victory to be snatched out of their hands. From that moment we have been in a train of success, while the Romans have had to struggle with every difficulty. Whatever could be done by the skill of your general, has been provided for you. Fens and marshes are the spot where you are to engage. The depths and shallows are known to you, and they will be the grave of the Romans. The Rhine, and the gods of Germany, are before you. In their view, and under their protection, rush on to the charge; and let each man remember, that on his sword depends the welfare of his parents, his wife, his children, and the liberty of his country.

This day, my friends, this important day, will either prove us the glorious rivals of our famed forefathers, or send down our names with disgrace and infamy to the latest posterity." The barbarians, according to their custom, applauded by clanking their arms,[1] and dancing in wild distortion. They rushed on to the attack, discharging a volley of stones, and leaden balls, and other missive weapons. By this artifice they hoped to bring on an engagement in the fens: but the Romans, aware of the stratagem, remained on the solid ground.

XVIII. The barbarians exhausted their store of darts, when the battle growing warm, they could no longer restrain their ardour. They rushed forward with impetuous fury. Their huge stature gave them every advantage. With their long spears they were able to goad and pierce the Romans, who with difficulty kept their footing on the slippery soil. A band of Bructerians had the spirit to quit the dam erected across the Rhine, and swim to the shore. The Romans were thrown into disorder. The auxiliary cohorts began to give way, when the legions advanced to sustain the fight, and stopped the progress of the enemy. The battle was now on equal terms. In that moment, a Batavian deserter informed Cerealis, that a party of cavalry might with ease wheel round the marsh, and at the further extremity attack the enemy in the rear. The ground, he said, was, in that part, dry and firm, and there the Gugernians might be taken by surprise. Two squadrons of horse, with the deserter for their guide, reached the place, and surrounded the enemy. A shout of victory gave notice of this advantage. The legions, at the same time, charged in front. The barbarians fled with precipitation towards the Rhine. Had the fleet been put in motion to second the operations of the army, that day would have closed the war. The approach of night, and a sudden storm of rain, hindered the cavalry from mixing in the action.

XIX. On the following day, the tenth legion being arrived from Spain, Cerealis detached the fourteenth to reinforce Annius Gallus[2] in the upper province. Civilis at the same time was reinforced by the Chaucians; but, even with those succours, he did not think himself in force to protect the Batavian cities.[3] Content with carrying off whatever was portable, he set fire to the rest, and retired to the island. The Romans, he well knew, could not follow him without throwing up a bridge, and for that purpose they had no boats in readiness. As a further security, he had the precaution to destroy the great[4] dam formerly laid across the Rhine by Drusus Germanicus, leaving the river, thus freed from obstruction, to flow in its natural channel towards the confines of Gaul. The consequence was, that, the current taking a new course, the body of water, which separated the island from the main land, sunk into a scanty stream, and the space between Germany and Batavia seemed to be one continued continent. Tutor and Classicus passed over the Rhine, followed by no less than a hundred and thirteen Treverian senators.[5] Alpinus Montanus, the deputy sent, as above mentioned, from Cremona by Antonius Primus to the states of Gaul, was one of the number. He was accompanied by his brother Decimus Alpinus. These men dispersed themselves among the neighbouring nations, urging every topic that could excite compassion; and by their gifts and presents, in a country fond of tumult and commotion, they raised considerable levies.

XX. Civilis found himself in a condition to rekindle the war. He formed four divisions of his army, with intent to attack on one and the same day the Roman cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions at four different posts; the tenth legion at Arenacum;[6] the second at Batavodurum; and the auxiliaries in their intrenchments at Grinnes[7] and Vada. In this enterprise, Civilis headed one of the divisions; Verax, his sister's son, led the second; Classicus and Tutor had their separate commands. In these several attempts, complete success was not expected; but where much was hazarded, the issue in some quarter might be prosperous. The enemy knew that Cerealis was not an officer of the strictest caution; and therefore hoped, that, while he was distracted by different tidings, and, by consequence, obliged to hasten from one post to another, he might be somewhere intercepted on his march. The party, destined to storm the quarters of the tenth legion, judging it an enterprise of too much danger, desisted from the project; content with falling on such as were employed at a distance from the camp in hewing wood for the use of the army. In this attack, the prefect of the camp, five principal centurions, and a few soldiers, were cut to pieces. The rest took shelter within the intrenchments. At Batavodurum the push of the enemy was to destroy a bridge, which the Romans had in part constructed over the river. A fierce engagement followed, but the approach of night left it undecided.

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1 See the Manners of the Germans, s. 11.

2 Annius Gallus has been mentioned, Hist. iv. s. 68.

3 Those towns lay between the *Meuse* (*Mosa*) and the *Rhine*, supposed to be *Gennep*, *Cleves*, and *Nimeguen*.

4 For the bank raised by Drusus, see Annals, xiii. s. 53.

5 We have seen a senate and magistrates among the Frisians, Annals, xi. s. 19.

6 For Arenacum and Batavodurum, see the Geographical Table.

7 Grinnes and Vada: see the Geographical Table.

XXI. The attack at Vada, under the conduct of Civilis, and at Grinnes, led on by Classicus, were attended with greater danger to the Romans. At each place the assault was made with resistless fury. The best and bravest of the soldiers perished on the spot. Among them fell Briganticus, at the head of a squadron of horse; a man, as already stated, distinguished by his zeal in the service of Rome, and his avowed hatred of Civilis, his uncle.[8] While the Romans were pressed on every side, Cerealis, with a select body of cavalry, came up to their relief. The fortune of the day was instantly changed. The Germans in a panic plunged into the river. Civilis attempted to stop their flight. His person being known, a shower of darts was discharged against him. He quitted his horse, and saved himself by swimming across the river. The Germans escaped by the same expedient. Tutor and Classicus were conveyed away in boats. The Roman fleet, notwithstanding positive orders, failed again to co-operate with the land forces. Several of the mariners were dispersed on different duties, and fear restrained the rest. It was the constant fault of Cerealis, never to allow due time for the execution of his orders. His designs were always sudden, but the issue crowned him with glory. Where his conduct was liable to censure, fortune seemed willing to repair his error. Success made him over-sanguine, and, by consequence, discipline fell into neglect. It was but a few days after his victory, that he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. His address saved him from the hands of the enemy, but not from the disgrace of his own misconduct.

XXII. He had been as far as Bonn and Novesium to inspect the camps then carrying on at those places, for the winter-quarters of the legions. He chose to return by water. Among the troops that followed his boats along the banks of the Rhine, no order was observed, no discipline, no night-watch. The Germans saw their negligence, and took their measures accordingly. They chose a night remarkably dark, and sailed down the river. They landed without opposition, and rushed immediately to the intrenchments. They began with art and stratagem. They cut the cords of the tents, and butchered the men as they lay struggling under the load. Another party, in the mean time, attacked the fleet. They fastened their grappling instruments, and began to hawl off the vessels. Their first approach was conducted in silence; but the slaughter was no sooner begun, than, to increase the terror, they rent the air with shouts and savage uproar. Roused by the anguish of their wounds, the Romans started from their beds; they grasped their arms, and ran wild about the avenues of their camp; some completely armed, but the greatest part with their clothes thrown on in their hurry, and their swords in their hands. Cerealis, half asleep, and almost naked, owed his safety to a mistake. The barbarians saw the prætorian ship with a flag displayed, and, from that circumstance inferring that the general was on board, took possession of the vessel. Cerealis had passed the night in another quarter. A woman from the country of the Albians, known by the name of Claudia Sacatra, had attracted his notice; and the report of the army was, that when the attack began, he was happy in her embrace. The sentinels, who had neglected the duty of their watch, made an excuse that did no honour to the general. That they might not disturb his rest, their orders were to observe the strictest silence, and, by consequence, making no signal, and using no watch-word, they themselves were overpowered with sleep. It was broad day-light when the Germans sailed back, leading with them the captured vessels, and among them the prætorian galley, which they afterwards sent by the river Luppia,[9] as a present to Veleda.

XXIII. Civilis had the ambition to display his naval armament. For this purpose he equipped all the vessels that carried two ranks of oars, or even one. To these he added a prodigious number of small craft, among which were thirty or forty fitted out like the Roman Liburnian galleys. The vessels lately taken from the Romans carried sails made with German mantles, and, with their diversity of colours, presented a spectacle not unpleasing to the eye. The place chosen for this naval show was the vast bay, resembling a sea, where the Rhine discharges itself through the mouth of the Meuse[10] into the ocean. For fitting out this fleet Civilis had two motives; one, to gratify the national vanity of the Batavians; the second, more important, to intercept the provisions sent from Gaul for the use of the Roman army. Cerealis, at the sight of this unexpected parade, was struck with wonder; but nothing could shake his resolution. He prepared to meet the barbarians on their new element. He ordered out his fleet, inferior in number, but in the skill of the mariners, the experience of the pilots, and the size of the vessels, greatly superior. The Romans sailed with the current; the enemy had the wind in their favour. A slight engagement followed. The two fleets exchanged a flight of darts; they passed each other, and parted. This was the last effort of Civilis. He gave up all hope, and retired beyond the Rhine. Cerealis laid waste

8 See Hist. iv. s. 70.

9 Luppia, now the *Lippe*. See the Geographical Table. For Veleda, See Hist. iv. s. 61.

10 For the mouth of the *Meuse*, see Annals, ii. s. 6.

the isle of Batavia, leaving, however, the lands and houses of Civilis free from injury. This policy is not unusual among general officers. It was now the latter end of autumn; the rainy season set in, and the river, swelled above its banks, caused an inundation throughout the island. The face of the country, naturally low and swampy, presented a vast sheet of water. No ships were at hand; the army was distressed for provisions; and the tents and baggage were washed away by the flood.

XXIV. Civilis asserted afterwards, that the Roman army, in this juncture, might have been utterly destroyed, and that the Germans actually intended it, if he himself had not diverted them from the enterprise. The surrender of that chief, which followed soon after, made this account not improbable. Cerealis, by his secret agents, offered terms of peace to the Batavians; he tempted Civilis with a promise of pardon; and to Veleda and her family he held forth the advantages to be gained by terminating a war, which brought nothing but slaughter and calamity. "Her best policy," he said, "would be, to entitle herself, by some meritorious act, to the favour and protection of Rome. The Treverians were cut to pieces, the Ubians submitted, and the Batavians were expelled from their country. By the friendship of Civilis, Germany had gained nothing but slaughter, ruin, and the desolation of families. Where is Civilis now? He roams about, a helpless wanderer, destitute of means, a burden to his friends. After passing the Rhine so often, the Germans may now be satisfied. Fresh hostilities would add to their guilt. The insolence and the crime would be on their side; on that of Rome the indignation of the legions, and the vengeance of the gods."

XXV. With this menacing strain Cerealis had the art to intermix soothing promises. The nations beyond the Rhine were weary of war. The Batavians began to open their eyes. "To persist," they said, "were to provoke their utter ruin. A single nation could not undertake to deliver the world from bondage. By the slaughter of the legions, and the destruction of the Roman camps, what had been gained? New legions, with greater vigour and superior numbers, were poured in upon them. If the war was waged for Vespasian, that end was answered: Vespasian is master of the empire. If to oppose the Roman people was the real object, the Batavians are but a handful of men, unequal to the task. Let us turn our eyes to Rhætia, to Noricum, and the other allies of Rome. They are loaded with various imposts. From the Batavians Rome exacts no tribute: men and valour are all she asks. This may be called a state of freedom; at the worst, it borders on civil liberty. And if we are to choose who shall rule over us, is it not more honourable to submit to the emperor of Rome, than, like the Germans, to bear the infamy of a female reign?" Such was the reasoning of the Batavian people. The nobles of the country charged every thing to the account of Civilis: "By his headlong violence they were hurried into the war. In the miseries of his country that restless chief hoped to find a remedy for his ruined fortunes. In evil hour the Batavians were advised to besiege the legions, and to murder the commanding officers: the gods, in that moment, denounced their vengeance on the whole nation. The war was necessary for one man, and it has been the ruin of his country. We are now on the brink of destruction: repentance may expiate our guilt, and, by delivering up the author of all calamity, we may atone for past misconduct."

XXVI. Civilis knew the temper of his countrymen, and took his measures to prevent the blow. A long train of adversity had sunk the vigour of his mind; and the love of life, a passion which often enervates the noblest minds, began to exert its influence. He desired a conference. Cerealis granted it. The bridge over the Wahal[1] was broken down in the middle. The two chiefs advanced to the extreme points. In that situation Civilis spoke as follows: "Were I to plead my cause before an officer in the interest of Vitellius, I should give myself up as lost. Pardon I should not expect, nor would any credit be given to what I have to offer. Vitellius and I were mortal foes. We acted with open, with avowed hostility. The quarrel was begun by him; it was inflamed by me. With Vespasian I lived on other terms; my respect for his person has long been known. While he was yet a private man, he ranked me in the number of his friends. Antonius Primus knew our connection. By letters from that officer[2] I was urged to kindle the flame of war. I was desired to find employment for the German legions and the states of Gaul, that none might pass over the Alps into Italy. The advice of Antonius, communicated by his letters, was seconded by Hordeonius Flaccus in person. I complied with their wishes: I appeared in arms, and did in Germany what was accomplished by Mucianus in Syria, by Aponius in Mœsia, and by Flavianus in Pannonia."[3]

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1 Nabalia, the channel made by Drusus: see the Geographical Table.

2 Letters from Antonius, exciting Civilis to a war, in order to hinder the legions on the Rhine from marching to support Vitellius in Italy. See Hist. iv. s. 13.

3 The rest of the History is lost, and with it the siege of Jerusalem, with the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

APPENDIX

TO THE

FIFTH BOOK.

APPENDIX.

I. In the interview with the Roman general, Civilis endeavoured, by an artful apology, to disguise and palliate his own conduct. He had pretended in the beginning of the war that he took the field in the service of Vespasian; and his efforts, he now contended, were no way inferior to the Roman officers, who, in different parts of the world, exerted themselves with zeal and ardour in the same cause. He claimed the merit of having found employment in Germany for the legions devoted to the interest of Vitellius; he had carried his victorious arms to their very camp, and there obliged them to capitulate. An irruption into Italy was prevented by the vigour of his operations, and the oath of fidelity to Vespasian was enforced by his orders. He complained that those important services were by his enemies invidiously called acts of rebellion. But thus accused, and thus calumniated, could it be expected that, in such a juncture, he should sheath the sword, and, by an ignominious surrender, take upon him a load of guilt? Pusillanimity and mean compliance would have been treachery to himself. He must have incurred the contempt of the legions; but he chose by warlike enterprise, and by his valour in the field, to gain their applause. In the distraction of the times many things happened on both sides, rash, impetuous, and perhaps not to be justified. But where all were blameable, to settle the measure of particular guilt seemed, in his opinion, to be a fruitless inquiry. He added, that the Batavians had been at all times the faithful allies of Rome: while they were considered in that light, and not treated as a vanquished people, they were willing to maintain their old attachment with unshaken constancy. Their arms, their men, their valour, were ready in the service of the empire. These, he said, were the sentiments of his countrymen; they were his principles, and the rule of his conduct. Having been the adviser of the oath to Vespasian, he was now the mediator of a general peace.

II. Cerealis heard the Batavian chief with calm attention. He went to the meeting with a pacific disposition; and, having nothing so much at heart as a compromise of all differences, he did not amuse himself with a petty controversy about inferior matters, at that time of no weight or consequence. He scorned to take notice of the fallacy with which Civilis attempted to colour his own seditious violence; and, in order effectually to restore the public tranquillity, he declared himself willing to bury all past transactions in total oblivion. Peace was established, and that part of the empire remained free from war and civil commotions.

Civilis, from that time, lost all weight and influence with his countrymen. They considered him as the fierce incendiary, who had kindled up the flame of discord, and the author of a wide-wasting war, in which both nations saw the destruction of camps, the desolation of cities, and the slaughter of armies. Cerealis was soon after sent to command in Britain. He succeeded Vettius Bolanus, and, by his warlike spirit, revived the lustre of the Roman name, which had been impaired by the inactive genius of his predecessor.

Peace being finally concluded with the Batavians, the Lingones and other states of Gaul laid down their arms. The people saw that they were victims to the pride and wild ambition of their chiefs, and all were willing to end a bloody and destructive contest, in which desolation was the only consequence of victory. Tranquillity was restored in that part of the empire; but the troubles in Mæsia were not so easily quelled. That country continued to be the theatre of war. The Sarmatians had made an irruption, with the ferocity usual among barbarians; and having two passions to gratify, their love of plunder, and their savage delight in blood, they marked their way with carnage and destruction. A detail of their operations cannot now be given. History has transmitted no memorial of those transactions. All we know is, that Fonteius Agrippa, the proconsul of Mæsia, was defeated in a pitched battle, and fell with honour amidst heaps of slain.[1] Soon after that disaster, Rubrius Gallus was sent by

1 See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

Vespasian to undertake the conduct of the war. That officer restored military discipline, and revived the spirit of the legions. He sought the barbarians in their fastnesses, and defeated them in every encounter; hanging always upon their rear, till at length, he chased them out of the province, and obliged them to repass the Danube. His next care was to secure the country from future incursions. For that purpose he built a chain of forts on the frontier, and, leaving a strong garrison at every post, gave an effectual check to the inroads of those fierce invaders.

III. Rome had now no war upon her hands, except that in Judæa, under the conduct of Titus. The victories obtained by Vespasian, and the rapid success with which he overran the whole province of Galilee, have been already stated.[1] That commander knew the early genius of his son; and having decided proofs of his valour and military talents, he thought proper, when his own affairs called him into Egypt, to leave Titus to reap the glory of ending the war by the conquest of Jerusalem. Tacitus has described Titus at the head of a numerous army, inspiring the soldiers with zeal and ardour by his own example, and winning all hearts by his amiable manners.[2] We have seen him encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, throwing up towers, and preparing for the operations of a regular siege; and there, unfortunately, Tacitus leaves us. The rest of the great historian's work has perished. The loss can never be repaired; but an event so truly interesting ought not to be passed by in silence. The Jewish war, abstractedly from its connection with religion, presents a series of calamities, and a scene of blood and carnage, that cannot be equalled in the records of any other nation. We have before us an infatuated race ripe for destruction, and by their own folly provoking the vengeance of a great and warlike nation, while internal divisions, civil discord, party rage and madness, conspire with a foreign force to accelerate the destruction of their whole nation: we see a city so strong by nature and art that it was deemed almost impregnable, burnt to the ground, and near eleven hundred thousand inhabitants perishing in the flames; a temple, in its form and structure the wonder of the world, razed to its foundation; a people driven from their native land, dispersed all over the globe to exist in wandering tribes, but to find no place where they could again become a people under their own plan of polity. These are important events; and they become more striking, when it is considered that they were foretold by Christ himself forty years before the dreadful catastrophe, in which the immediate finger and wrath of God were manifestly displayed.

IV. The natural causes which led to the destruction of Jerusalem, have been in some degree explained already, but may with propriety be retouched in this place, when we are entering on a siege that terminated in the ruin of a devoted people. The mad ambition of Caligula to have his statue placed in the temple, was the first occurrence that roused the indignation of the Jews, and kindled the flame of discord throughout the nation. The death of Caligula prevented an immediate war, but did not appease the jealousy of a discontented people, who were not only determined that the images of deified emperors should never disgrace their temple, but would not so much as suffer the likeness of the Cæsars to be brought into their territories. Of this zeal Josephus relates a remarkable instance. He tells us, that when Vitellius, the governor of Syria, was preparing to march his army through a part of Judæa, in order to attack the Arabs, the chief of the Jews objected to the measure, alleging that the colours of the legions were crowded with profane images, which the laws did not allow to be seen in their country. The Roman general yielded to the remonstrance, and ordered his legions to pursue a more circuitous way. And yet this condescension did not satisfy the Jewish mind. The seed-plots of a revolt were laid, and Felix, the brother of Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius, by oppression, rapine, and every species of cruelty, helped to spread a general spirit of revolt. Gessius Florus, who by his interest with Poppæa obtained from Nero the post of governor of Judæa, found the province in a state of tumult and distraction. His conduct added fuel to the flame. Avarice was his ruling passion. Resolved to aggrandize himself, and accumulate immoderate riches, he practised every species of iniquity, till the people, fired with indignation, broke out into open rebellion. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, assembled a numerous army, and penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country, even to the walls of Jerusalem; but war was not his talent: he abandoned the siege, and fled with precipitation. The Jews hung on his rear, and defeated him in every skirmish. According to Josephus, they took an eagle from one of the legions, and in the pursuit cut off no less than six thousand of the Roman army. Cestius did not long survive the disgrace. He died of grief; and the government of Syria was given to Mucianus, who afterwards took an active part in the elevation of Vespasian to the imperial dignity. But the Jewish war required a commander who should make that business the only object of his attention. Nero, for the reasons which have been already mentioned, gave that commission to the man who was even then destined to be emperor of Rome.[3] In the space of two summers, the victorious general subdued the whole country,

1 See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.
2 Hist. v. s. 1.
3 Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.

and made himself master of every strong-hold and fortified city, except Jerusalem, which was reserved to crown Titus with immortal glory.

V. Tacitus has described the city of Jerusalem and the Temple; but, perhaps, with the advantage of D'Anville's plan, a more distinct idea of the place may now be given. The city stood upon two hills, namely, Mount Sion to the south, and Acra to the north. The former, being the loftiest, was called the upper, and Acra the lower city. The walls of each were washed on the outside by a broad and rapid stream, that rushed like a torrent from west to east, through the valleys of Hinnon and Cedron, to the foot of the Mount of Olives. The famous Temple stood on a third hill called Mount Moriah, which on the eastern side was bounded by the valley of Cedron. A fourth hill to the north of the Temple, was, in process of time, enclosed within the fortifications; and there the Jews, abounding in numbers, built another city. The new quarter was called Bezetha. Josephus says the circumference of the whole city was three and thirty stadia, computed by D'Anville at about three thousand three hundred paces. Art conspired with the natural situation to make the works almost inaccessible. A wall of great strength and prodigious elevation surrounded Sion, extending along the north and west sides of the hill, and, being carried eastward, separated it from Mount Acra. Mount Acra was inclosed by another wall, which stretched to the north, and, then diverging towards the east, ended at Fort Antonia. The third wall defended the Temple to the east. These fortifications were further strengthened by towers built with consummate skill, as may be seen in the description given by Tacitus.[4] Five of the towers were distinguished by their strength and magnificence. The first was the tower Psephina, an octagon building seventy cubits high, commanding a prospect of Arabia towards the east, and, on the western side, a view of Palestine and Phœnicia to the margin of the sea: the other four were built by Herod, who was placed on the throne by Mark Antony. From motives of gratitude to his patron, Herod called one of his new structures the Tower Antonia. The other three he dedicated to the persons whom he most esteemed, and, to do them honour, made use of their names: Hippichos was his dearest friend; Phasael was his brother; and Mariamne, it is unnecessary to say, was the wife whom he loved to distraction, and in his fury murdered, while he adored her.[5]

The temple of Jerusalem was an immense fabric, divided by a number of courts, and surrounded with porticos and magnificent galleries, which were, in fact, so many fortifications, that made it look, as Tacitus observes, more like a citadel than a religious sanctuary.[6] The place of worship, or the temple properly so called, stood in the centre, detached from all other buildings: the inside was divided by a veil or curtain into two parts, one of which was the Holy of Holies. The outward space was filled with buildings appropriated to religious ceremonies, and the dwelling of the priests and others, who officiated at the altar. A large court, encompassing those several buildings, was called the Court of the Gentiles, who were allowed to enter that part, but strictly excluded from the sanctuary. The whole of this vast quadrangle, according to Josephus, was six stadia, or three quarters of a mile, round: as D'Anville computes it, the circumference was still greater.

VI. This great and opulent but devoted city was now the last receptacle of the Jewish nation. The people saw the progress of the Roman arms; all Galilee overrun by the conqueror, their fortresses stormed, and their armies routed in every engagement. In that alarming crisis, all degrees and orders of men abandoned their habitations, and fled for shelter to Jerusalem. The celebration of the Passover, which was then near at hand, attracted prodigious multitudes to pay their worship. It is, notwithstanding, probable that Josephus exaggerates, when he tells us that the besieged in the city amounted to three millions; Tacitus says, six hundred thousand. If from the last number we deduct women and children, with the aged and infirm, there will still remain a vast warlike force to man the works, and repel the approaches of the enemy. What added to the difficulties which Titus had to encounter, was the desperate resolution of men during the whole war inured to carnage, and to the natural obstinacy of the Jewish temper uniting the madness of enthusiasm. They were taught by their false prophets, that the Lord of Hosts would fight their battles, and deliver them from a foreign yoke. The predictions that relate to the coming of the Messiah were not understood as promising a Redeemer to free the world from the bondage of sin, and send forth the light of truth from Judæa: as Tacitus observes, they expected an heroic conqueror, who should march at the head of their armies, and extend the dominions of the East over all foreign nations. But the Jewish mind was not to be enlightened. The divine vengeance had been declared with awful denunciations; they had been told, that *their enemies should cast a trench around them, and not leave one stone upon another*. The celebrated Bossuet, in his Discourse on Universal History, confirms the account

4 Hist. v. s. 11.

5 Fenton's tragedy, entitled Herod and Mariamne, is known to every reader of taste.

6 Tacitus says, *Templum in modum arcis;* this book, s. 12.

of portents and prodigies, as related by Tacitus.[1] "And what (says he) could be so alarming a signal of the impending wrath of Heaven, as the hollow murmur heard by the priests in the sanctuary, and the voice that issued from the Holy of Holies, *Let us leave this place!* It was manifest that the temple was abandoned by God and his angels." The same excellent author relates another phenomenon, which either was a miracle, or might have been considered by the people as an awful warning. Four years before the war with the Romans, a common peasant began, on a sudden impulse, to cry out, "A voice from the east! A voice from the west! A voice from the four quarters of the world! A voice against Jerusalem! against the temple, and all new-married brides and bridegrooms! A voice against the whole body of the people!" From that time he never ceased day and night to repeat, "Woe to the people! Woe to Jerusalem!" No other words came from his lips. In the temple, at all religious ceremonies, he uttered the same dreadful menace. He was seized and dragged before the magistrate: to every interrogatory his answer was, "Woe to Jerusalem!" He was ordered to be whipped, and then turned adrift as a wild enthusiast. He rambled about the country, visiting every city, and in his fits of transport uttering the same terrible prediction, straining his voice to the utmost pitch, yet not enfeebling it. When the war broke out, he went on with the same enthusiasm, proclaiming vengeance, and, with crowds of his countrymen, returned to Jerusalem. The siege being formed, he fixed his eyes on the walls, exclaiming with vehemence, "Woe to the city! Woe to the temple! Woe to the people!" He added at last, "Woe to myself!" and, in that moment, a stone from a battering-engine struck him dead on the spot. The name of this man, says Bossuet, was Jesus; and it may be, that since the first who offered grace and mercy, and eternal life, expired on the cross, the second of the name was ordained to denounce the ruin of the whole nation.

VII. Though the Jews by their rashness involved themselves in a war with a great and powerful empire, it may be truly said, that Jerusalem was destroyed by their own hands, not by the Roman arms. They had called down the vengeance of Heaven by the worst iniquities, and, to complete their utter destruction, were still abandoned to the vices that provoked their fate. False prophets, as had been foretold, imposed on the deluded people. Heresies sprang up and multiplied; new doctrines were propagated: and by consequence various sects were formed; all, as usual among schismatics, envenomed against each other. Religious dissensions engendered civil discord; and Judea, rent and torn by contending factions, became a theatre of horror, rapine, and mutual slaughter. By the contest between Vespasian and Vitellius, which began in the year of Rome 822, the Jews gained some respite from the operations of a victorious enemy: but they had not the wisdom to employ the interval in preparations for another campaign. Three powerful factions divided the whole nation; and, as usual when the infatuated multitude claim a right to exercise what is called the sovereignty of the people, each faction was under the management of a leader or a chief, who was admired for his eloquence and superior talents. But eloquence without integrity is a frivolous talent: it has been properly called lip-wisdom. The three demagogues knew the popular arts by which the rabble is generally influenced. The public good was their pretext, but their own private ambition was the exciting motive, the cause of all their actions. They talked of the independent spirit of their nation, and the glory of resisting the Roman legions; but while they railed at slavery, their own domination was the object in view.

Of these three tyrants Eleazar was the first in point of time. When Cestius, as already mentioned, encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, he had put himself at the head of a strong party, who assumed the name of Zealots, and made himself master of the Temple. John of Giscala saw the strength of that faction, and had the address to insinuate himself into their clubs or political meetings. He had a wonderful flow of words, and was soon admired as a consummate orator. An artful concealer of his sinister purposes, he knew how to gloss and decorate his speeches with well-acted zeal for the public good. He drew over to his party a number of the most active zealots, and formed a league that soon grew formidable to Eleazar. Strong as his confederacy was, he was not able to make himself master of the temple; but the city, as if taken by conquest, fell under his absolute dominion. Inured, before he entered Jerusalem, to the most barbarous cruelties and the most violent acts of depredation, he continued in the city to practise the same horrible outrages, till the people resolved to call in another tyrant to their assistance. This was Simon, son of Gioras, who had raised himself from obscurity by his intrepid courage and the most flagitious crimes. By promising rewards to the free, and freedom to the slaves, he was able to form an army of twenty thousand men. With that force he advanced to the walls of Jerusalem. The citizens, harassed and worn out by the oppressions of John, opened their gates to receive him. Simon entered amidst the acclamations of the rabble. He promised to be the friend of the people. Various conflicts ensued between him and the Zealots. Fierce and obstinate battles were fought; houses were plundered; whole families were put to the sword; and Jerusalem was a

1 Josephus gives the same account.

scene of blood and massacre. The parties gained alternate victories, but no decisive blow was struck. Eleazar remained in possession of the highest part of the Temple; John maintained his post on Mount Moriah; and Simon commanded in Salem and Bezetha. The Christians, who resided in the city of Jerusalem, finding that Titus was approaching at the head of his army, knew their time to depart. They saw, according to the warning given to them by Christ himself, that desolation was nigh, and, as commanded, fled to the mountains.[2]

VIII. Such was the internal state of Jerusalem when Titus, early in the spring, encamped before the walls. The natural clemency of that amiable prince inclined him to offer terms of capitulation, but he too well knew the obstinacy of a blind and devoted race. An account of the legions and allied forces that went on this expedition has been stated by Tacitus.[3] The first care of Titus was to form his lines, to level the grounds, and throw up forts and battlements before the walls of the city. The legions went to work with alacrity, all contending with emulation to execute the orders of their general. In the midst of these exertions, a sudden burst of lamentation assailed their ears. They looked, and saw advancing, from one of the gates, a wretched band of mourners, stretching forth their hands, and, with hideous cries and dismal shrieks, imploring the protection of the Romans from the barbarous cruelty of their fellow-citizens. The soldiers were touched with compassion. Without waiting for the command of their officers, they went in a body to succour the distressed, and conduct them to their tents. In that moment was seen the treachery of the Jewish character. The notes of grief were changed to warlike shouts. The traitors surrounded the generous soldiers, and, brandishing their daggers, rushed to the attack with the fury of the vilest assassins. The Romans were massacred on the spot, while a band of Jews on the walls beheld the tragic spectacle with fell delight, and, adding taunts and insult to their perfidy, made a jest of the unhappy victims, who were butchered for their humanity.

IX. This stratagem had the effect of kindling a spirit of revenge throughout the Roman army. Titus in the mean time preserved the even tenor of his happy disposition. To yield to sudden emotions of anger was not in his nature. He weighed all circumstances, and still wished to spare the effusion of blood. He saw a deluded people, who, by open rebellion, had provoked the Roman arms, and, though pent up within their walls, still believed their false prophets, expecting to be masters of universal empire; he knew that they were distracted by intestine factions; that, under the direction of their chiefs, the assassin's dagger was every day drenched in blood, and massacre laid waste the city. Titus beheld their misfortunes with an eye of pity: willing to sheath the slaughtering sword, he offered a general pardon; but in vain; the whole nation was infatuated and ripe for destruction.

The Roman soldiers, eager to begin the attack, carried on their works with unabating vigour. Mounds were thrown up; forts were built; and battering rams and other warlike engines were advanced to the walls. The first impression was made on Salem, or the lower city, on the northwest side of Jerusalem. Simon commanded in that quarter: his sword, which had been till then employed against his fellow-citizens, was at length turned against the besiegers. He exerted his most strenuous efforts, and by his example inspired his men with undaunted resolution. But the vigour of the legions was irresistible. Darts and firebrands, and other missive weapons, were thrown into the town with incessant fury; stones of enormous weight were discharged from a number of engines; and the besieged were driven from the ramparts. In the heat of the engagement, Titus received a wound in his shoulder, of which he felt the symptoms during the rest of his life; but danger served only to animate his warlike spirit. The soldiers followed the example of their general. The battering-rams opened a breach in the walls; the conquering troops rushed in, sword in hand, and took possession of Salem. This was on the fifteenth day of the siege. It was soon perceived that by their success they had gained a perilous situation. They were exposed to the engines of the enemy from Bezetha and the Tower of Antonia on the north, from the Temple on the east, and from Sion on the south. But to confront every danger was the maxim and practice of the legions. They maintained the conflict five days successively, and surmounted every difficulty. Titus entered Bezetha at the head of two thousand men.

X. The Jews fled in consternation; and if the Romans had been allowed to pursue their advantage, that day might have ended the siege. But Titus paused in the moment of victory. Clemency resumed her influence. He ordered his men to give quarter to all that laid down their arms. The runaways took shelter in the Tower Antonia. It might have been expected that the humanity of Titus would have softened the rigour of the Jewish mind. It had a contrary effect. The infatuated people could not suppose that virtue was his motive. His conduct was imputed to despair and cowardice,

2 *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in Judæa flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto.* St. Luke xxi. 20 and 21.

3 Hist. l. v. 1.

John and Simon agreed, for the first time, to carry on their operations with a spirit of union. They collected their numbers, and poured down to the attack with impetuous fury. Titus saw the danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, and, with that presence of mind which never deserted him, resolved at once not to hazard the lives of his men for the vain glory of their general. He had gained a victory; but prudence required that he should, for the present, resign all his advantages. He sounded a retreat, and returned to his camp.

XI. The preparations necessary for a second assault employed the legions during the four following days. The interval was dreadful to the Jews. Internal dissensions broke out with redoubled fury. Simon considered the retreat of the Romans as a complete victory, and made no doubt but that in a short time they would raise the siege. Elate with success, he thought it time to think of aggrandizing himself. A man of his disposition knew no way to establish his ill-gotten power, but by wading through scenes of blood. His partisans committed depredations at their will and pleasure, and his assassins drenched their daggers in the blood of all who dared to lament the miseries of their country. Simon had been raised to his bad eminence by Matthias, a priest, who presided at all public sacrifices; and he now considered the man to whom he owed an obligation as a living reproach. He accused his friend of a design to desert to the Romans, and on that charge, condemned him to death, together with his three sons. The venerable old man begged with earnest supplication to be the first victim, that he might not live to see so horrible a spectacle as the murder of his children. The prayer of misery was rejected. The wretched father saw his sons bleed, and, having felt that agony of heart, resigned himself to the executioner.

John, in the mean time, did not think himself established in plenitude of power, while Eleazar still remained in possession of the inner part of the Temple. His ambition could not brook a rival. Eleazar, on the other hand, had no resources to support himself, and his party, but the offerings and first-fruits that were brought to the sanctuary. Those, in contempt of all laws divine and human, he converted to his own use; and with that view, allowed admittance to all who came to offer their adoration. During the horrors of the siege, sacrifices, libations, and other acts of devotion, went on in the Temple; but in the midst of the religious ceremonies, the holy place was deluged with human blood mixed with the gore of slaughtered victims. John was, at length, determined to end the contest with Eleazar. Ambition like his was not to be satisfied with any thing less than the absolute command. Having taken his measures for that purpose, he ordered his band of assassins to mix with the crowd that entered the inner Temple. A dreadful scene of confusion, horror, and murder, followed. The ruffians, skilled in their trade, threw off their upper garments, and, brandishing their poniards, struck a general panic. The Zealots of Eleazar's party rushed out of the Temple with precipitation. The innocent multitude clung to the altar; but the altar was no longer a sanctuary. All were put to death without distinction. By this horrible stratagem John obtained a complete victory. Eleazar, according to Tacitus,[1] fell in the general massacre; but, if we believe Josephus, he survived to act for the future under the command of John, who became the ruling chief of the Zealots. The three factions which prevailed in the beginning of the siege, were, in this manner, reduced to two. John and Simon were now the pretended friends of the people, and the ruin of their country.

XII. Titus knew, by sure intelligence, that the cessation of arms, which his preparations rendered necessary, was by the folly and madness of the besieged converted to their own destruction. He exerted himself, notwithstanding, to return to the charge without loss of time. The exertions of the soldiers seconded his most ardent wishes. Having constructed his warlike engines, and taken his measures for the assault, he made his approaches to the breach, which he had already battered, and by an incessant discharge of stones and arrows, and other missive weapons, had kept open, in spite of the efforts of the Jews to repair their fortifications. The legions advanced to the assault with determined bravery. The conflict lasted three days without intermission. On the fourth, the archers and slingers discharged such an uninterrupted volley, that the besieged could no longer maintain their station on the ramparts. The engineers played their battering-rams with the greatest skill and success. The walls gave way; and the Romans, in close-embodied ranks, were able to cut their way through the breach. The Jews fled for shelter to Zion and Mount Moriah. Titus entered with the conquering troops, and once more took possession of Salem. He ordered all the houses to be levelled to the ground, and marked out the lines of his camp. He filled the towers that were left standing, with a band of select men, who from that advantageous post would know how to annoy the battlements of the enemy. The whole city was now enclosed within the lines of circumvallation which Titus had ordered in the beginning of the siege. Salem was completely conquered. The legions extended their ranks as far as the foot of the Tower Antonia, and thence to the Mount of Olives, on the north-east side of the Temple. But new

1 See Hist. v. s. 12. *Missis, per speciem sacrificandi qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent.*

difficulties were the consequence of victory. A wide extensive valley lay between the base of Mount Moriah and Bezetha. The Romans, in that situation, were exposed to the slings and engines of the enemy on the summit of the Tower Antonia, the Temple, and Mount Sion. To men who were directly under those forts or citadels, the height appeared stupendous and inaccessible. Till towers of equal elevation were raised, there was no way to assault the works; and to batter a breach was impossible. This occasioned a suspension of hostilities for ten days. The labour was immense, and such as would have deterred any forces but a Roman army. The soldiers loved their general, and their ardour rose in proportion.

XIII. The Jews in consternation saw from their ramparts the towers rising high in the air, and the platforms, which were to receive the warlike engines, built with a rapidity that astonished them. They now thought it time to desist from their internal feuds, and the rage of mutual slaughter. The common danger reconciled all parties. John and Simon formed an union of counsels. They assembled their bravest troops, and, having concerted their plan of operations, made a sally into the city of Salem with their whole strength combined. The Romans were taken by surprise. Despair itself inspired the Jews with courage. Their first impression was not to be resisted. The legions gave ground, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. The Jews pursued them to their intrenchments. The Romans were besieged in their turn. All was uproar, terror, and confusion, till Titus, by his exhortations, by his own example, and by every effort, roused the spirit of his men, and led them on to the charge. The Jews were repulsed. They fled; they were pursued; they were taken prisoners, or put to the sword. The slaughter lasted till night came on, and John and Simon, with their surviving numbers, retreated to their former station.

XVI. Titus was now at leisure to raise the necessary batteries and construct all his works for a grand assault. The besieged, in the mean time, were afflicted with disasters worse, if possible, than their own horrible assassinations. A dreadful famine laid waste the city. The streets were covered with the dead and the dying; old men, women, and children, stretched forth their hands for sustenance, and expired in the act; the wounded soldiers perished for want of relief; shrieks and groans and lamentations resounded in every quarter; the surviving wretches envied the fate of those who died first; they lived only to prolong their misery, fixing their eyes on the Temple, and invoking death to end their woes. The rites of sepulture were neglected. It was necessary, however, to remove the dead bodies. John and Simon ordered them to be thrown down the steep into the lower city. Titus went to view the unhappy victims, as they lay in heaps under the walls. Shocked at a scene so melancholy and affecting, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and called the gods to witness that he was not the cause of those dreadful calamities.

John and Simon, the tyrannical authors of every mischief, beheld the distress of the people without remorse or pity. Under their direction, plunder and massacre went on with unrelenting fury. A band of assassins continued prowling about in quest of prey. They searched every house; and where they saw an appearance of health, they seized the wretched family, and dragged them like so many criminals to the rack, in order to make them discover in what secret place they laid up their slender hoard of victuals. The two friends of the people converted every thing to their own use. Distress and misery went on increasing, and deeds that shocked humanity were committed in the face of day. Fathers took the nourishment from their children, and sons seized it from their mothers. In return, a woman of the name of Mary, who, in the beginning of the war, removed with all her substance from beyond Jordan to take shelter in Jerusalem, committed an outrage that cannot be related without horror. A band of ruffians carried off her little store of corn. Enraged by that act of violence, she seized her infant, then at her breast, and, in despair and phrensy, plunged a poniard in its heart. Nor did she stop there: the cravings of hunger were to be appeased. She cut her babe in pieces, and devoured the fruit of her womb. The smell of victuals soon attracted a banditti of freebooters. They broke into the house; and, though inured to murder, they recoiled with horror at a sight so barbarous and inhuman. The story was soon divulged; it spread through the city, and reached the Roman camp. Titus heard it with astonishment. He heaved a sigh, and mourned the lot of humanity. His towers, his platforms, and his warlike engines, were completed; his slingers and archers were at their post, and his whole army panted for an opportunity to display their valour; but he himself was still restrained by the tenderness of his nature. He caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed in favour of all who should make a voluntary surrender; and, at the same time, bound himself by a solemn promise to preserve the city, the temple, and the religion of the people. Numbers embraced the offer, and rushed out of the gates on every side; but the vengeance of Heaven pursued a devoted race. The wretched fugitives, in their way to the Roman camp, passed through the lines of the Arabs, who had listed under the banners of Titus. A soldier of that nation perceived a Jew discharging the superfluities of nature, and then searching for the gold which he had swallowed before he left the town. That circumstance diffused a notion, that all the Jews had adopted the same stratagem

to secrete their money. Full of that idea, the Arabs rushed with fury on the defenceless multitude, and ripped up their bellies to discover their hidden treasure. The Romans followed the example, and a scene of blood and carnage continued, till Titus, fired with indignation, checked the fury of his men, and gave the promised protection to all that escaped the massacre.

XV. Titus found that his lenity, instead of making an impression on the Jewish mind, was considered by that obstinate people as a proof of weakness. He determined, therefore, to make one vigorous effort, and let the enemy see the strength and valour of the Roman army. His operations were directed against Fort Antonia. John and Simon no sooner saw the platforms and wooden towers advancing towards the walls, than they made a sally with intent to set fire to the works of the besiegers. The Zealots armed with torches and firebrands, advanced with eagerness. The legions showed a firm undaunted countenance. The signal for the attack being given, they charged the enemy in such compact order, that nothing could resist their fury. The conflict did not last long. The Jews were thrown into confusion, and, after a few vain efforts, retreated to their city.

The battering-rams were advanced against the tower Antonia. The besieged discharged from their ramparts a volley of stones and other missive weapons. Nothing could deter the Romans. They condensed their shields over their heads, and, having formed a military shell, began to sap the foundation of the walls, while the engineers annoyed the enemy on the upper part of the works. At length the arch of a deep subterraneous cavern, which had been constructed under the eastern side of the tower, fell in at once, and drew after it a great part of the wall in one prodigious ruin. The opening was wide enough for the Romans to enter in wide extended lines: but, according to Josephus, they stood aghast at the sight of an inward wall, which had been built by the order of John. The historian relates a number of circumstances, that derogate much from our idea of the courage and discipline of the Roman army. Be the fact as it may, the tower Antonia was on the following day taken by storm. The Jews who escaped the sword, fled in dismay and terror to the Temple, which they considered as a safe asylum, still convinced that a sanctuary, of which the God of Abraham was the protector, would never yield to the Roman arms.

XVI. Titus had now gained an eminence from which his warlike engines could play with advantage on the enemy. The approaches to the Temple lay exposed to the valour of the legions. His clemency made him suspend his operations. To save the sactuary, and even to protect the people in the exercise of a religion, which with every Roman, he condemned as a perverse superstition, was still the wish of his heart. Josephus, who, as the reader will remember,[1] commanded the garrison at Jotapata in Galilee, and was there taken prisoner by Vespasian, attended Titus during the siege of Jerusalem. Whether he misunderstood the prophecies relating to the Messiah, or misinterpreted them to curry favour with the Roman general, cannot now be known. Tacitus condemns the blind superstition of the Jews, who would not see that the prediction had, as he conceived it, a palpable reference to Vespasian and his son Titus.[2] Josephus either actually did, or pretended to see it in the same light. Willing to stop the effusion of blood, Titus resolved to send a deputation to the Jewish chiefs; and for that purpose no one seemed so proper as a native of the country, who would know the topics fit to be urged, and by his powers of persuasion might be able to command the passions, and make an impression on the hearts of a deluded people. Josephus undertook that important embassy. He had an interview with John, and has left in his history a detail of all that passed. It will be sufficient, in this abridgment, to observe, that nothing could alter the obstinacy of a blind enthusiast, who by his manifold crimes provoked the wrath of an offended God, and, at the same time, was so infatuated as to expect the divine protection. Josephus, though reviled as a traitor to his country and a slave to the Romans, made use of every argument to open the eyes of the people; he represented to them the horrors of inevitable destruction; heaven and earth combined against their city; and with tears in his eyes he exclaimed, "I see at length, too late, I see, that I am struggling against the will of God. Titus wishes to save you from desolation, and your doom is pronounced above. It is God, a powerful, and avenging God, who sends the Romans to bury all in ruin. Repentance may still efface your crimes; contrition of heart may avert impending vengeance; save yourselves and your holy city; save your Temple, the wonder of the universe; Titus wishes to preserve that noble structure; do not be worse enemies to yourselves, than even the Romans, who hold the sword over your heads, and still in mercy forbear to strike the fatal blow." He could no more; a flood of tears suppressed his voice; he turned his eyes to the Temple, heaved a sigh, and returned to Fort Antonia.

XVII. Titus saw that his moderation served only to confirm the hard of heart: and, by protracting the siege, to expose his men to ambuscades, and the danger of sudden skirmishes with a people inured to craft and stratagem. He called a council of war. The principal officers were of opinion, that nothing less than the utter destruction of the Temple would secure a lasting

1 See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.
2 See Hist. v. s. 13; and note.

peace. A building which the Jews themselves had made a theatre of blood, ought not, they contended, to be any longer considered as a place of worship. It was rather a citadel, in which the garrison remained in force; and, since the proffered capitulation was rejected, ought to be given up to the fury of an enraged soldiery. Titus concurred with his officers in every point, except the demolition of the inner part of the Temple. That he still resolved to save; but, as Josephus observes, a superior Council had otherwise ordained. God in his justice had decreed the fall of Jerusalem; and Titus, unconscious of his mission, was the agent to execute the will of Heaven.

On the following day the general assault began. The Romans advanced under their military shell to the outward wall of the Temple. The Jews sallied out, and a fierce engagement followed. Nothing, however, could break through the close embodied lines of the legions. The besieged gave way, and, finding themselves pursued with impetuous fury, fled for shelter to the inner court. The Romans entered sword in hand. The battle was renewed with redoubled ardour. The combatants were confined to one spot. For the Jews, there was no room for flight; the Romans fought to end the war. The cries of the dying, and the shouts of the victors, reverberated by the surrounding walls, filled the place with dreadful uproar. The orders of Titus and his officers were no longer heard. The Jews, in some parts, fought with frantic obstinacy. Numbers in despair fled to the sanctuary. There the false prophets still assured them that the Lord of Hosts was on their side. In that instant the besiegers forced the gates. The massy gold and glittering ornaments inspired them with new ardour. The love of plunder conspired with revenge, and Titus exerted himself in vain to restrain their fury. One of the soldiers mounted to the top of the portico, and threw a combustible weapon, which clung to the wood-work, and set fire to the whole building. The Jews saw that all was lost, and in their last agony sent forth the groan of an expiring people. Titus withdrew from the scene of desolation, lamenting that his efforts to save the place were without effect. As he passed along, word was brought to him, that a number of priests stood on the outside wall, imploring him to spare their lives. "It is too late," said Titus; "the priests ought not to survive their Temple." He retired to Fort Antonia; and there beholding the conflagration, and lifting his hands, exclaimed with a sigh, "The God of the Jews has fought against them: to him we owe our victory."

Such was the end of the Temple of Jerusalem; a magnificent structure, which had stood for ages, the pride and glory of the Jews, the place of national worship, and the oracle of God. It is remarkab' 'f'l catastrophe happened on the tenth of August, the day on which the first Temple, built by Solomon, was burnt to the ground, in the year of the world 3416, before Christ 587, by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The second and last Temple was built about fifty-two years after that of Solomon was laid in ruins. It had stood above six hundred years, enlarged and embellished from time to time; but was at length levelled to the ground, to rise no more, notwithstanding the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple, and thereby discredit the prediction of Christ. His mad project failed. So true it is, that *no power can destroy what God has raised; and none can raise what he destroys.* The sentence was pronounced above, and *not one stone was left upon another.*[3]

XVIII. An end was not yet put to the war. John and Simon, with a number of their followers, found their way into the upper city on Mount Zion. But the courage of the Jews depended on the preservation of their Temple. Seeing it in flames, they thought themselves abandoned by their God, and wanted to surrender. Even in that distress they were still distracted by intestine factions. John and Simon declared their fixed resolution to hold out to the last. The scene of misery that followed is not to be described; a devouring famine raged in every quarter, and the barbarity of the unrelenting tyrants was not to be appeased. In a few days the chiefs saw the Romans, with indefatigable labour, advancing their towers, and preparing for a general assault. They thought it time to capitulate. Titus promised to spare their lives, but refused to compromise the war on any other terms. He required, in decided terms, an immediate, unequivocal, unconditional submission; a surrender at discretion. John and Simon received this answer with indignation. The pride of men, who had been so long the tyrants of the people, was too obstinate to bend to the will of a conqueror. They talked of the rights of man, resolved to live independent, or to die with honour in the cause of liberty. They harangued the populace, and bellowed against Titus with the zeal and vehemence of determined patriots; but, in a short time after, they deserted the public in the hour of need, and thought of nothing but their own personal safety. The towers of Hippicos, Phasael, and Mariamne, were almost impregnable. In places of that strength they might have stood at bay for a length of time, and, perhaps, have extorted from Titus an honourable capitulation: they might, at least, have shared the fate of a people whom they had ruined. But their words and actions were at variance. They abandoned the

3 *Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down,* St. Matthew xxiv. 2.

public interest, and basely hid themselves in subterraneous vaults, in hopes of eluding the fury of the conqueror. The legions battered a breach, and entered the city sword in hand. A dreadful carnage followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. According to Josephus, not less than eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. The buildings were set on fire, and, excepting the three towers, the whole city of Sion was laid in ruins. As soon as the rage of slaughter ceased, all that escaped the general carnage were collected together, and disposed of according to their deserts. The most active incendiaries were put to death; some were reserved to grace the victor's triumph; and the rest were sent into Egypt, and sold to slavery.

In this manner, the city of Jerusalem, which had flourished for ages, was made a wilderness. The Jews, no longer able to subsist as a people, have been, for upwards of seventeen hundred years, scattered over the face of the earth, a living monument of divine vengeance.

XIX. While the siege was still depending, Vespasian sailed from Alexandria, and, after a short voyage, landed at Brundusium. He proceeded by slow journeys, without pomp or vain parade, making his approaches to Rome with the air of an humble citizen returning to his family. A prodigious concourse of people of all descriptions came forward to meet him, and the tribe of courtiers buzzed and glittered round him, as usual, offering the incense of adulation. They were received with cold neglect. It was soon perceived, that in the new reign truth would be in fashion.[1] One of the cities through which he passed, declared an intention to raise a statue to him at a vast expense. Vespasian held forth his hand, and answered with a smile, "Let this be the base of your statue: place your money here." He entered the city of Rome amidst the acclamations of a people who had long been harassed by the cruelty of Nero, and expected under a mild and equitable government a respite from their misery.

XX. Vespasian entered on his third consulship in conjunction with Cocceius Nerva, [A. U. C. 824. A. D. 71.] who was afterwards emperor of Rome; two men who seem to have been, for the noblest purposes, united in office; Vespasian, to instruct his colleague in the arts of government; and Nerva, to prepare himself for a just, an upright, and a virtuous reign. Titus, in the mean time, remained at Mount Sion, surveying with regret the desolation which the legions had made. Addresses of congratulation and crowns of victory were presented to him by deputies from all the neighbouring states: he calmly answered, that he was the instrument to execute the decrees of Heaven. He gave orders that the three towers on Mount Sion should be left standing, as a monument for posterity, to mark where the city stood which was laid in ruins by the folly and madness of the inhabitants. Having made all proper arrangements, and left Terentius Rufus, with a legion under his command, to guard Mount Sion and the province of Judæa, he set out, after the example of his father, to make the tour of Egypt.

John and Simon, as has been mentioned, survived the slaughter of their countrymen; but it was not long before they fell into the hands of the conqueror. John was the first that surrendered. He met with more clemency than was due to a man whose wild ambition had been the cause of so many dreadful disasters. He was condemned to remain a prisoner for life.

Simon did not meet with equal lenity. His perverse and obstinate resistance served to aggravate his former iniquities, and to fill the measure of his guilt. He had taken refuge in a deep cavern, carrying with him a store of provisions, and a number of workmen with their tools and instruments, with intent to open a passage under ground, and, after collecting together the surviving forces of his countrymen, to appear again in arms against the Romans. But rocks were impenetrable; provisions were exhausted; he began to dread the misery of an approaching famine, and resolved once more to see the light of heaven. Rufus ordered him to be loaded with irons, and in that condition conveyed to Rome, to clank his chains at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror.

Meanwhile Titus was received at Memphis with all the demonstrations of joy. It happened, while he remained at that place, that the consecration of an ox, adored under the name of Apis, by the Egyptians, as their national god, was to be celebrated with all the rites of superstition usual on that occasion. Titus was invited to preside at the festival. He yielded to the request of the people, and, in conformity to established usage, wore a regal diadem during the ceremony. Innocent as this transaction was, it did not fail, in a busy city like Rome, to occasion a variety of reports, all founded on vague conjecture and sinister construction. The wisdom of some, and the malignity of others, saw a deep design. Titus, they said, was flushed with the pride of victory; he began to tower above his rank, and to form schemes of

1 In the tribe of flatterers that gathered around the emperor, the most officious was Phebus, Nero's freedman, who hoped by adulation to expiate the insolence of his behaviour on a former occasion, when Vespasian had been guilty of the crime of falling asleep while Nero sung. Vespasian asked the freedmen what he should do to appease Nero's indignation. "*Go, and hang yourself*," replied Phebus. This man in confusion threw himself at the feet of the new prince. Vespasian, with a smile, repeated, "*Go, and hang yourself*," and, content with that reproach, left the sycophant to himself.

ambition. It was not the vanity of a day, that made him assume the regal diadem; it was evident that he aimed at greater things. These reports were wafted with speed across the Mediterranean. Titus heard, with indignation, that his character was blackened, and resolved to make the best of his way to Rome. He arrived at Rhegium over-against Sicily, and, embarking there in a trading vessel, sailed to Puteoli: from that place he pursued his journey with all possible expedition, and, without the ceremony of announcing his arrival, flew to Vespasian's apartment, and, throwing his arms around his neck, exclaimed, "I am come, my father; your son is come."

The senate had decreed a triumph for the emperor, and another for Titus. Vespasian chose to wait till he had a partner to enjoy the glory of the day. They both entered Rome in the same triumphal car. The pomp and magnificence displayed on the occasion exceeded all former splendour. The spoils of war, the wealth of conquered nations, the wonders of art, and the riches of Egypt, as well as Jerusalem, presented a spectacle that dazzled the eye, and filled the spectators with delight and wonder. The colours and ensigns exhibited a lively representation of the Jewish war; the battles that were fought; the cities that were stormed; the towers and temples that were wrapt in flames; all were drawn with art, and decorated with the richest colouring. The prisoners of war formed a long procession. Simon was distinguished from the rest. The well-known ferocity of his character attracted the attention of the multitude, and fixed all eyes upon him. He walked with abated pride; but the traces of guilt and cruelty were still visible in every feature. The triumph stopped at the capitol. Simon was seized and dragged to execution on the Tarpeian rock; there to pay the forfeit of his crimes, and fall a victim to his countrymen, whom his atrocious deeds had ruined.

XXI. [A. U. C. 825. A. D. 72.] It is not the design of this abridgment to detail the history of Vespasian's reign. It will be sufficient to observe, that he closed the temple of Janus, having settled a profound peace throughout the Roman world. He and Titus were joint consuls in the year of Rome 825; Vespasian for the fourth time, Titus the second. Their first care was to allay the spirit of party and faction, which had embittered the minds of men in the distractions of the civil war; to reform the manners, give energy to the laws, and teach the military to submit to the civil authority. The records of the old republic, and all the valuable monuments of antiquity, had perished in the flames of the capitol: not less than three thousand brazen tablets, on which were engraved the decrees of the senate, and the acts of the people, were destroyed in that dreadful conflagration. To repair the loss as well as might be, Vespasian ordered diligent search to be made in every quarter for the copies that were known to exist; and, after due examination, he deposited the same in the public archives. He rebuilt the capitol; promoted arts and sciences; encouraged men of genius;[2] and, though his avarice, in many instances, was little short of rapacity, he spared no expense to restore the buildings which had been destroyed by Nero's fire, and, in general, to improve and adorn the city.

These were imperial works, of the highest advantage to the people, and all carried on with vigour that did honour to a patriot prince. It must not be dissembled, that, amidst his public cares, his private conduct was not without a stain. His amorous passions were not subdued by age. A courtesan, of the name of Cænis,[3] had won his affections, before he married Flavia Domitilla; and, after the death of his wife, she was able to allure him back to her embraces. Her influence was such, that she lived in all the state and grandeur of an empress. She disposed of all favours; granted the government of provinces; and accumulated enormous wealth, without any scruple about the means. This, beyond all question, was a blemish in the character of Vespasian; but, happily, he was delivered from the disgrace and obloquy occasioned by his being the dupe of love in the decline of life. Cænis died in the year of Rome 827; and from that time, the money that was drained by hard exactions from the provinces, was, without reserve, laid out for the use and ornament of the city.

If Titus, after the example of his father, gave a loose to love, it cannot be matter of wonder that he thought youth the season of pleasure and gay enjoyments. His passions broke out without restraint. He passed the night in joy and revelry with a band of dissolute companions, insomuch that the people began to dread a return of all the vices of Nero's reign. Queen Berenice, whom he saw in Palestine, and was then enamoured of her beauty, lived with him at Rome in the greatest splendour. A report prevailed, that he had bound himself to her by a promise of marriage. This filled the city with discontent and popular clamour. The public voice was loud against so close a connexion between the emperor's son and a princess of the Jewish nation. Titus, at length, saw the current of popular prejudice, and wisely resolved to sacrifice his private pleasures to the interests of the state. Berenice returned to her own country. They parted with mutual reluctance, or, as Suetonius expresses it, with something like the elegant

2 Salelus Bassus, a poet of eminence, received a considerable present from Vespasian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 9.

3 See Suetonius in Vespas. s. 3.

brevity of Tacitus, *Berenice ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam.*[1] The virtues which made him afterwards the delight of human kind resumed their influence, and, from that time, inspired all his actions.

XXII. In the course of Vespasian's reign, two transactions occurred, which, it must be acknowledged, have left a stain upon his memory. Of these it will not be improper to give a short detail. The first was the death of Helvidius Priscus, who has been often mentioned by Tacitus. That excellent man fell a sacrifice to his enemies, and, perhaps, to his own intemperate conduct. Initiated early in the doctrines of the stoic school, and confirmed in the pride of virtue by the example of Pætus Thrasea, his father-in-law, he saw the arts by which Vespasian, notwithstanding the rigour of his nature, courted popularity; and did not scruple to say, that liberty was more in danger from the artifices of the new family, than from the vices of former emperors. In the senate he spoke his mind with unbounded freedom. Vespasian bore his opposition to the measures of government with patience, and silent dignity. He knew the virtues of the man, and retained a due esteem for the memory of Thrasea. Willing, on that account, to live on terms with Helvidius, he advised him to be, for the future, a silent senator. The pride of a stoic spurned at the advice. Passive obedience was so repugnant to his principles, that he stood more firm in opposition. Mucianus and Eprius Marcellus, who were the favourite ministers of the emperor, were his enemies; and it is probable that, by their advice, Vespasian was at length induced to let the proceedings of the senate take their course. Helvidius was arraigned by the fathers, and ordered into custody. He was soon after banished, and, in consequence of an order despatched from Rome, put to death. It is said[2] that Vespasian relented, and sent a special messenger to respite execution; but the blow was struck. Helvidius was, beyond all question, a determined republican. His own imprudence provoked his fate; and this, perhaps, is what Tacitus had in contemplation,[3] when he places the moderation of Agricola in contrast to the violent spirit of others, who rush on certain destruction, without being by their death of service to the public.

XXIII. The case of Eponina was an instance of extreme rigour, or rather cruelty. She was the wife of Julius Sabinus, a leading chief among the Lingones. This man, Tacitus has told us,[4] had the vanity to derive his pedigree from Julius Cæsar, who, he said, during his wars in Gaul, was struck with the beauty of his grandmother, and alleviated the toils of the campaign in her embraces. Ambitious, bold, and enterprising, he kindled the flame of rebellion among his countrymen, and, having resolved to shake off the Roman yoke, marched at the head of a numerous army into the territory of the Sequani, a people in alliance with Rome. This was A. U. C. 823. He hazarded a battle, and was defeated with great slaughter. His rash-levied numbers were either cut to pieces, or put to flight. He himself escaped the general carnage. He fled for shelter to an obscure cottage; and, in order to propagate a report that he destroyed himself, set fire to his lurking-place. By what artful stratagems he was able to conceal himself in caves and dens, and, by the assistance of the faithful Eponina, to prolong his life for nine years afterwards, cannot now be known from Tacitus. The account which the great historian promised, has perished with the narrative of Vespasian's reign. Plutarch[5] relates the story as a proof of conjugal fidelity. From that writer the following particulars may be gleaned: Two faithful freedmen attended Sabinus to his cavern; one of them, Martialis by name, returned to Eponina with a feigned account of her husband's death. His body, she was made to believe, was consumed in the flames. In the vehemence of her grief she gave credit to the story. In a few days she received intelligence by the same messenger, that her husband was safe in his lurking-

1 The loves of Titus and Berenice, though not the best chosen subject for dramatic fable, became in the last century, the favourite exhibition of the French stage. Corneille and Racine, the two great poets of that country, entered the lists, and, like the bards of Greece at the Olympic games, contended with each other for the laurel crown. It happened that a princess of France, sister to Louis XIV. requested a play on the subject of Titus and Berenice from the pen of Racine. The poet complied; and while he was at work, Corneille received the like solicitation from Henrietta of England, duchess of Orleans. The two plays were acted in 1670, at different theatres. That of Corneille had no success; Racine's had a run of thirty nights. Fontenelle observed upon the occasion, that it was a combat between two eminent men, and the youngest gained the victory.

2 Suetonius relates the fact, in Vesp.

3 Tacitus says of Agricola, *Non contumacia, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse.* See the whole passage, Life of Agricola, s. 42.

4 Tacitus mentions the escape of Julius Sabinus from the field of battle, where his countrymen, the Lingones, suffered a dreadful slaughter; and the historian promises, in proper time and place, to relate how he lay concealed in dens and caverns for nine years afterwards, supported, during the whole time, by the fidelity and unaltered affection of his wife EPONINA. See Hist. iv. s. 67. The defeat of Sabinus was A. U. C. 823. He and his wife were put to death at Rome, A. U. C. 831; but unfortunately that part of our author's work has not survived the injury of time.

5 For this fragment of history, see Plutarch's AMATORIUS, or The Lover.

place. She continued during the rest of the day to act all the exteriors of grief, with joy at her heart, but suppressed with care. In the dead of night she visited Sabinus, and in his arms indulged the transports of her soul. Before the dawn of day she returned to her own house, and, for the space of seven months, repeated her clandestine visits, supplying her husband's wants, and softening all his cares. At the end of that time she conceived hopes of obtaining a free pardon; and having disguised her husband in such a manner as to render a detection impossible, she accompanied him on a long and painful journey to Rome. Finding there, that she had been deceived with visionary schemes, she marched back with Sabinus, and lived with him in his den for nine years longer. Mutual love was their only comfort. Her tender affection sweetened the anxieties of her husband, and the birth of two sons was a source of pleasure, even in distress and misery. In the year of Rome 831 they were both discovered, and in chains conveyed to Rome. Vespasian forgot his usual clemency. Sabinus was condemned, and hurried to execution. Eponina was determined not to survive her husband. She changed her supplicating tone, and, with a spirit unconquered even in ruin, addressed Vespasian: "Death," she said, "has no terror for me. I have lived happier under ground, than you upon your throne. Bid your assassins strike their blow: with joy I leave a world, in which you can play the tyrant."

She was ordered for execution. Plutarch concludes with saying, that during Vespasian's reign there was nothing to match the horror of this atrocious deed; for which the vengeance of the gods fell upon Vespasian, and, in a short time after, wrought the extirpation of his whole family.

Vespasian died on the twenty-third of June, A. U. C. 832, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, after reigning ten years. Titus died on the thirteenth of September, A. U. C. 834, in the forty-first year of his age, after a reign of two years and somewhat more than two months.

Domitian was put to death by a band of conspirators, who were determined to deliver the world from a monster, on the eighteenth of September, A. U. C. 849, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years; a large portion of human life, as Tacitus observes,[6] in which the people groaned under the cruelty of an unrelenting and insatiate tyrant.

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6 Tacitus says, *Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitia principis interciderunt?* See Life of Agricola, s. 3.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE,

OF

GERMANY.

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This tract was composed by Tacitus in the

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
851	98	Nerva, the 4th time. Trajan, the 2nd.

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE,

OF

GERMANY.[1]

I. The whole vast country of Germany[2] is separated from Gaul,[3] from Rhætia, and Pannonia, by the Rhine and the Danube; from Dacia and Sarmatia, by a chain of mountains,[4] and, where

1 The time when the treatise on the German Manners was written, is fixed by Lipsius in the fourth consulship of Nerva, and the second of Trajan, A. U. C. 851, A. D. 98. A passage in section 37, where Tacitus mentions the second consulship of Trajan, clearly shows that the piece was composed in that year, or soon after. It is a draught of savage manners, delineated by a masterly hand; the more interesting, as the part of the world which it describes was the seminary of the modern European nations; the VAGINA GENTIUM, as historians have emphatically called it. The work is short, but, as Montesquieu observes, it is the work of a man who abridged every thing, because he knew every thing. It is for this reason that the following notes have swelled to a size, which may at first sight appear unwieldy: but the subject merits attention; it calls for something more than mere cursory observation. If the present writer has collected with diligence; if the brevity of the author be explained; if his facts receive full confirmation from the following illustrations; the inquiry will not be thought to be mere ostentation or vain parade. A thorough knowledge of the transactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who issued from their northern hive, settled in new habitations, they carried with them their native genius, their original manners, and the first rudiments of the political system which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They established monarchy and liberty; subordination and freedom; the prerogative of the prince and the rights of the subject; all united in so bold a combination, that the fabric in some places stands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The British constitution, says Montesquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the state of this country was before the arrival of our Saxon ancestors, Tacitus has shown in the life of Agricola. If we add to his account what has been transmitted to us concerning the Germans and Britons by Julius Cæsar, we shall see the origin of the Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic constitution, under which the people enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Montesquieu, speaking of his own country, declares it impossible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy, and the changes of their government, without a previous inquiry into the manners, genius, and spirit, of the German nations. Much of what was incorporated with the institutions of those fierce invaders, has flowed down in the stream of time, and still mingles with our modern jurisprudence. It is true that in the progress of society, arts and sciences have diffused new lights, and the civil union being, by consequence, better understood, milder laws, and more polished manners, have well-nigh effaced all traces of barbarism; but still it will not be unpleasant, nor indeed useless, to go back to those days of ignorance. We shall view the waters at their fountain-head dark, foul, and muddy; but by following them downward, we shall see them working themselves clear, and purified, at length, to a clear and limpid current. We shall gain a knowledge of the origin of laws, while we read the history of the human mind. The subject, it is conceived, is interesting to every Briton. The following notes are, therefore, offered without further apology for their length. In the manners of the Germans the reader will see our present frame of government, as it were, in its cradle; *gentis cunabula nostræ!* The antiquarian, who has already made his researches, will, perhaps, find little novelty; but to those who have not had leisure or curiosity, the following annotations may open new veins of knowledge and reflection. They will lead to a better acquaintance with a fierce and warlike people, to whom this country owes that spirit of liberty, which through so many centuries has preserved our excellent form of government, and raised the glory of the British nation.

——— Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

2 It is material in this place to observe, that Augustus Cæsar divided part of Belgic Gaul into two provinces, distinguished by the names of Upper and Lower Germany. Many of the new settlers in those parts were originally Germans, and, when the whole country was reduced under subjection to the Roman empire, the people, unwilling to pass for natives of Gaul, still retained their original name. Those two provinces called the Upper and Lower Germany, being, in fact, part of Gaul, are not comprised in the account given by Tacitus. He speaks of ancient Germany, called Germania Antiqua, or Barbara; of Germany on the eastern side of the Rhine, Germania Transrhenana; bounded, on the west, by the Rhine; on the south, by the Danube; on

the mountains subside, mutual dread forms a sufficient barrier. The rest is bounded by the ocean, embracing in its depth of water several spacious bays,[5] and islands of prodigious extent, whose kings and people are now, in some measure, known to us, the progress of our arms having made[6] recent discoveries. The Rhine has its source on the steep and lofty summit of the Rhætian Alps,[7] from which it precipitates, and, after winding towards the west, directs its course through a long tract of country, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, gushing down the soft and gentle declivity of the mountain Abnoba,[8] visits several nations in its progress, and at last, through six channels (the seventh is absorbed in fens and marshes), discharges itself into the Pontic Sea.

II. The Germans, there is reason to think, are an indigenous race,[9] the original natives of the country, without any intermixture of adventitious settlers from other nations. In the early ages of the world, the adventurers who issued forth in quest of new habitations, did not traverse extensive tracts of land;[10] the first migrations were made by sea. Even at this day the Northern Ocean, vast and boundless, and, as I

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the east, by the Vistula, or Weissel, and the mountains of Sarmatia; and finally by the Northern Ocean, including the Baltic, and the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland.

3 Gaul, according to Cæsar, was divided into three parts, namely, 1. Belgic Gaul, bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vauge, the Rhine, and the Ocean. 2dly, Celtic Gaul, bounded by the Ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Garonne. 3dly, Aquitania, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees.

Rhætia was bounded towards the east by the Alps; by Italy towards the south; by the Rhine on the west; and by the country of the Vindelici towards the north. It is now the country of the Grisons.

Pannonia was an extensive country, having Dalmatia on the south, Illyricum on the west, Mæsia on the east, and the Danube on the North. And thus, as Tacitus says, Germany is divided from Gaul by the Rhine, and from Rhætia and Pannonia by the Danube.

4 Dacia, in a short time after Tacitus wrote this treatise, was reduced by the emperor Trajan to a Roman province. It lay on the other side of the Danube, extending northward to the Carpathian mountains, comprising part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Sarmatia was formerly divided into European and Asiatic. The European division is here intended by Tacitus. It had the Vistula, or Weissel, and a chain of mountains, for its western boundary, and extended to the northern parts of Europe, comprising Livonia Lithuania, Russia, and Crim Tartary.

The mountains, which in part divided these nations from Germany, are now called the Carpathian mountains, running between Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania.

5 The Baltic Sea was, probably, thought in the time of Tacitus to be the Northern Ocean. The deep gulfs were those of Bothnia and Finland. Sweden, Norway, and Finland, were anciently called Scandinavia, and supposed by the Romans to be a large island.

6 Before the expedition of Drusus and his son Germanicus, the Romans had not pierced far into Germany. Drusus, A. U. C. 744, advanced with his fleet as far as the promontory of the Cimbrians, who inhabited the country now called Jutland. Tacitus wrote his treatise about one hundred and eight years afterwards, and not less than eighty years after the war in Germany under the conduct of Germanicus. That commander carried his victorious arms into parts of the country unexplored before. It is probable that some further discoveries were made in the time of Domitian.

7 The Rhætian Alps are now called the Mountains of the Grisons; that in particular, from which the Rhine issues, is called Vogelberg. This celebrated river flows in one regular channel, embracing a few small islands in its course, till it reaches the island of the Batavians, where it divides itself into two branches, one washing the eastern side of Germany, and the other forming the boundary of Gaul. For a further account of this river, see *Annals*, ii. s. 6. See also this tract, s. 29, and note.

8 The mountain Abnoba is called by the Germans Schwartzwald, and by the French the Black Forest, la Foret Noire. Brotier (to whose learned labours this work is greatly indebted) refers to the volumes of Comt Marsili, who discovered the fountain-head of the Danube and the Rhine in 1702. Before that time Doneschingen was erroneously called the fountain-head of the Danube. That famous river, from its spring as far as Vienna, retained the name of the Danube; but according to Pliny, as soon as it reached ILLYRICUM, and thence to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the Euxine or Black Sea, it was called the Ister. Brotier adds, that the Danube preserves its course through the Euxine into the Mediterranean, distinguished all the way by the clearness of the current; and the ships, he says, from the Ægean Sea (now the Archipelago) as far as the Propontic (the sea of Marmora), can with difficulty make head against the force of so rapid a stream. For this fact he quotes the Letters of a Missioner of the Jesuits, published in 1713. Pliny the elder has left a similar account. He says, *Singula Istri ora tanta sunt, ut prodatur in quadraginta millia passuum vinci mare, dulcemque intelligi hausetum.* See Pliny, lib. iv. s. 24.

9 The inhabitants of every nation, that had no literary monuments, were by the ancients deemed the immediate offspring of the soil. The world is now better informed. Asia is considered as the country where the numbers of mankind multiplied with rapid increase, and thence overflowing into Scythia, peopled the northern regions of Europe. Under which of the sons of Noah that vast migration was formed, it is now fruitless to inquire. Antiquarians have amused themselves with systems founded on vain opinions, and, having no historical records, they have wandered in a maze of wild conjecture, without contributing to the stock of real knowledge.

10 In this passage a mistake seems to be justly imputed to Tacitus. The first migrations could not be made by sea in those early ages, when the use of shipping was little known. As soon as population increased in Asia, the redundant multitude went forth in quest of new settlements, and poured into Scythia, Sarmatia, Hungary, and Poland, and thence into Germany. When navigation began to be in some degree understood, colonies were transplanted by sea. It was by sea that Cecrops conveyed his people from Egypt into Greece, and it was in the same manner that the Phœnicians transported their colonies to the coast of Africa. But migrations must have been made before those events, and the northern parts of Europe were peopled long before.

may say, always at enmity with mariners,[11] is seldom navigated by ships from our quarter of the world. Putting the dangers of a turbulent and unknown sea out of the case, who would leave the softer climes of Asia, Africa, or Italy, to fix his abode[12] in Germany? where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the inclemency of the season never relents; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and, if we except the affection of a native for his mother-country, without an allurement to make life supportable. In all songs and ballads,[13] the only memorials of antiquity amongst them, the god Tuisto,[14] who was born of the Earth, and Mannus, his son, are celebrated as the founders of the German race. Mannus,[15] it is said, had three sons, from whom the Ingævones, who bordered on the sea-coast; the Hermiones, who inhabit the midland country; and the Istævones, who occupy the remaining tract, have all respectively derived their names. Some indeed, taking advantage

11 In the time of Tacitus, a voyage from Italy to the Northern Ocean would have been an enterprise too wild and daring. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the first Roman commander who ventured to explore those seas. *Oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit*, says Suetonius, Life of Claudius, s. 1; but it is not pretended that he sailed from Italy. His voyage, without doubt, began from some port of Gaul or Germany, and reached the point of Jutland. His son Germanicus, many years after, made the same attempt, but with great difficulty and danger. See *Annals*, ii. s. 23.

12 This is by no means a satisfactory reason for the position advanced by Tacitus, namely, that the Germans were the indigenous offspring of the soil. In those remote ages, when the numbers of one nation overflowed into another, the object was not the most delightful country, but the safest habitation. Asia, Italy, and some parts of Africa, afforded delightful spots; but to men who could not find a settlement in those regions, even Germany, which appears so horrid to Tacitus, was not without its conveniences. The people escaped from oriental despotism, and lived in freedom. A freehold, says Addison, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased with the possession, and stout in the defence of it. Germany was the land of liberty and heroic fortitude. What men lost of their sensual gratifications, they gained in virtue: as Brotier expresses it, *Si quid decessit voluptati, accrevit humanitati.*

13 Songs and rude poetry have been in all savage countries the memorials of public transactions. Kings and heroes were the poets and historians of the Scythian, the Celtic, and the northern nations. Saxo Grammaticus and other writers inform us, that they drew their materials from Runic songs, or Icelandic poetry. The Gauls had their Druids, the priests and philosophers of the nation, who preserved their doctrine by oral tradition, and verses committed to memory only. The Germans had their BARDS, who in their songs recorded all public transactions, and sung the praises of their warriors and illustrious men. At all feasts and public assemblies the bards were the panegyrists of exalted merit. The same was the case in Britain, Wales, and Ireland. The songs of the bards were the prelude to battle; they inspired the chiefs with enthusiastic ardour. When Edward I. formed the plan of reducing Wales to subjection, he thought it necessary to destroy all the bards. The Scandinavians had their poets, or SCALDS, whose business it was to compose odes or songs, in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their ancestors. The praises which those poets gave to valour, the enthusiasm which animated their verses, and the care which the people took to learn them from their infancy, all conspired to rouse the martial spirit of their armies. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 223. The American savages have their war songs and rude poetry, in which they sing the praises of the gallant chiefs, who have fought or died for their country. Garcilasso de la Vega says, that, in writing his history of Peru, he availed himself of old songs and ballads, which a princess of the race of their *incas* taught him to get by heart in his infancy. Tacitus tells us, that Arminius, long after his death, was remembered in the rude songs of his country. See Annals, ii. s. 88. Some of those songs, or brief chronicles of the times, were dug up in German monasteries in the beginning of the sixteenth century. CHARLEMAGNE, according to Eginhard, the historian of that warlike prince, composed verses in the rude style of that age, commemorating the wars and brave exploits of the German chiefs. He is said to have carried with him into France a large collection of those ancient ballads, which he ordered to be translated into Latin. But those records are now no where to be found.

14 Various opinions have been advanced by antiquarians concerning the name of Tuisto. Some assert that it means the creator of the world; and that Manus, which is man with a Latin termination, relates to Adam. Others will have it, that Tuisto is the same as Teutates, a Scythian or Celtic king; and much learning has been laid out upon the subject. It is too often the fate of learned commentators to open a wide field for discussion, in which men of sober sense refuse to follow them. It is sufficient that Tuisto was the most ancient deity of the Germans and Scandinavians, long before the worship of Odin was established. See Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. chapter 6; and this Tract, s. 43, note.

15 We have here, in three grand divisions, a general geographical description of Germany. The commentators inform us that they have found compound words in the German language, signifying, first, the inhabitants of the maritime parts; 2dly, inhabitants of the midland country; 3dly, inhabitants of the east; and those words correspond with the three appellations which the Romans softened into their own idiom. There was anciently another di[illegible] of Germany, perhaps more satisfactory; 1. Germ[illegible]tween the Rhine and the Elbe, *inter Rhenum et Albim*; 2. between the Elbe and the Weissel, *inter Albim et Vistulam;* 3. Southern Germany, *Germania Australis*, between the Rhine and the Danube; 4. Germany beyond the Weissel, *Germania Transvistulana;* 5. Germany beyond sea, and the islands of the Baltic, *Germania Transmarina et Insulæ.* Pliny the elder enumerates five German nations not materially different from the last description. He says, *Germanorum genera quinque.* 1. *Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones.* 2. *Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes.* 3. *Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranei.* 4. *Hermiones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Catti, Cherusci.* 5. *Quinta pars, Peucini, Basternæ, Contermini Daci.* Plin. lib. iv. s. 28, 14.

of the obscurity that hangs over remote and fabulous ages, ascribe to the god Tuisto a more numerous issue, and thence trace the names of various tribes, such as the Marsians, the Gambrivians,[1] the Suevians, and the Vandals.[2] The ancient date and authenticity of those names are, as they contend, clearly ascertained. The word Germany[3] is held to be of modern addition. In support of this hypothesis, they tell us that the people who first passed the Rhine, and took possession of a canton in Gaul, though known at present by the name of Tungrians, were, in that expedition, called Germans, and thence the title assumed by a band of emigrants, in order to spread a general terror in their progress, extended itself by degrees, and became, in time, the appellation of a whole people. They have a current tradition that Hercules[4] visited those parts. When rushing to battle, they sing, in preference to all other heroes, the praises of that ancient worthy.

III. The Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called BARDS.[5] With this

1 The Gambrivians are mentioned by Tacitus in this place only.

2 The Vandals are the same as the *Vindili* mentioned by Pliny; a brave and warlike race, who afterwards overran Gaul, Spain, and Italy, and were finally destroyed in Africa.

3 Lipsius is of opinion that this passage will ever be the torment of the commentators. But the difficulty does not seem to be insurmountable. Tacitus says, that the first emigrants from the other side of the Rhine who entered Gaul, and dispossessed the natives, were in his time called Tungrians; but when they undertook their expedition, to strike their enemies with terror, *ob metum*, they called themselves GERMANS. The word, of course, implied something formidable, and, by adverting to the etymology, it receives the following construction. *Gehr*, or *Wehr*, signifies war. From that root the French have derived their word *guerre*. *Man* in the German tongue implied the same as it does now in that country and in England. Hence we find, that the first invaders, *ob metum*, to spread a general alarm, called themselves Germans, or *warlike men*. That such migrations were made into Gaul is evident from Julius Cæsar. In the second book of his Gallic Wars, s. 4, he relates that, on inquiry, he found that the Belgians were for the most part Germans originally, who had been drawn by the fertility of the country to settle in those parts, and, during the irruption of the Teutones and Cimbri, were the only people, of all the provinces of Gaul, that resisted those fierce Barbarians, and never suffered them to set foot in their territories. The name of GERMANS, assumed by those who crossed over into Gaul, was in process of time adopted by all the [illegible]s on the east side of the Rhine, and in Cæsar's [illegible] was [illegible] established appellation of the whole co[illegible]y. The region which the Tungrians inhabited, *Brotier* says, was what the French call *L'ancien Diocese De Tongres*, and it is remarkable that the same territory was occupied by the Franks, when, under the conduct of Pharamond, they made their irruption into France, and from that time gave their name to the whole country.

4 Besides the fabulous Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, there was, in ancient times, no warlike nation that did not boast of its own particular HERCULES. La Bletterie, the ingenious translator of a considerable part of Tacitus, mentions a learned antiquarian (Mons. Freret) who supposed, not without great probability, that some German chief of great renown in arms was called *Her Koul*, *Belli Caput*, the head of a victorious army. *Her-koul* would easily be changed by the Romans into HERCULES. However that may be, we find in Tacitus an entire forest beyond the *Visurgis*, or the *Weser*, sacred to Hercules. See Annals, ii. s. 12. The warriors rushing to battle sung his praise, as we find that, in their ballads, they afterwards celebrated Arminius. See Annals, ii. s. 88. Several learned men have clearly proved that the word HERCULES was a name given to all the leaders of colonies, who came out of Asia to settle in Greece, Italy, and Spain. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91.

5 The commentators are much at variance about the reading of the original word to express the recitation of the German poets. Some of them contend for *barritus*, instead of *barditus*; for *barrire*, they say, signifies the cry or roar of an elephant. Horace uses the word *barrus* for an elephant, *Mulier nigris dignissima barris*; Epode 12. But Lipsius observes, that elephants were not known in Germany. This dispute about a word seems to be, as is usually the case, of little or no importance, since it is evident that the poets of Germany and Britain were called BARDS, and therefore *barditus* is, probably, the true reading. Lucan, book i. ver. 447, describes the office of the *bard*, and gives him that very name:

> Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
> Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
> Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardi.

The strains of verse which the bards poured forth in their fits of enthusiasm, inflamed the German and the British warriors with heroic fortitude. Perhaps nothing contributed more to make those nations stand at bay for such a length of time with the whole power of the Romans. The soldier said to the bard, "Come, and see me fighting for my country; see me bleed, if the fate of war will have it so; and if I die, be sure to record my memory." This was the ambition of the northern nations. Lipsius observes, that it was the same with the first inhabitants of Spain, and for his purpose cites the following passage:

> ——————— ritu jam moris Iberi
> Carmina pulsata fundentem barbara cætra.

The war-song of the Canadians and the northern savages of America, has been mentioned in the books of all travellers in that part of the world. Charlevoix has given a full account of this wild preparation for battle, and Dr. Robertson has quoted the very words of an Indian war-song: "I go to revenge the death of my brothers; I shall kill, I shall exterminate, I shall burn, my enemies; I shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, and drink their blood; I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their sculls." The terms of a German war-song have not reached posterity. The collection by Charlemagne is totally lost. In those pieces we should, undoubtedly, have seen strong marks of ferocity; but the spirit of revenge that could eat the flesh of prisoners taken in battle, was unknown in Germany. The Scandinavians, when they were going to join battle, raised great shouts, clashed their arms together, invoked the name of ODIN, and sung hymns in his praise. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 237.

barbarous poetry they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song[6] produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chanting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs: it is rather a furious uproar; a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh, at intervals interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and by the repercussion bursting out with redoubled force. An opinion prevails among them, that Ulysses, in the course of those wanderings, which are so famous in poetic story, was driven into the Northern Ocean, and that, having penetrated into the country, he built, on the banks of the Rhine, the city of Asciburgium[7] which is inhabited at this day, and still retains the name given originally by the founder. It is further added, that an altar dedicated to Ulysses,[8] with the name of Laertes, his father, engraved upon it, was formerly discovered at Usciburgium. Mention is likewise made of certain monuments and tomb-stones, still to be seen on the confines of Germany and Rhætia, with epitaphs or inscriptions, in Greek characters. But these assertions it is not my intention either to establish or to refute; the reader will yield or withhold his assent, according to his judgment or his fancy.

IV. I have already acceded to the opinion of those, who think that the Germans have hitherto subsisted without intermarrying with other nations, a pure, unmixed, and independent race, unlike any other people, all bearing the marks of a distinct national character. Hence, what is very remarkable in such prodigious numbers, a family-likeness throughout the nation; the same form and feature,[9] stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour; thirst and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger.

V. The face of the country, though in some parts varied, presents a cheerless scene, covered with the gloom of forests, or deformed with wide extended marshes; towards the boundaries of Gaul, moist and swampy; on the side of Noricum[10] and Pannonia, more exposed to the fury

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6 Doctor Aikin has selected a passage from the life of Sir Ewen Cameron, which happily illustrates the ancient German opinion concerning the prophetic spirit of the war song. At the battle of Killicrankie, just before the flight began, Sir Ewen commanded such of the Camerons as were posted near him to make a great shout, which, being seconded by those who stood on the right and left, ran quickly through the whole army, and was returned by the enemy. But the noise of the muskets and cannon, with the echoing of the hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were louder and brisker than those of the enemy; and Lochiel cried out: "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is ours: I am the eldest commander in the army, and have always observed something ominous and fatal in such a dull, hollow, and feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout; which prognosticates, that they are all doomed to die by our hands this night; whereas ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and shows that we have vigour and courage." The event justified the prediction; the Highlanders obtained a complete victory.

7 The love of fabulous history, which was the passion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulysses wander in every sea. Tacitus mentions it as a romantic tale, but Strabo seems willing to countenance the fiction, and, for that purpose, gravely tells us that Ulysses founded a city, called Odyssey, in Spain. Lipsius observes, that Lisbon, in the time of Strabo, had the appellation of *Ulyssipo*, or *Olisipo*. He adds, that another learned antiquarian, from an altar-piece which was found in Caledonia, with an inscription in Greek letters, inferred that Ulysses, in the course of his voyages, landed on the coast of Scotland. To explode these idle reveries Lipsius pleasantly says, at this rate, what should hinder us inhabitants of the Low Countries from asserting that Ulysses built the city of *Ulyssinga* in the province of Zeland, and that *Circe* founded that of *Circzea* or *Ziriczes*?

8 Inscriptions on stone, marble, or brass, though cut in Greek characters, are a bad support of the systems advanced by theoretical writers. Tacitus has shown, *Annals*, xi. s. 14, that the use of alphabetical letters passed from the Phenicians into Greece, and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Marseilles. Cæsar relates, b. i. s. 21, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp, WRITTEN IN GREEK CHARACTERS, and containing a list of all (including old men, women, and children) who had set out in the expedition against the Roman army. In book vi. s. 13, he expressly says that the Druids did not commit their statutes to writing, but in all other matters made use of Greek characters. Those characters passed from Gaul into Germany, where Count Marsili and others have found several monuments with Greek inscriptions. The communication that subsisted between the Druids of Gaul and those of Britain, would easily convey the art of writing into this island.

9 This wonderful similitude throughout the whole race has been remarked by various authors. Juvenal has mentioned their yellow hair, their blue eyes, and other circumstances that made the whole nation appear to be one famil[illegible]

> Cærula quis stupuit Germani in mina? flavam
> Cæsariem, et magnæ formidatam corpora cæsarie?
> Nempe quod hæc illis natura est omnibus una.
> 13th *Sat.* v. 164.

Sidonius Apollinaris says, that, being in Germany, and finding the men so very tall, he could not address verses of six feet to patrons who were seven feet high.

> Spernit sculpedum stylum Thalia,
> Ex quo septipedes vidit patronos.

10 Noricum was bounded towards the north by the Danube, on the east by Pannonia, on the south by a range of the Alps, and on the west by the country of the Vindelici. It contained a great part of Austria and Bavaria.

of the winds. Vegetation thrives with sufficient vigour. The soil produces grain, but is unkind to fruit-trees;[1] well stocked with cattle, but of an under-size, and deprived by nature of the usual growth and ornament of the head. The pride of a German consists in the number of his flocks and herds: they are his only riches, and in these he places his chief delight. Gold and silver are withheld from them; is it by the favour or the wrath of Heaven? I do not, however, mean to assert[2] that in Germany there are no veins of precious ore; for who has been a miner in those regions? Certain it is, they do not enjoy the possession and use of those metals with our sensibility. There are, indeed, silver vessels to be seen amongst them, but they were presents to their chiefs or ambassadors; the Germans regard them in no better light than common earthenware. It is, however, observable, that near the borders of the empire, the inhabitants set a value upon gold and silver, finding them subservient to the purposes of commerce. The Roman coin is known in those parts, and some of our specie is not only current, but in request. In places more remote, the simplicity of ancient manners still prevails: commutation of property is their only traffic. Where money passes in the way of barter, our old coin is the most acceptable, particularly that which is indented at the edge, or stamped with the impression of a chariot and two horses, called SERRATI and BIGATI.[3] Silver is preferred to gold, not from caprice or fancy,[4] but because the inferior metal is of more expeditious use in the purchase of low-priced commodities.

VI. Iron does not abound in Germany,[5] if we may judge from the weapons in general use. Swords and large lances are seldom seen. The soldier grasps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his FRAM; an instrument tipped with a short and narrow piece of iron, sharply pointed, and so commodious, that, as occasion requires, he can manage it in close engagement, or in distant combat. With this, and a shield, the cavalry is completely armed. The infantry have an addition of missive weapons. Each man carries a considerable number, and, being naked, or, at least, not encumbered by his light mantle, he throws his weapon to a distance almost incredible. A German has no attention[6]

1 The Germans attended to nothing but the production of corn. Their country, like Canada, was covered over with immense tracts of forest, and, till the ground was cleared, and the cold, by consequence, abated of its rigour, cultivation could not be carried on with any kind of advantage.

2 Notwithstanding what is here said, we find, *Annals*, xi. s. 20, that Curtius Rufus opened a silver mine in the territory of the Mattiaci, now subject to the landgrave of Hesse; but it was soon exhausted.

3 The Romans began to coin silver A. U. C. 485. Their gold coin began in the year 587. On all their money, Victory was seen in a triumphal car, driving sometimes two horses, and sometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 3. The coin was indented round the edges like a saw, *serra*, and, for that reason, called *serrati*. Brotier says, he has seen several pieces of this old coin in the college library of Lewis the Fourteenth. Pliny tells us, that the Romans soon began to debase their coin, and to mix an alloy of brass with their silver. The emperors still debased it more. The Germans in all their money dealings suspected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, such as had a car with two or four horses, and the edge indented. The antiquarians have employed much learning on this subject; but the above short account (suggested by Brotier and La Bletterie) seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

4 It is remarkable that the Romans always exacted from the conquered nations a tribute of silver. Pliny the elder wonders at the fact, and adds that, when Hannibal was overthrown, and Carthage reduced to subjection, the Romans demanded an annual tribute of silver for the term of fifty years; but they made no mention of gold. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 13, and 15.

5 Abundance of iron was to be found in the bowels of the earth; but to extract it, to soften it by fire, and render it pliant and malleable, required more skill and patience than consisted with the rough genius of a savage race. Accordingly swords and javelins were not much in use. A spear tipped with iron, in their language called, as Brotier informs us, *freim*, or *priem*, was their weapon in almost all the battles recorded by Tacitus. From the word *friem* the Roman writer easily made the term *framea*, more consonant to the idiom of the Latin language. It appears in the *Annals*, book ii. s. 14, that those instruments of war were of an enormous size, and unwieldy in close engagement. The number was not sufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The rest carried short darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed stones were affixed to their weapons, and many of these Brotier says, have been discovered in German sepulchres. The *frem* of King Childeric was found in opening his monument.

6 The only covering of a German was a short mantle. Their soldiers, for the most part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embellishment of their shields, which we find, *Annals*, ii. s. 14, were not made of iron, but of ozier-twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. These shields were the delight of the German soldiers. They were, at first, the ensigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The warlike chief made it his study to adorn his shield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to distinguish his own martial prowess; and what in the beginning was merely personal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the descendants of particular families: and hence the origin of heraldry. The shield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breast-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two sorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *cassis*; the second of leather, called *galea*. It is true, that Plutarch, in the Life of Marius, giving an account of the irruption of the Cimbri, describes their helmets formed like the heads of ferocious animals, with high plumed crests. He also mentions their iron breast-plates. But this warlike apparatus was most probably acquired during their march into Italy. Vegetius wonders by what fatality it happened, that the Romans,

to the ornament of his person: his shield is the object of his care, and this he decorates with the liveliest colours. Breast-plates are uncommon. In a whole army you will not see more than one or two helmets. Their horses have neither swiftness nor elegance of shape, nor are they trained to the various evolutions of the Roman cavalry.[7] To advance in a direct line, or wheel suddenly to the right, is the whole of their skill, and this they perform in so compact a body, that not one is thrown out of his rank. According to the best estimate, the infantry form the national strength, and, for that reason, always fight intermixed with the cavalry.[8] The flower of their youth, able by their vigour and activity to keep pace with the movements of the horse, are selected for this purpose, and placed in the front of the lines. The number of these is fixed and certain: each canton sends a hundred, from that circumstance called HUNDREDERS[9] by the army. The name was at first numerical only: it is now a title of honour. Their order of battle presents the form of a wedge.[10] To give ground in the heat of action, provided you return to the charge, is military skill, not fear, or cowardice. In the most fierce and obstinate engagement, even when the fortune of the day is doubtful,[11] they make it a point to carry off their slain. To abandon their shield is a flagitious crime. The person guilty of it is interdicted from religious rites, and excluded from the assembly of the state. Many, who survived their honour on the day of battle, have closed a life of ignominy by a halter.

VII. The kings in Germany[12] owe their

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after having experienced the advantage of their armour during a space of twelve hundred years, from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Gratian, should at length abandon their ancient discipline, and, by laying aside their breast-plates and their helmets, put themselves on a level with the barbarians, who insulted them in every quarter. By this alteration they left themselves and the empire obnoxious to their enemies. See Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 11, s. 12.

7 The Roman art of managing the war-horse is beautifully described by Virgil, 3 *Georg.* v. 182. The reader who desires to know the skill with which the Romans vaulted on their horses and leaped off again, will find it at large in Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 18.

8 The German manner of intermixing the foot-soldiers with the cavalry is described by Julius Cæsar. Ariovistus, he says, had about six thousand horsemen, who chose a like number out of the foot, each his man, all remarkable for strength and agility. These accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the relief of the troops. If any horseman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If speed was required, either for hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, they were so nimble and alert by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their swiftest motion. Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. i. s. 48.

9 Germany was divided into states or communities, each state into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. So the Suevians were divided, according to Cæsar, book iv. s. 1. The Swiss at this day are divided into cantons. The division into hundreds was introduced into England by our Saxon ancestors. The hundreders in this country were a civil establishment; whereas in Germany they were a military institution, being so many select men, whose duty it was to mix with the cavalry in battle; and, therefore, in that country hundreder was a title of honour.

10 The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but lessen by degrees, and sharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy. The practice was universally in use among the Germans, and, accordingly, in the History of Tacitus, b. iv. s. 16, we find Civilis drawing up the Frisians, the Caninefates, and his own countrymen the Batavians, in three different wedges. Whoever has a mind to read more on this subject, will find a dissertation in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to edit. vol. xxv. p. 440.

11 To bring off his slaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his shield on the field of battle was the most flagitious crime. It continued to be so several years after the time Tacitus speaks of, since we find that a heavy fine was imposed by the Salic law on him who falsely accused another of that heinous offence. *Si quis ingenuus homo alio improperaverit, quod scutum suum jactasset, et in fuga lapsus fuisset, et non potuerit adprobare, D. C. den. culpabilis judicetur.* See the Salic Laws, tit. xxxiii. cap. 5.

12 The text in this place seems perfectly clear, though various writers, fond of a particular hypothesis, have endeavoured to perplex it. Some of those ingenious authors contend, that the kings in Germany were hereditary, and the general officers elective. But Tacitus says, *sumunt*, they take or choose, and he applies the word to kings as well as commanders in chief. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that in the election of kings they had regard to the nobility of an ancient race; but still they chose them. They chose, perhaps, out of certain families, and gave the preference to the issue of the deceased king: but it does not appear that they were bound by any law of inheritance. In Cæsar's account of the Germans there are some passages that seem to clash with Tacitus, or at least to create a difficulty. Germany, however, was new to Cæsar: he did not penetrate far into the country; and though a mind like his would take a wide survey of his subject, it cannot be supposed that, with all his accuracy, he gained complete information. He tells us, the Germans make choice of a chief to conduct their wars, and arm him with power of life and death: but in time of peace there is no public magistrate, all decisions being made by the leading men in their several districts. *Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello præsint, et vitæ necisque habeant potestatem, diliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum, inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuunt.* Book vi. s. 22. This may seem to imply that there was no king to rule over them. But this could not be Cæsar's meaning: he was well acquainted with Ariovistus, the German king, who made an irruption into Gaul. We shall see in the sequel of this tract, that, in some places towards the north, the kings were arbitrary; in others their authority was limited. If they happened to be distinguished by their exploits in war, the nation was willing to take the field under their

election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited;[1] the latter command more by warlike example than by their authority. To be of a prompt and daring spirit in battle, and to attack in the front of the lines, is the popular character of the chieftain: when admired for his bravery, he is sure to be obeyed. Jurisdiction is vested in the priests. It is theirs to sit in judgment upon all offences. By them, delinquents are put in irons, and chastised with stripes. The power of punishing is in no other hands.[2] When exerted by the priests, it has neither the air of vindictive justice, nor of military execution; it is rather a religious sentence, inflicted with the sanction of the god, who, according to the German creed, attends their armies on the day of battle. To impress on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field certain images and banners, taken from their usual depository, the religious groves.[3] A circumstance which greatly tends to inflame them with heroic ardour, is the manner in which their battalions are formed. They are neither mustered nor embodied by chance. They fight in clans, united by consanguinity, a family

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auspices; if not, they chose a commander famous for his martial spirit. We read in Tacitus (*History* iv. s. 15.) the manner of choosing a general: he was placed on a shield, and carried on the shoulders of the men, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the army. Gregory de Tours informs us, that kings among the Franks were chosen in the same manner. His words are, *Plaudentes tam parmis quam vocibus* CLODOVECHUM, *clypeo evectum super se regem constituunt.* Lib. ii. s. 40. The celebrated Abbe Vertot, in his Parallel between the Manners of the Germans and the Franks, who founded the French monarchy, finds in the election of a chief to preside in war, the origin of the *maires du palais*, who, at one time, had so much weight and power throughout France. The Franks, he says, after the example of their German ancestors, reserved the right of choosing their general, and the king was bound to confirm his authority. Occasionally they chose their king to lead them to the field of battle. Clovis is a proof of this fact. He united in himself the royal prerogative, and the authority of commander in chief. Under Clotaire, the second king of the western part of France, the elective general, or *maire du palais*, was suppressed, but soon revived again under the following monarchs. In the reign of Clovis II. the people continued to choose their commanders in chief, and that extraordinary power was exercised in a manner wholly independent of the sovereign, and often dangerous to his title. See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 627. It will not be improper to insert here the substance of Montesquieu's opinion on this subject:—A government, under which a nation, who had a king on the throne, elected an officer invested with all the powers of royalty, must be thought an extraordinary phenomenon in politics: but, upon inquiry, it will be found that the Franks, who established the French monarchy, derived their notions of government from an ancient source. They were descended from the Germans, who in the choice of a king were determined by his nobility, and in that of their leader by his valour. Here we behold the kings of the first race, and the mayors of the palace. No doubt but some of the princes, who with a martial spirit offered to conduct a warlike enterprise, were accepted by the voice of the people, and, being thus confirmed, they exercised both the royal and military power. But those two branches of authority were often separated. In order thoroughly to understand the genius of the Franks, we need only to recollect the conduct of Arbogastes, a Frank by nation, to whom Valentinian committed the command of his army. He confined the prince in his own palace, and suffered no man to confer with him on the subject of affairs, civil or military. *Spirit of Laws*, book xxxi. chap. 4. The savage tribes of America often afford a striking resemblance of German manners: and accordingly we read in Charlevoix—The army has often at its head the chief of the nation or town; but he must first have distinguished himself by some signal action of bravery; if not, he is obliged to serve as a subaltern. See his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

1 Cæsar says, that Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a German nation, described his authority so limited, that, though he governed, the people in their turn gave laws to the prince. *Sua esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 27. We read in Vertot, that the Franks, when they passed over the Rhine and settled in Gaul, carried with them the same ideas of government. Their kings were invested with high authority, but were, at the same time, restrained by laws which they did not dare to violate. As a proof of this, he tells us that Clovis, having gained a victory over Syagrius, the Roman general wanted to present to a bishop a sacred vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town: but one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the cup with his battle-axe, declaring with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared by lot, and the king himself had no better right. *Nihil hinc accipies, nisi quæ tibi sors vera largitur.* See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 627. See also Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 254. The same spirit of independence prevails among the North-American savages. See Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

2 The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who, according to Cæsar, book vi. s. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. La Bletterie observes, that in modern times the stroke of justice, committed always to the base and profligate, is well-nigh rendered odious. The ancient Germans seem to have been of opinion, that the life of man, whenever taken away, should be a sacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely submit to the severity of human institutions.

3 The figure of savage animals were deemed religious symbols; see Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 12. It was also a custom to deposit the standards taken from the enemy in their sacred groves, *Annals*, b. i. s. 59. These they carried with them to their wars. In like manner the Canadians have symbolic figures of their gods, which they call their *Manitous*. They take care, when going to battle, to carry with them those objects of superstition, and would as soon forget their arms. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

of warriors. Their tenderest pledges[4] are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of his wife, and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives: undismayed at the sight, the women count each honourable scar, and suck the gushing blood. They are even hardy enough to mix with the combatants, administering refreshment, and exhorting them to deeds of valour.

VIII. From tradition, they have a variety of instances of armies put to the rout, and by the interposition of their wives and daughters again incited to renew the charge. Their women saw the ranks give way, and rushing forward in the instant, by the vehemence of their cries and supplications, by opposing[5] their breasts to danger, and by representing the horrors of slavery, restored the order of the battle. To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable. In consequence of this prevailing sentiment, the states, which deliver as hostages the daughters of illustrious families, are bound by the most effectual obligation. There is in their opinion, something sacred in the female sex,[6] and even the power of foreseeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently consulted, and their responses are deemed oracular. We have seen, in the reign of Vespasian, the famous Veleda[7]

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4 The Germans felt themselves inflamed with enthusiastic ardour, when their wives and children surveyed the field of battle. Many instances of this occur in Tacitus. See *History*, b. iv. s. 18. In the engagement between Cæsar and Ariovistus, the Germans encompassed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of safety by flight; and their women, mounted upon those carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured their soldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans. Cæsar, b. i. s. 51. The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, prepared for the decisive action in the same manner. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 34. Galgacus, in his speech before the last battle for liberty, tells the Caledonians, that the advantage of having wives and children was on their side, whereas the Romans had no such pledges to excite their valour. *Life of Agricola*, s. 32. The manners of ancient chivalry seem to be derived from this German origin. The fair helped to disarm the knight returning from his adventures: they praised his valour, and dressed his wounds. See a dissertation on this subject. *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xx.

5 We have in Florus a lively description of the undaunted courage with which the German women opposed the enemy in the day of battle. After stating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the historian says, that the conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished. In their carts and waggons they formed a line of battle, and from their elevated situation, as from so many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial spirit. Finding that all was lost, they sent a deputation to Marius, desiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themselves in a religious order. Their request, in its nature impracticable, being refused, they strangled their children, and either destroyed themselves in one scene of mutual slaughter, or, with the sashes that bound up their hair, hung suspended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their waggons. Florus, book iii. ch. 3. See also Valerius Maximus, book vi. ch. 1. That the women were esteemed by the German nations as their dearest pledges, is confirmed by Suetonius, who relates, that Augustus Cæsar demanded from the conquered tribes a new sort of hostages, namely, their women; because he found, by experience, that they did not much regard their male hostages. Sueton. *Life of Augustus*, s. 21.

6 Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Virtues of the Female Sex, relates, that a dispute arose among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they passed over the Alps, so fierce and violent, that nothing but the decision of the sword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occasion rushed between the two armies, and determined the question with such good sense, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women to their consultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæsar inquired of the prisoners why Ariovistus declined an engagement, he found that it was the custom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared against coming to action before the new moon. Cæsar, book i. s. 50. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their husbands in the invasion of Italy, there were several who had the gift of prophecy, and marched barefooted in the midst of the lines, distinguished by their grey hairs and milk-white linen robes. Strabo, book vii. Tacitus in his History observes, that most of the German women were considered as prophetesses, and, in particular, that *Veleda* was worshipped as a goddess. *Hist.* book iv. s. 61 and 65. La Bletterie observes, that till the final extinction of paganism, the same superstition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of setting out on his expedition against Germany, that he would never return. We are further told by Pomponius Mela, that, in an island on the coast of Brittany, there was an ancient oracle, where nine virgins attended as priestesses, and issued the responses. Besides their prescience of futurity, they had the power to imprison the winds, or by their incantations to raise storms and tempests. Pomp. Mela, book iii. c. 6. The influence of the Canadian women may be seen in Charlevoix. He says, to take up the hatchet, is to declare war; and nothing can be said against it, unless it be among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons command or prohibit a war, as seems good unto them. Charlevoix, letter xiii.

7 Veleda was a prophetess of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of Civilis the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. Cerealis, when he had gained a decisive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing so much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance of Veleda, and her influence on the German mind. We see him, for that reason, in the History of Tacitus, b. v. s. 24, endeavouring to draw her over to his interest. And yet with all her boasted knowledge she was blind to her own fate. We learn from Statius, that she was made a captive by Rutilius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herself before the emperor Vespasian. Hence

revered as a divinity by her countrymen. Before her time, Aurinia and others were held in equal veneration; but a veneration founded on sentiment and superstition, free from that servile adulation which pretends to people heaven with human deities.

IX. Mercury is the god[1] chiefly adored in Germany. On stated days they think it lawful to offer to him human victims. They sacrifice to Hercules and Mars[2] such animals as are

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Tacitus says, *vidimus Veledam, we saw Veleda.* Statius, after being, in his congratulatory style, lavish of his compliments to his friend Rutilius Gallicus, for his great success in Asia and Africa, touches at last on his victorious arms in Germany, and the captivity of Veleda.

> Non vacat Arctoas acies, Rhenumque rebellem,
> *Captivaque prævo Veleda*, et (quæ maxima nuper
> Gloria) depositam Dacis perventibus urbem
> Pandere. *Statius, Sylv.* lib. i. poem. iv. v. 89.

1 This passage has afforded a large field of discussion, in which various writers have expatiated, as fancy, or the love of an hypothesis, happened to dictate. Cæsar tells us, that the Germans have no Druids to preside in religious affairs; nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whose power they are apparently benefited; the sun, the moon, fire. Of other gods they knew nothing, not even by report, *De Bell. Gall.* b. vi. s. 20. On the other hand, the same author informs us, that the Gauls worshipped Mercury as the inventor of all useful arts, and the tutelary patron of commerce; and also Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Book vi. s. 16. But if it be true, according to the same eminent writer, that the Gauls in ancient times exceeded the Germans in bravery, and often passed over the Rhine to wage war in that country, it cannot be supposed that the Germans never heard of other gods. Mars, we find, was worshipped by the Gauls; but as he was a Scythian god, as Virgil has it, *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis*, it is highly improbable that a people, who were of Scythian origin, should not have heard of the God of War. It is to be regretted that Cæsar did not give us the Celtic names of the several deities worshipped in Gaul, and also the names in use among the Germans. Harsh as those terms might be, a Latin termination would have softened them into a milder sound. Thus we have *man* and *herth* changed by Tacitus into MANNUS and HERTHUM. Schedius, *de Diis Germanis* (an author, whose elaborate work has been lately put into the present writer's hands by his excellent and learned friend Dr. Charles Burney,) expressly says, that TEUTATES was the Roman MERCURY, and HESUS, MARS. For his authority he cites Lactantius, book i. c. 21, who observes, that the Gauls propitiated those gods by human sacrifices. *Hesum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant.* Lucan speaks to the same purpose:

> Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> *Teutates* horrensque feris altaribus *Hesus.*
> *Lucan*, lib. i. v. 444.

> And you, where *Hesus'* horrid altar stands,
> And dire *Teutates* human blood demands.
> *Rowe's Lucan.*

In some resemblance of the attributes ascribed to HESUS and TEUTATES, the Greeks and Romans saw Mars and Mercury, and thence inferred that their own modes of worship extended to barbarous nations. But the natural religion of rude illiterate ages owed its birth to the passions and superstitious fears of an ignorant multitude.

> ——— tantum terroribus addit
> Quæ timent, non nosse Deos.
>
> The zealous crowds in ignorance adore,
> And still, the less they know, they fear the more.
> *Rowe's Lucan*, book ii.

The idea of one God, the governing mind of the universe, was unknown to the pagan world. The most savage nations had a notion of an invisible power; but being left to their own uninstructed fancy, polytheism was the consequence. They analysed the Deity, decompounded his essence, personified his attributes, and made new gods for every thing that they wished or feared. All had a sense of a superior Being; but not being able to ascribe omnipotence to one God, they multiplied the number, and distributed the administration of the universe among various deities, assigning to each his separate province, his distinct attributes, and peculiar character. The theology of Greece and Rome sprung out of the wants, the fears, and passions of a savage race, and, in process of time, those nations adorned and polished the rude invention of their ancestors. Their genius gave the graces of poetry to every fiction, and their mythology was rendered elegant. Other nations, who made no advances in science, formed their system of polytheism in the same manner, and, as was natural, deified the same attributes. And thus, as Hume observes in his *History of Natural Religion*, "The Greek and Roman travellers and conquerors, without much difficulty, found their own deities every where, and said, This is MERCURY, that VENUS; this is MARS, that NEPTUNE; by whatever title the strange gods might be denominated. The goddess HERTHA of our Saxon ancestors seems to be no other, according to Tacitus, than the MATER TELLUS of the Romans." According to this doctrine, we see in the tract on the *German Manners*, s. 43, that under the name of *Alcis* Tacitus found that the people worshipped CASTOR and POLLUX. In this sense the Roman historians are to be understood, when they tell us, that savage nations worshipped Mars, and Venus, and Minerva. Under barbarous appellations they worshipped invisible powers, to whom they gave distinct functions, as the Romans did in their own religious system. It is therefore to be wished that Cæsar had collected the names ascribed by the Germans to their gods. In that case the seeming variance between him and Tacitus would, most probably, vanish. But Cæsar was engaged in an important war with Ariovistus, and he did not pierce far into Germany. See s. 43, note.

2 Human victims were offered to Mercury (or HESUS) as the chief of the German gods, and, according to the text, certain animals were sacrificed to Mars and Hercules. There is, however, reason to think that Mercury was a principal deity, since we find, in a quarrel between the Cattians and Hermundurians, that both armies devoted the vanquished, their men, and horses, and whatever was taken, as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. *Annals*, b. xiii. s. 57. In the *History*, b. iv. s. 64, Mars is called the principal deity. The Germans were of Scythian origin, and, of course, retained much of the manners of their ancestors. See Herodotus, book iv. The Celtic nations offered human victims to their gods, and, accordingly, Cæsar tells us, that the same horrible superstition prevailed among the Gauls. In threatening distempers or imminent dangers, they made no scruple

usually slain in honour of the gods. In some parts of the country of the Suevians, the worship of Isis[3] is established. To trace the introduction of ceremonies, which had their growth in another part of the world, were an investigation for which I have no materials: suffice it to say, that the figure of a ship (the symbolic representation of the goddess) clearly shows that the religion was imported into the country. Their deities are not immured in temples, nor represented under any kind of resemblance to the human form. To do either, were, in their opinion,[4] to derogate from the majesty of superior beings. Woods and groves[5] are the sacred depositories; and the

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to sacrifice human victims, and made use of the ministry of their Druids for that purpose. They put the victims alive into a colossus of osier twigs, and all within expired in the flames. Convicts for theft, robbery, or other crimes, were thought most acceptable to the gods, and, when real criminals were not to be found, the innocent were made to suffer. Cæsar, book vi. s. 15. Pliny informs us, that men were sacrificed by the Romans as late as the year of Rome, 657, when a decree was passed, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Crassus, forbidding the practice of human sacrifices. And thus, says Pliny, the world was obliged to the humanity of the Romans, who abolished the horrible ceremonies, in which it was pronounced to be a religious duty to sacrifice a man, and even wholesome to eat his flesh. And yet the same writer tells us, lib. 28, that the mischief was so far from being cured by the decree of the senate, that he saw a Greek man and woman buried alive at Rome. Plutarch speaks of the same barbarity in his own time, inflicted on a native Gaul. La Bletterie relates from Vopiscus, that, in the year of the christian æra 270, Aurelian, to induce the senate to consult the Sibylline books, offered a number of prisoners, of whatever nation they should choose, to be sacrificed on that occasion. After that fact, he says, let man boast of his reason, and with presumption say, that he stood in no need of revelation.

3 A Liburnian galley was the name given by the Romans to a ship built after the model which they borrowed from the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. The service performed by those galleys in the battle of Actium is well known. Horace addresses an ode to Mæcenas, when he was setting out with Augustus on that expedition:

> Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
> Amice, propugnacula.
>
> *Horace*, book v. ode i.

How Isis came to be worshipped by the Suevians in the form of a ship, may be accounted for. That goddess was deemed the inventress of navigation. The superstition and religious ceremonies of the Egyptians were diffused over Asia, Greece, and the rest of Europe. Brotier says, that inscriptions to Isis and Serapis have been frequently found in Germany. But whether a Liburnian galley ever arrived in the Baltic, and whether the Suevians heard of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, may be made a question. The Germans thought, like the rest of the pagan world, that some preternatural power presided over every thing useful in human life. Imagination created a goddess of Navigation, and as the human form was never assigned to the German deities, they worshipped the tutelar saint of the seafaring life under the symbol of a ship. This was sufficient foundation for saying that the Egyptian Isis was adored in Germany. See two dissertations on this subject, *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. v. p. 63.

4 It may be assumed as a fact, that the Germans, at the time when Tacitus wrote his Treatise, had no representation of their gods in the human shape. Statuaries and artists did not fix their residence in those regions. It is certain, however, that in process of time, images and statues abounded in Germany. The missioners, who went in the eighth and ninth centuries to propagate the christian religion in those parts, saw many images and statues of their gods. That mode of idolatry was, however, far from being established. The people persisted, for a long time, to observe the institutions of their ancestors, till the council of Francfort, by order of Charlemagne, decided, that images should be admitted into churches, to serve as books for the vulgar and ignorant. It is true that Tacitus, *Annals*, i. s. 51, mentions the temple of TANFAN; but it does not appear that any images or statues of the gods were there immured.

5 Groves devoted to superstition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, ii. s. 12, of a wood sacred to Hercules. The forest of BARDUHENNA occurs, *Annals*, iv. s. 73; and in the *History*, iv. s. 14, Tacitus describes a sacred grove. Claudian, in his Panegyric on Stilico, congratulates his hero, that by his means the Hercynian Forest, which, before that time, had been made a gloomy desert by superstition, was converted into a place for the sports and pleasures of man, where he might pursue the chase, and hew the venerable oaks as his occasion required:

> Ut procul Hercyniæ pervasta silentia sylvæ
> Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetusta
> Religione truces, et robora, numinis instar
> Barbarici, nostra feriant impune securis.
>
> Claudian, lib. i.

Lucan's description of a sacred grove near Marseilles, in the third book of the Pharsalia, is well known to the classic scholar. The rites of a barbarous worship, and the impression made on the mind by the gloom of a thick forest, are there displayed with a masterly hand; but, perhaps, Seneca has given the philosophical and true reason. He says, If you enter a dark wood, where high embowering trees exclude the light of the sun, the prodigious growth and lofty majesty of the wood, the solitude of the place, and the deep impenetrable gloom, all conspire to impress an awful stillness, and to fill the mind with ideas of the invisible power of a superior Being. *Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus, et solitam altitudinem egressis, frequens lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum submovens; illà proceritas silvæ, et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ fidem tibi numinis facit.* Seneca, epist. 41. The younger Pliny (epist. 12.) says more concisely, We adore the gloom of woods, and the silence that reigns around us. *Lucos, atque in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.* The same effect in a Gothic church is finely described in Congreve's Mourning Bride:

> No, all is hush'd, and still as death:—'tis dreadful!
> How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
> To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
> By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
> Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
> And terror on my aching sight.

spot being consecrated to those pious uses, they give to that sacred recess the name of the divinity that fills the place, which is never profaned by the steps of man. The gloom fills every mind with awe; revered at a distance, and never seen but with the eye of contemplation.

X. Their attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots,[1] is conducted with a degree of superstition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully simple. The branch of a fruit-tree is cut into small pieces, which, being all distinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a question of public interest be depending, the priest of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the master of the family [2] officiates. With fervent prayers offered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raised to heaven, he holds up three times each segment of the twig, and as the marks rise in succession, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavourable, there ends all consultation for that day: if, on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the sanction of auspices. The well-known superstition, which in other countries consults the flight and notes of birds, is also established in Germany; but to receive intimation of future events from horses [3] is the peculiar credulity of the country. For this purpose a number of milk-white steeds, unprofaned by mortal labour, is constantly maintained at the public expense, and placed to pasture in the religious groves. When occasion requires, they are harnessed to a sacred chariot, and the priest, accompanied by the king, or chief of the state, attends to watch the motions and the neighing of the horses. No other mode of augury is received with such implicit faith by the people, the nobility, and the priesthood. The horses, upon these solemn occasions, are supposed to be the organs of the gods, and the priests their favoured interpreters. They have still another way of prying into futurity, to which they have recourse, when anxious to know the issue of an important war. They seize, by any means in their power, a captive [4] from the adverse nation, and commit him in single combat with a champion selected from their own army. Each is provided with weapons after the manner of his country, and the victory, wherever it falls, is deemed a sure prognostic of the event.

XI. In matters of inferior moment the chiefs decide;[5] important questions are reserved for

1 The Scythians, according to Herodotus, book iv. had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were used is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. of Denmark*, book xiv. who says, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their bosoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting success, and the latter adverse fortune. La Bletterie says, the law of the Frisians shows that the people, even after they were converted to christianity, still retained this form of divination. The words of the law are, *Tali de virga præcisi, quos* TENOS *vocant; Teene* in German, or *Tan* in Anglo Saxon, signifying pieces of the young branch of a tree. See the explanation of TANFAN, *Annals*, b. i. s. 51, note.

2 Cæsar says, b. i. s. 50, that, among the Gauls, the matrons of the family presided to decide by lots and divination. The case, undoubtedly, was the same in Germany.

3 Instances of this superstition are recorded among the Persians. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horse. Herodotus, b. iii. The same author, b. i. mentions a number of white horses, considered as sacred by Cyrus and his army. Justin relates the election of Darius in the following manner: The competitors for the regal diadem, agreed that, on a stated day, the horses of the several candidates should be drawn out before the palace, and he, whose horse was first heard neighing, should be chosen king. The reason of this ceremony was the persuasion of the Persians, who believed the sun to be the only god, and that all horses were consecrated to him. Justin, b. i. s. 18. In the isle of Rugen a priest took auspices from a white horse, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, b. xiv.

4 Montesquieu observes, that this was the origin of duelling, and also of the heroic madness of knight-errantry. It was considered by the superstition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every species of injury. To modify so savage a custom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magistrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was established, and with more eagerness, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witnesses and *compurgators* were obliged to support their evidence by the decision of the sword. Ecclesiastics, women, minors, the aged and infirm, could not be expected to enter the list, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The custom in England was called *wager of battle*. The form of proceeding is stated on good authority by the late Judge Blackstone. That elegant writer had the merit of converting the thorny study of the law into a branch of polite literature. In his hands, *feret et rubus asper amomum*. By him we are told, that the last trial by battle, that was joined in a civil suit, was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, and was held in Tothill-fields, where Sir Henry Spelman was a witness of the ceremony. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 338. In Rushworth's collection, ann. 1631; 7th Car. I. there is a long account of the proceeding preparatory to a trial by battle in the court of chivalry; but his majesty, in the end, revoked his letters patent, not being willing to have the cause decided by duel. This remnant of German manners, though fallen into disuse, is not entirely abolished at this day. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 341. See Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 59.

5 Montesquieu is of opinion, that in this Treatise on the Manners of the Germans an attentive reader may trace the origin of the British constitution. That beautiful system, he says, was found in the forests of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xi. ch. 6. The SAXON WITTENAGEMOT was, beyond all doubt, an improved political institution, grafted on the rights exercised by the people

the whole community. Yet even in those cases where all have a voice, the business is discussed and prepared by the chiefs. The general assembly, if no sudden alarm calls the people together, has its fixed and stated periods, either at the new or full moon.[6] This is thought the season most propitious to public affairs. Their account of time differs from that of the Romans: instead of days they reckon the number of nights.[7] Their public ordinances are so dated; and their proclamations run in the same style. The night, according to them, leads the day. Their passion for liberty is attended with this ill consequence: when a public meeting is announced, they never assemble at the stated time. Regularity would look like obedience: to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three days are lost in delay. When they think themselves sufficiently numerous, the business begins. Each man takes his seat,[8] completely armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who still retain their coercive authority. The king,[9] or chief of the community, opens the debate: the rest are heard in their turn, according to age, nobility of descent, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictates to the assembly: he may persuade, but cannot command. When any thing is advanced not agreeable to the people, they reject it with a general murmur. If the proposition pleases, they brandish their javelins: This is their highest and most honourable mark of applause: they assent in a military manner, and praise by the sound of their arms.

XII. In this council of the state, accusations are exhibited, and capital offences prosecuted. Pains and penalties are proportioned to the nature of the crime. For treason and desertion,[10]

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in their country. *Annals*, b. iv. s. 33, note. The author of the European Settlements in America says, "The Indians meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion, to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary war-songs, or to commemorate the dead. These councils are public. Here they propose all such matters as concern the state, which have already been digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head men assist." *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 177.

6 The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs has been a notion adopted by the credulity and superstition of every age and nation. Ariovistus, according to Julius Cæsar, book i. s. 50, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon. The commentator on the passage in Cæsar adds, that by a law of Lycurgus the Spartan army was not to take the field before the full moon; and Vespasian, to take advantage of religious prejudices, attacked the Jews on the sabbath-day. See in the *Annals*, b. i. s. 28, a panic in the army, occasioned by an eclipse of the moon. The elder Pliny, b. ii. s. 99, sets forth the extravagant powers attributed to the same planet. In this enlightened age some traces of the same superstition still remain.

7 The Gauls, we find in Cæsar, b. vi. s. 17, computed the time by nights, not by days. Vestiges of this custom still remain in Germany and in Britain. We say *se'nnight* and *fortnight*; last Monday *se'nnight*, this day *fortnight*. By the Salic law, *title* 49, the time allowed for appearing in court was computed by nights instead of days. Chambers, in his Dictionary, tells us, that in a council held in this island, ann. 824, a cause was heard after thirty nights: *finita contentione coram episcopo; post triginta noctes illud juramentum ad Westminster deductum est.*

8 In the excellent translation of Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, we see the same custom observed by the Danes. They still show the places where they chose their kings, their generals, and also deliberated on the most important affairs. There are remaining three monuments of this custom, the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland. "These monuments, whose rude bulk has preserved them from the ravages of time, are vast unhewn stones, twelve in number, set upright and placed in the form of a circle. In the middle is a stone much larger than the rest, on which they made a seat for their king. The other stones served as a barrier to keep off the populace. The principal chiefs mounted on those stones, and with a loud voice delivered their opinions; then the soldiers, who stood in crowds about them, signified their approbation or assent by clashing their shields together in a kind of cadence, or by raising certain shouts." Stonehenge is said to be a monument of the same custom. See Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, p. 95. Brotier sees in those conventions the origin of the assemblies, called, under the Merovingian race of French kings, *Les Champs de Mars*, the Fields of March; under the Carlovingian, *Les Champs de Mai*, the Fields of May; and finally, *Les Etats Generaux*, the States General. In Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 15, Civilis is applauded by the clangour of arms; and Vercingetorix, after haranguing the soldiers, receives the approbation of the army, signified by striking their lances against their swords. Cæsar, b. vii. s. 21.

9 From this it is evident that all the states of Germany were not governed by kings. The chief of the community implies a republican magistrate. The word *civitas* does not mean a city, but a state, a people, a body politic. In those states, where all important matters were discussed by the people in their collective body, no wonder that the man who possessed the powers of persuasion should be the leading demagogue. The oratory of the savage was unpolished, but it was animated by the emotions of the heart; and the heart is the source of forcible and commanding eloquence. Charlevoix seems never better pleased than when he talks of the pathos and energy of his American orators; and the author of the European Settlements in America says, 'Their orators are employed in all the public councils, and there display those talents which distinguish them for eloquence and knowledge of public business; in both of which some of them are admirable. The chief skill of the orators consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold and figurative manner, much stronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive.' *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 178.

10 The Salic law imposed a pecuniary penalty on such as took down a convict still alive from the tree or gibbet on which he was suspended. Even the dead body was not to be cut down without permission from the judge. A fine was paid for this offence.

the sentence is to be hanged on a tree: the coward, and such as are guilty of unnatural practices,[1] are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. In these different punishments, the point and spirit of the law is, that crimes which affect the state may be exposed to public notoriety: infamous vice[2] cannot be too soon buried in oblivion. He, who is convicted of transgressions of an inferior nature,[3] pays a mulct of horses, or of cattle. Part of that fine goes to the king,[4] or the community, and part to the

1 The cowards here intended were, most probably, those who offered to attend a chief to the wars as his faithful followers, and afterwards deserted. Men of that description were accounted infamous. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman who was summoned to defend his country against a foreign invasion, and refused to carry arms in that pressing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital crime, and suffered as a traitor. Among the Canadians, the man who attaches himself to a leader, and, having sung the war song, refuses to perform his engagement, is never safe from the indignation of his countrymen; at least, he is disgraced for ever. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

2 The Germans distinguished the crimes which were prejudicial to the state, such as treason and desertion, from cowardice, which they ranked with those unnatural passions that ought never to be heard of in society. The enemy of his country was punished as a public example. Private vices, in themselves base and flagitious, were considered as disgraceful to the guilty, not as an extensive mischief, and therefore swept away from the notice and memory of man. Ignominious offenders were suffocated in mud, and their bodies were concealed from sight, to be forgotten as soon as possible. This distinction of crimes and punishments continued so long, that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved false to her husband, was in like manner put to death in the mud. *Si qua mulier, maritum suum, cui legitime juncta est, dimiserit, necetur in luto. Burgundian Laws*, tit. xxxiv. This practice of the Germans calls to mind the punishment for parricide among the ancient Romans. The person convicted of that crime was hooded, as unworthy of the common light; sewed up alive in a sack, with an ape, a dog, and a cock; and, in that condition, thrown into the sea, or into the next lake or river. Cicero has described this mode of punishment. The parricide, he says, was sewed in a sack, that he, who murdered the author of his being, should no longer enjoy the elements, by which all things are formed. The law would not condemn him to be devoured by wild beasts, lest the nature of the animals should be rendered still more ferocious; nor was it deemed proper to throw him naked into the next river, lest, when wafted into the sea, his body should pollute the waves, that purified all things from infection. In this manner the criminal was suffered to live, as long as possible, without the open air; and he was left to die in such a way, that his bones never touched the earth. *Insui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque ita in flumen dejici; ut qui eum necasset unde ipse natus esset, careret iis rebus omnibus, ex quibus omnia nata esse dicuntur. Noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne bestiis quoque, quæ tantum scelus attigissent, immaniaribus uteremur; non sic nudos in flumen dejicere, ne, cum delati essent in mare, ipsum polluerent, quo cætera, quæ violata sunt, expiari putantur. Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant; ita moriuntur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat.* See the whole passage, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.*

3 In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries, were included. See this Tract, s. 21. The laws, which the Germans established in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and overran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, issuing from their woods and marshes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuse them into all the laws established in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will soon perceive, that in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether to the quantity of the damage, the malice expressed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the person injured. Brotier, in his note on this passage, has given a variety of instances with his usual accuracy. The whole would draw this note into too great a length. A few examples will be sufficient. For stealing a sucking calf, a fine, besides the real value, and the expense of the suit, was imposed by the Salic law, *De Furtis Animalium*, tit. iii. For stealing a bull the fine was greater, and for the king's bull still more. For a dog of the chase, a considerable sum. Knives were of great value with a people unskilled in the mechanic arts. By the Salic law, he who stole a knife, was obliged to make restitution, and to pay a penalty. Horses were almost inestimable among the Saxons, and, accordingly, by their law, *De Furtis*, tit. iv. horse-stealing was made a capital crime; a circumstance the more singular, as a composition was allowed for homicide. By the Salic law, theft had its different shades of guilt; such as stealing from the outside of the house, from the inside, and if the offender entered by a counterfeit key, the penalty increased. If he broke in, and then fled and stole nothing, he was fined for the damage done by the forcible entry. The bare attempt to commit a crime was in some instances punished. If a man intending to give a mortal wound, missed his blow, the Salic law fined him for the malice expressed. For fracturing a skull, the penalty was considerable, and still greater if the bone exfoliated, and the brain was laid open. By the Salic and Ripuarian laws, homicide had different degrees of guilt, and the composition varied accordingly. For killing a barbarian the fine was moderate; for killing a man, and concealing the body, the punishment was higher, and still increased, if the person slain was sunk in a well, or thrown into a pond. The ranks of men were also taken into consideration. If a freeman killed a freeman; if a Ripuarian killed a Frank, or a Burgundian, he paid the sums established by the law; but the value of a Roman was fixed at a lower rate. Many more examples might be added; but these short hints will serve to show from what source the German emigrants derived their notion of crimes and punishments. The fine in Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country: but in process of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, instead of the penal sum, called the weregild, the composition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

4 The part allotted to the king by the Salic law was called the *fredum*, i. e. *pax*, a payment to the king as conservator of the public peace, by preventing private vengeance for the injury received. Montesquieu sees in this passage the origin of the *fiscal* revenue, or the king's *exchequer*. He observes further, that, when a

person injured, or to his family. It is in these assemblies that princes are chosen[5] and chiefs elected to act as magistrates in the several cantons of the state. To each of these judicial officers, assistants are appointed from the body of the people, to the number of a hundred, who attend to give their advice, and strengthen the hands of justice.

XIII. A German transacts no business, public or private, without being completely armed.[6] The right of carrying arms is assumed by no person whatever, till the state has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the assembly, where one of the chiefs, or his father, or some near relation, provides him[7] with a shield and javelin. This, with them, is the manly gown;[8] the youth from that moment ranks as a citizen; till then he was considered as part of the household; he is now a member of the commonwealth. In honour of illustrious birth, and to mark the sense men entertain of the father's merit, the son, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have signalized themselves by a spirit of enterprise, have always a number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers, or companions.[9] A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that consists his dignity;[10] to be surrounded by a band of

man was killed by accident, or what is called chance-medley, no *fredum* was paid to the king, because for involuntary homicide no vengeance could be demanded by the friends of the deceased. If a man was killed by the fall of a piece of wood, no *fredum* was paid, but the piece of wood was forfeited, as was likewise the beast that occasioned the death of a man. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. c. 20. From these early institutions, all flowing from the German manners, the origin of DEODANDS, well known in our English law, may be clearly seen.

5 The whole country of Germany was divided into different states. In some of these monarchy was established, and in others the republican form of government. The former submitted to kings; the latter had their chiefs. The case was the same with the American savages. An eminent writer says, Though some tribes are found in America, with a head, whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracies, have no more power. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 176. In Germany, the leader of armies was elective. In each state or tribe the divisions were, 1st. the people; 2dly, the cantons, or shires, as they are called in Britain; 3dly, the VICI, or hundreds. Magistrates were chosen in general conventions of the people, to preside in the several cantons and hundreds. Cæsar, who seems to contradict this, knew that the commander in war had no authority in time of peace; and thence, perhaps, arose his mistake. Tacitus expressly says, that there were magistrates in the several cantons and hundreds; and his account of the matter seems to be confirmed by the law made by the descendants of the German tribes, directing that, *according to ancient custom*, an assembly of the people should be convened before the chief, or COMES, or his deputy, and that pleas should be held by the hundredor. *Conventus* SECUNDUM ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, *fiat in omni* CENTENA *coram* COMITE, *aut suo* MISSO, *et coram* CENTENARIO *placitum fiat. Leges Alamannorum*, tit. xxxvi. lex. 1.

6 The custom of wearing swords on all occasions prevailed in every country where the Germans took possession. That the magistrates never went armed, is to be ascribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, presided in the courts of justice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their swords but in time of war, or upon a journey.

7 This seems to be the origin of CHIVALRY, that famous institution, which spread over the greatest part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a sword with great pomp and solemnity to his son prince Lewis. La Bletterie says, that a ceremony, little different from that now before us, is still subsisting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has passed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he served gives a grand entertainment, and, in the presence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a sword on his side, and sometimes makes him a present of a horse. This is called *giving the right to carry arms*. Brotier observes, that the sons of kings often received a present of arms from a foreign state; and, in conformity to that custom, AUDOIN, after a signal victory, was desired by the Lombards to admit his son, who had signalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the same table with his father; but the conqueror made answer, that it could not be till the young prince received a sword from some foreign potentate. Warnefrid, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, lib. i. s. 23.

8 When the young men of Rome attained the age of seventeen years, they changed their dress, called the *prætexta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occasion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum, (or sometimes into the Capitol), where with much solemnity he changed his habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, on the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced to the public by his relations. He then received a shield and a spear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The same ceremony was observed by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own masters, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in some public meeting. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

9 We have seen that the chiefs among the Gauls, and also the Canadians, had a train of young adventurers, who listed in their service. See s. 12, note. Fidelity, no less than martial bravery, was the pride and glory of the followers, who voluntarily entered into the army. The respect with which they were beheld by their countrymen, was such, that if any one of them was killed or wounded, the composition was three times more than the sum paid in the case of a common freeman.

10 War was the ruling passion of all the northern nations. Among such a people it cannot be a matter of wonder, that the chief, who led them on to danger and

young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Nor is his fame confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts; ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war.

XIV. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valour by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who survives him[1] survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life[2] in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine, a train of dependants cannot be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands,[3] at one time this warlike horse, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful; it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow, what you might gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier.

XV. When the state has no war to manage, the German mind is sunk in sloth. The chase[4] does not afford sufficient employment. The time is passed in sleep and gluttony. The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a listless slug-

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heroic fortitude, should be idolized by the soldiers. In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms; that was the only mark of grandeur known amongst them. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 14. It was the same among the Scandinavians, and we see in Charlevoix that the Americans followed their leaders with equal ardour.

1 When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred, and three of the king's most intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in safety after such an event, surrendered themselves to be loaded with fetters. Ammian. Marcellin. b. xvi. c. 13. There are instances of the same kind in Tacitus.

2 It appears from Cæsar's account, that they had another way of exercising their courage, when their nation was in a state of profound peace. They deemed it highly honourable to lay waste the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to exterminate their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them, was a proof of valour. They had still another kind of employment: robbery had nothing infamous in it, when committed out of the territories of the state to which they belonged; they considered it as a practice of great use, tending to exercise their youth, and prevent sloth and idleness. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. The custom of carrying arms in the service of foreign states, during a long peace at home, was in vogue among the Scandinavians. "The more vallant among them, unable to lie inactive till their own country should offer them new occasions to enrich and signalize themselves, entered into the service of such other nations as were at war. This was a general custom among all the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and ancient history affords us a thousand examples of it." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 234.

3 From the liberality of the chieftain in granting presents to his followers, Montesquieu deduces the origin of vassalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not subsist in Germany. The chiefs or princes had nothing to bestow but arms, and horses; feasts, and plenty of provisions. This was the whole wealth of the German warrior in his own country; this was what he imparted freely to his followers. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts in the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which, at first, were BENEFICIARY only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. *Spirit of Laws*, b. XXX. ch. 3 and 4. See Dr. Robertson, *Charles V.* p. 260, 263. See Abbe Millot, *Elemens de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 190. We find in Charlevoix, that the American chieftains were under the same obligation to bestow presents on the men who boiled the *war-kettle*, and *took up the hatchet*, in their service. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

4 The literal meaning of the original is, *They do not pass much of their time in hunting, but more of it in slugglish idleness.* NON MULTUM VENATIBUS, PLUS PER OTIUM TRANSIGUNT. This, at the first blush, seems to contradict Cæsar, who says, book vi. s. 20, their whole life is addicted to hunting and war. To reconcile the two authors, Lipsius, and others since his time, propose to leave out of the original text the negative word non. This, perhaps, would be right, but the meaning of the passage is clear without any alteration. They hunted during a few months of the year, and then gave up all their time to the sports of the chase. In that pursuit consisted their actual employment. The rest of the year was loitered away in sleep and wine. The same custom prevailed among the American savages. Hunting, fishing, sleep, and drunkenness, filled the whole round of their time. See Charlevoix in sundry places. A writer who has left us a Latin History of Canada, says, when not engaged in hunting, or on a journey, the Canadians sit on the ground, or lie stretched in stupid repose, leaving all household affairs to their women, who are obliged to toil and labour, while the men think such menial offices beneath their dignity. See Creuxius, *Hist. Canadensis*, p. 65.

gard. The management of his house and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family. He himself lounges in stupid repose, by a wonderful diversity of nature,[5] exhibiting in the same man the most inert aversion to labour, and the fiercest principle of action. It is a custom established in the several states, to present a contribution of corn and cattle[6] to their chieftains. Individuals follow the example, and this bounty proves at once an honour to the prince, and his best support. Presents are also sent from the adjacent states, as well by private persons, as in the name of the community. Nothing is so flattering to the pride of the chiefs as those foreign favours, consisting of the best horses, magnificent armour, splendid harness,[7] and beautiful collars. The Romans have lately taught them to receive presents of money.[8]

XVI. The Germans, it is well known, have no regular cities;[9] nor do they allow a continuity of houses. They dwell in separate habitations, dispersed up and down, as a grove, a meadow, or a fountain, happens to invite. They have villages, but not in our fashion, with a series of connected buildings. Every tenement stands detached, with a vacant piece of ground round it,[10] either to prevent accidents by fire, or for want of skill in the art of building. They neither know the use of mortar nor of tiles. They build with rude materials, regardless of beauty, order, and proportion. Particular parts are covered over with a kind of earth so smooth and shining, that the natural veins have some resemblance to the lights and shades of painting.

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5 In all the striking characters recorded in history or drawn by the poet's or the orator's pen, we see a mixture of opposite qualities. Catiline, as described by Cicero, or by Sallust, is not the most wonderful instance even in civil society. Among rude and savage tribes, where nature works without restraint, the contrast is obvious. Every thing is in the extreme: peace and war, activity and sloth, love and hatred, all take their turn, and show themselves without disguise. No moderation, no gradual transition from one passion to another. Every thing is done on the impulse of the moment, and repugnant desires seem to lie blended together.

6 Brotier finds in this passage the origin of tributes, by which he must be understood to mean voluntary contributions. The Romans imposed a tribute, and other imposts under various names of *stipendia* and *vectigalia*, on all the conquered provinces. In Germany, where no man had a fixed possession of lands, and property was disregarded, the chieftains were obliged to maintain their followers or companions in war. But plunder and rapine were the only revenue of the chief. To enable him, however, to support his rank, the different states (*civitates*) sent him voluntary presents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards spread over Europe, the soldiers, after every victory, claimed their share of the booty, and soon obtained a portion of lands, but those lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at first for a year only. When they were made estates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That personal attendance growing troublesome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary satisfaction, which, in time, was levied by assessments under the name of *scutage*, *talliages*, or *subsidies*. But even these were not to be levied without the consent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged so to declare in his *Magna Charta*. See Blackstone, vol. i. p. 309 and 310. The same law was in force on the continent. When William the Norman desired a supply from the barons of his country, in order to assert his claim to the crown of England, they told him that the *Normans* were not bound to serve in foreign wars, and no consideration could induce them to raise a supply. See St. Amand, *Historical Essay on the Legislative Power*, p. 102. When the French monarchy became afterwards greatly enlarged, no aid or subsidy could be levied without the consent of the three estates in their general assembly. The first blow that was given to the liberties of France, was, as PHILIP DE COMINES observes, in the reign of Charles VII. when the nobles agreed that the king should levy money upon their tenants for the venal consideration of their having a share of the sum so collected. The historian adds, that the king gave a wound to his country, which would continue long to bleed; and he asks with honest indignation, is there a prince upon earth who has power to raise a single penny from his subjects, without the consent of those who are to pay it? The spirit of liberty has prevented the same grievance in this country, where, however great the public burthens, the rule has ever been, that no impost shall be exacted without the consent of parliament; and thus the idea of voluntary tributes, which came originally out of the woods of Germany, remains in force at this hour.

7 These military presents were not peculiar to the Germans. The Romans had their civic crown, and other marks of distinction. Pliny the elder relates, that Siccius Dentatus, tribune of the people under the consulship of Sp. Tarpeius and Aul. Aterius, A. U. C. 400, not long after the expulsion of the Tarquins, was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles, and returned with five and forty wounds, all honourably received in front, and not one behind, and that for his valour he received eighteen lances, twenty-five rich accoutrements, three gold chains, and twenty-six civic or mural crowns. Pliny, b. vii. s. 28.

8 This was a dangerous lesson, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans. Herod. lib. vi.

9 Ptolemy, who published his System of Geography under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no less than ninety cities in Germany; but those cities must be understood to be a number of huts like those of the American savages. Ammianus Marcellinus, an author more to be relied upon, who wrote the history of the Roman wars in Germany, does not mention a single city. He says, on the contrary, that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them so many sepulchres encompassed with nets. *Oppida ut circumdata retiis, busta declinant.* Marcell. lib. xvi. c. 2. The idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne. See Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. i.

10 The vacant space of ground which encompassed the house, was that celebrated *Salic land* that descended to the male issue, and never to the female line. For more of this, see sect. 20, and note.

Besides these habitations, they have a number of subterraneous caves,[1] dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with dung; in winter their retreat from cold, and the repository of their corn. In those recesses they not only find a shelter from the rigour of the season, but in times of foreign invasion their effects are safely concealed. The enemy lays waste the open country, but the hidden treasure escapes the general ravage; safe in its obscurity, or because the search would be attended with too much trouble.

XVII. The clothing in use is a loose mantle,[2] made fast with a clasp, or when that cannot be had, with a thorn. Naked in other respects, they loiter away whole days by the fire-side.[3] The rich wear a garment, not, indeed, displayed and flowing, like the Parthians, or the people of Sarmatia, but drawn so tight, that the form of the limbs is palpably expressed.[4] The skins of wild animals are also much in use. Near the frontier, on the borders of the Rhine, the inhabitants wear them, but with an air of neglect, that shows them altogether indifferent about the choice. The people who live more remote, near the northern seas,[5] and have not acquired by commerce a taste for new-fashioned apparel, are more curious in the selection. They choose particular beasts, and having stripped off the furs, clothe themselves with the spoil, decorated with particoloured spots, or fragments taken from the skins of fish that swim the ocean as yet unexplored by the Romans. In point of dress there is no distinction between the sexes, except that the garment of the women is frequently made of linen, adorned with purple stains, but without sleeves, leaving the arms and part of the bosom uncovered.

XVIII. Marriage is considered as a strict and sacred institution.[6] In the national char-

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1 Lafitau, in his account of the American savages, says, that their dwellings are the abode of poverty and the most wretched ignorance; and, if we except the natives of Peru and Mexico, who had the skill to build their cottages with stone, all the various tribes are content with miserable huts, such as the Romans, in their descriptions of Africa, called *mapalia* and *tuguria*. In some parts, towards the south as well as the north, the people take shelter in subterraneous caverns, formed by the hand of nature, and sometimes constructed by themselves. The *Eskimaux*, who inhabit near Davis's Strait in California, and Nova Zembla, pass the whole winter in those deep recesses, without ever venturing into the open air. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, vol. ii. p. 5. See Ellis's *Hudson's Bay*. Dr. Robertson tells us, that some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy season they retire into coves, formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. *History of America*, 8vo. edit. vol. ii. p. 173. See Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, lib. viii. where there are many curious particulars concerning the Germans in their subterraneous caverns. The same custom was observed among the Scythians. Pomponius Mela says, that, during the extreme severity of the winter, they dwell under ground in natural caves, or in dens formed by their own labour. Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii. cap. 1. The mansions of the Germans were such as Ovid describes in the first rude ages of the world:

> ——————Domus antra fuerunt,
> Et densi frutices, et junctas cortice virgæ.
>
> *Metamorph.* lib. i.

2 This mantle, or *sagum*, is often called RHENO by Latin authors. The reason is given by Cæsar, who says, that the Germans are clothed in the skins of animals called RHENONES; but the mantle was so short, that it left the greatest part of the body naked. *Pellibus aut parvis Rhenonum tegumentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.* Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. See a similar account of the Suevians, the most warlike of all the German nations, Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1; and see Pomponius Mela, b. iii. s. 3. Whoever would know more of the German dresses, will find a full account in PELLOUTIER, *Histoire des Celtes*, b. ii. s. 6.

3 The most improved of the American tribes dwell in mean and simple huts, contrived merely for shelter. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to give a vent to the smoke. There the American, when war and the chase are over, hovers over the fire, and dozes away his time in torpid indolence. See Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, b. iv. and Charlevoix, *passim*.

4 Cluverius, the celebrated geographer, in his *Germania Antiqua*, describes the tight dresses of the Germans in such plain terms, as will not, in point of delicacy, admit of a translation. The loose attire of the Sarmatians was, however, adopted by some of the German settlers on the western side of the Rhine.

> Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
> Vangiones, Batavique truces.
>
> *Lucan*, lib. i. v. 438.

> Vangiones, like loose Sarmatians dress'd,
> Who with tough hides their brawny thighs invest.
>
> *Rowe's Lucan.*

5 The people bordering on the Baltic, and also on the Northern Ocean, called by Tacitus the Exterior Sea, were not only curious in their choice of furs, but studious to embellish them with shells and shining stones, and fragments of the scales of the various fish found in those seas. In like manner the Eskimaux savages of America, the Greenlanders, and all the rude inhabitants of the northern regions, are clad in furs stained with a variety of colours. This practice is still continued with regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's-skin. According to Cluverius, the women in Saxony, in Prussia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear shifts without sleeves, and leave the bosom bare.

6 In this passage Tacitus seizes the opportunity to commend the noble simplicity of the German marriages, in order to pass a pointed censure on the nuptial ceremonies established at Rome, and the facility with which both sexes violated the marriage-vow. Montesquieu in his compendious manner, has shown the progress of vice till it triumphed over the office of the censor, and established an entire corruption of manners. The civil wars reduced the number of citizens; and of those that remained few were married. Julius Cæsar and Augustus passed their laws against celibacy, called by Tacitus,

acter there is nothing so truly commendable. To be contented with one wife, is peculiar to the Germans. They differ, in this respect, from all other savage nations. There are, indeed, a few instances of polygamy; not, however, the effect of loose desire, but occasioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief distinguished by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion; she receives a dowry from her husband. In the presence of her parents and relations, he makes a tender of part of his wealth; if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the presents, female vanity is not consulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune consists of oxen, a caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. She in return delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this the bond of union, these their hymenial gods. Lest the wife should think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage-ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him in peace. The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union: she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons,[7] a portion for their wives, and from them descendable to her grandchildren.

XIX. In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction; no public spectacles[8] to seduce her; no banquets to inflame her passions; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters[9] is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of: when detected the punishment is instant, and inflicted[10] by the husband. He cuts off the hair of his guilty wife,[11] and, having assembled her relations, expels her

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Annals, b. iii. s. 25, the Julian statutes, and by him declared to be a feeble remedy. See *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxiii. ch. 21. The lines of Horace stating the same complaint need not to be quoted. The indignation of Juvenal in his sixth satire is sufficiently known. The simplicity and virtue of the marriage-contract among the tribes of Germany are given by Tacitus as a striking contrast to the depravity of Roman manners. The instances in which a plurality of wives was indulged, occurred but seldom, and even then were founded on special reasons. Thus we read that Ariovistes had two wives: the first, of the Suevian nation: the second, the sister of a king, who courted the alliance of that German warrior. Cæsar, b. i. s. 53. Montesquieu assigns the same reason for the number of wives among the kings of the first race.[1] *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 24. For a proof of the fidelity of the German wives, see the passage from Florus, s. 8. of this tract, note. La Bletterie says, that among the women who perished with their husbands on that occasion, the Romans found one hanging by the neck, and her two children fastened to her feet. Among the wild Canadians it appears that women were not in the same estimation as in Germany. The preliminary and the ceremony of marriage are extremely simple. The young man seats himself by the side of the girl in her own cabin; and if she suffers it without stirring from her place, she is held to be consenting to the marriage. The bridegroom gives her various presents; which are so many symbols and admonitions of the slavery to which she is going to be reduced; such as a collar and straps to carry burthens; a kettle and a faggot, importing that she is to dress the victuals, and make a provision of wood. The husband has his own peculiar functions; he makes a mattress for his wife, builds a cabin for her, and passes his time in hunting and fishing. The man who abandons his wife without good cause, must expect nothing but insults from her relations; and a woman who wantonly leaves her husband must pass her time still worse. In some places the husband has a right to cut off the nose of the wife who elopes from him. See Charlevoix, letter xix.

7 By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the portion she received in marriage during her life, and transmit it to her sons. *Leges Saxonum*, tit. vii. *De Dote*.

8 Seneca considers public spectacles as so many places of seduction. Nothing, he says, is so dangerous as loitering at such diversions, for when the heart is softened by pleasure, the passions stand ready for the admission of every vice. How is this to be understood? I return from those places more avaricious, more ambitious, more luxurious. *Nihil vero est tam damnosum bonis moribus, quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere. Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia surrepunt. Quid me existimas dicere? Avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior.* Senec. ep. vii.

9 Marobodius and Adgandestrius, two German kings, are supposed to have been able to write, since their letters to Rome are mentioned, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 63, and 88; but their countrymen in general, were rude and illiterate. Many centuries passed before reading and writing came into general use. In the middle ages, kings and warriors were not able to write; and it is well known that in this country a lord of parliament was, by law, entitled to his *clergy*, though he could not read. The art of writing is finely described in the following translation of a passage from Lucan:

> The noble art from Cadmus took its rise,
> Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes.
> He first in wondrous magic fetters bound
> The airy voice, and stopp'd the flying sound.
> The various figures, by his pencil wrought,
> Gave colour and a body to the thought.

But this art was almost wholly unknown in Germany, and, by consequence, love-letters were not in use.

10 By a law of the Visigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband, to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable. *Laws of the Visigoths*, tit. *De Adulteriis*, lex. 3.

11 The hair long and flowing was considered as an

crime. Among the savages of Germany, virtuous manners operate more[5] than good laws in other countries.

XX. In every family the children are reared up in filth.[6] They run about naked, and in time grow up to that strength and size of limb which we behold with wonder. The infant is nourished at the mother's breast, not turned over to nurses and to servants. No distinction is made between the future chieftain and the infant son of a common slave. On the same ground, and mixed with the same cattle, they pass their days, till the age of manhood draws the line of separation,[7] and early valour shows the person of ingenuous birth. It is generally late before their young men enjoy the pleasures of love; by consequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime. Nor are the virgins married too soon. Both parties wait to attain their full growth. In the warm season of mutual vigour[9] the match is made, and the children of the marriage have the constitution of their parents. The uncle by the mother's side regards his nephews with an affection nothing inferior to that of their father. With some, the relation of the sister's children to their maternal uncle[10] is held to be the

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appear that they attended to the means of multiplying their numbers. Charlevoix relates an instance of filial affection blended with savage ferocity. An Iroquois, who had served in the French army against his own nation, met his father in an engagement, and in the act of going to give the mortal blow, discovered who he was. He stopped his arm, and said to his prostrate father, "The life which I received from you, this day I give you. Let me not meet you again; for now I owe you nothing." Charlevoix, letter xxi. p. 89.

5 Justin says of the Scythians, Justice is cultivated in that country, more through the disposition of the people, than by declaratory laws. *Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* Justin, b. ii. ch. 3. The same writer adds, It is altogether astonishing that natural instinct should teach a savage race, what neither moral wisdom, nor the precepts of philosophy, could establish in Greece. Elegant manners yielded to uninstructed nature. Ignorance of vice did more among barbarians than all the boasted systems of a polished nation. *Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longa sapientium doctrina, præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultoque mores incultæ barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignorantia, quam in his cognitio virtutis.* Justin, lib. ii. s. 2.

6 Seneca, on the subject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, says, if he was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy, brandish his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred; their patience and firmness under every hardship; and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Seneca, epist. xxxvi. and, *De Ira*, lib. i. s. 11. Charlevoix describes the American children wallowing in dirt, and reared in the same manner as the German infants, without the help of a nurse; a circumstance mentioned by Tacitus, for the sake of glancing obliquely at the fashion that prevailed with the Roman matrons, who committed their children to nurses and Greek servants. For more of this, see the *Dialogus concerning Oratory*, s. 29.

7 The age of manhood seems to have commenced at the end of their twelfth year. Stout and well-grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the soldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric says, It is absurd that the young men, who are fit for military service, should be deemed incapable of conducting themselves. Valour fixes the age of manhood. He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. See Cassiodorus, *Epist.* i. Montesquieu observes, that Childebert II. was fifteen years old, when Gontram his uncle declared him to be of full age. "I have put," he said, "this javelin in your hands, to inform you, that I now resign the kingdom to your care:" and then, turning to the assembly, "You see that Childebert is a man: obey him." Montesquieu adds, that, by the Ripuarian laws, at the end of fifteen years the ability of bearing arms and the age of manhood went together. The youth had then acquired the strength of body that was requisite for his defence in combat. Amongst the Burgundians, who made use of the judiciary combat, the youth was of full age at fifteen. When the armour of the Franks was light, fifteen might be deemed the age of discretion. In succeeding times heavy armour came into use, and then the term of minority was enlarged. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxviii. ch. 26 and 27.

8 Cæsar gives the same account. The young men who are not acquainted with the union of the sexes, till the age of twenty, are highly applauded. *Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturum, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vigesimum fœminæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 20.

9 Tacitus uses the words, *pares validæque miscentur*, that is, they are married equal and robust. Brotier understands the expression as applying to the equality of conditions, or a marriage among persons of equal rank; and he cites laws from the German code, annexing penalties to those of both sexes who marry persons of inferior rank. But the equality here intended by Tacitus seems from the context to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties. The distinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.

10 We find in Charlevoix, that, though it be true that there is no nation in the world where the female sex is more despised, it is equally true that the children belong to the mother only, and the father is always held as a stranger to his offspring, while, at the same time, he is respected as the master of the cabin. Charlevoix, letter xix. In some parts of Asia and Africa, filiation was reckoned from the mother only, perhaps because in those countries the real father was equivocal. Among the Germans there was not the same room for jealousy. It is true, that the woman convicted of adultery was shorn of her locks, and driven out of the village; but still marriage was deemed a sacred institution, and conjugal fidelity was a female virtue throughout the nation. The women reared their infants at their breast, and trusted nothing to nurses or servants. The husband hunted, or lounged by the fireside in stupid apathy. He dwelt in one hut with his family; but he valued them no more than if they were all assembled by accident, and for his offspring he felt no solicitude. Filial affection was, by consequence, fixed on the mother. Add to this the respect, nothing short of veneration, which was paid to the sex by all the different tribes. These consid-

strongest tie of consanguinity, insomuch that in demanding hostages, that line of kindred is preferred, as the most endearing objects of the family, and, consequently, the most tender pledges. The son[1] is always heir to his father. Last wills and testaments are not in use. In case of failure of issue, the brothers of the deceased are next in succession, or else the paternal or maternal uncles. A numerous train of relations is the comfort and the honour of old age. To live without raising heirs to yourself[2] is no advantage in Germany.

XXI. To adopt the quarrels as well as the friendships of your parents and relations[3] is

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erations may account for the affection of the maternal uncle for his sister's children. It was for this reason, says Montesquieu, that the early French historians dwell so much on the affection of the kings of the Franks for their sisters and the sisters' children. By the Salic law, the sister of the mother was preferred to the father's sister; and, when a woman became a widow, she fell under the guardianship of the female relations of her deceased husband. Moreover, when a man was guilty of homicide, the law allowed him to deliver up his whole substance, and his relations were to make good the deficiency. In that case, after the father, mother, and brother, the sister of the mother was to pay, as if that was the tenderest tie. We read in Gregory of Tours, b. viii. ch. 18 and 20, the rage of Gontram at Levigild's ill treatment of Ingunda, his niece: a war was carried on by Childebert her brother, to revenge the injury done to his sister. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. The seeds of these several customs among the Franks are plainly seen in the German manners.

1 Thus we see that, by custom (the unwritten law of the Germans,) the females were excluded from the succession to the lands of their deceased father. What those lands were is clearly explained by Montesquieu. While the Franks, he says, lived in their own country, their whole stock consisted of slaves, herds of cattle, horses, arms, and accoutrements. Lands for cultivation were assigned to them by the state for a year only, and after that time it was resumed by the public. What then were the lands to which the male issue succeeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the estate that descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called SALIC land, because the mansion of a German was called SAL, and the space inclosing it SALSAC, the homestead. When the FRANKS issued from their own country, and gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give to their new settlements the name of SALIC land; and hence, the law of the FRANKS that regulated the course of descent, was called the SALIC LAW. Rapin has left us an elaborate dissertation on the subject. He takes notice of two different editions of the Salic law; but the last, it seems, is not correct. From the former, Rapin states six rules of succession to land property. 1. If a man dies without issue his father or his mother shall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother or sister shall succeed. 3. If there is no surviving brother or sister, the sister of his mother shall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no sister, the sister of the father shall succeed. 5. If the father has left no sister, the next relation of the male line shall have the estate. 6. No part of the SALIC land shall pass to the females; but the whole inheritance descends to the male line, that is, the sons shall be entitled to the succession. Rapin has entered into a long discussion, but Montesquieu was master of his subject, and with the brevity of Tacitus has placed the whole in the clearest light. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the SALIC land should go to the sword, and not to the distaff. The daughters were excluded, because they passed by marriage into other families. The Salic law was founded on the customs and manners of Germany. If the father left children, the daughters were excluded, and the right of inheritance vested in the sons. The well-known law of the French monarchy, which excludes the female line from the succession to the crown, had its origin in the woods of Germany. It is true that, in process of time, the law of the Franks gave way to the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to succeed to fiefs, which, for that reason, were called improper fiefs. The SALIC LAW lost its force in France, except as to the succession to the crown, in which respect it has remained inflexible from the earliest period of the monarchy to the present time. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. See also Rapin's Dissertation.

2 To be possessed of great wealth, by whatever means acquired, and to be at the same time old without issue, gave the highest credit and importance to a Roman citizen. He was surrounded by flatterers, who paid their court, and with emulation sent handsome presents, in hopes of being made testamentary heirs, or, at least, of obtaining a legacy. The advantages of this situation were such, that fathers often renounced their children, in order to enjoy the incense of adulation. Rome was divided into two classes; the rich, who amused their followers with expectations; and the legacy-hunters, who panted for sudden riches. Seneca has drawn, as it were in miniature, a striking picture of the avaricious sycophant: he is a vulture, lying in wait for a carcass. *Vultur est, cadaver expectat.* Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have made both ranks of men a subject of ridicule. See *Annals*, b. iii. s. 25.

3 In the rude state of society, before men had any notion of an umpire or magistrate to decide their differences, it was natural that every man should exercise a right to repel injuries from himself and his family. It was also natural that he should demand atonement from the wrong-doer. Resentment is an active principle in the frame of man. In the minds of savages it inflamed a spirit of revenge. Their relations, their friends, and their clan, joined in the quarrel. Whole tribes waged war against each other for the sake of an individual. Ties of consanguinity and the sentiments of social affection contributed to aggravate the mischief. Every rude uncivilized state was filled with intestine broils. It was the pride of a German (and the same may be seen among the savages of America) to expect redress from the vigour of his own arm. He thought it infamous, says Dr. Robertson, to give up to another the right of determining what reparation he should accept, or with what vengeance he should rest satisfied. It is well known that in Britain when a man belonging to a particular tribe or clan committed a murder, vengeance was pursued not only against the offender and his family, but against the whole clan; and this spirit of revenge was distinguished by the name of *deadly feud*. During the short reign of King Edmund, a law was passed forbidding the deadly feud, except between the relations of the deceased and the murderer himself (See Hume's *Hist.* App. i.); so late was it before men could be taught to resign their natural rights for the sake of enjoying a surer protection under a regular government. And yet we see some rudiments of civil society among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idea of a public interest in the preservation of the peace. We have seen in this tract, s. xii. and in the

held to be an indispensable duty. In their resentments, however, they are not implacable. Injuries are adjusted by a settled measure of compensation. Atonement is made for[4] homicide by a certain number of cattle, and by that satisfaction the whole family is appeased: a happy regulation, than which nothing can be more conducive to the public interest, since it serves to curb that spirit of revenge which is the natural result of liberty in the excess. Hospitality[5] and convivial pleasure are no where so liberally enjoyed. To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage against humanity. The master of the house welcomes every stranger, and regales him to the best of his ability. If his stock falls short, he becomes a visitor to his neighbour, and conducts his new acquaintance to a more plentiful table. They do not wait to be invited, nor is it of any consequence, since a cordial reception is always certain. Between an intimate and an entire stranger no distinction is made. The law of hospitality is the same. The departing guest receives as a present whatever he desires, and the host retaliates by asking with the same freedom. A German delights in the gifts which he receives; yet by bestowing he imputes nothing to you as a favour,

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notes, that a composition for offences was made by a mulct of cattle, and that the king or chiefs of the state received a fine for the violation of the public peace. The savage, who before that time depended on his own martial vigour, was willing to resign his resentment to the direction of the magistrate, and to receive a stated compensation. The spirit of revenge was appeased, and the *deadly feud* of course gave way to the new jurisdiction.

4 This compromise for manslaughter and other personal injuries had the happy effect of curbing the ferocity of a barbarous race; but still the principle of the composition was a satisfaction to the injured party. Avarice was called in to appease revenge. A debt was supposed to be due for the crime committed, and this appears to have been established in the remotest ages. Homer mentions a composition for murder:

> ——If a brother bleed,
> On just atonement we remit the deed.
> A sire the slaughter of his son forgives:
> The price of blood discharged, the murderer lives.
> 9th Iliad, v. 743.

And again in the description of Achilles's shield:

> There in the forum swarm a numerous train,
> The subject of debate, a townsman slain:
> One pleads the fine discharged, which one denied,
> And bade the public and the laws decide.
> 18th Iliad, v. 577.

This mode of composition for crimes and injuries was adopted by the various communities in Germany; but their descendants, after the irruption into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, still claimed the right of waging private war for private injuries. Hostilities continued during a number of years, and the animosity of the contending parties laid a scene of blood. Charlemagne endeavoured by a positive law to abolish the mischief; but the genius of one man was not sufficient to eradicate a custom so firmly established. See Robertson, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 54. Some of the prices settled by the Salic law for a variety of offences may be seen in this tract, s. 12, note. By the law of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the price of the king's head, or his WERGILD, was fixed at 30,000 *thrimsas*, a species of coin whose value is uncertain. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 *thrimsas*; the bishop's or alderman's, 8,000; the sheriff's, 4,000; a thane's or clergyman's, 2,000; a ceorle's, 266. Hume's *History*, App. i. To complete this system, it remained to compel the delinquent to pay, and the person injured to accept, a proper satisfaction. This point being once established, men resigned their savage rights of revenge, and the civil magistrate was enabled to preserve public order and tranquillity. And thus, says Blackstone, by the Irish Brehon law, in case of murder, the BREHON, or judge, was used to compound between the murderer and the friends of the deceased, by causing the malefactor to give unto them, or the child or wife of him that was slain, a recompense, which they called an ERIACH. And in our Saxon laws (particularly those of King Athelstan) the several WERGILDS for homicide are established in progressive order, from the death of the ceorle, or peasant, up to that of the king himself. In the laws of Henry I. we have an account of what other offences were then redeemable by WERGILD, and what were not so. Blackstone, vol. iv. ch. 23. In process of time, when the civil union was better understood, and men saw that, by depositing their resentments in the hands of the state, their personal safety and their property could be better defended, crimes were no longer considered as mere personal injuries, but were punished as offences against the good order and peace of the community. Revenge and personal satisfaction for the wrong committed were no longer the objects in view. The public justice of the community was found to be the best protection, and, in a regular but gradual progression, as succeeding generations became more polished and enlightened, that system of jurisprudence grew up, by which men find their lives, their liberty, and their property, sufficiently guarded. See an account of the proceedings of the American savages in cases of murder, differing but little from the customs of the Germans, *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 180 and 181.

5 Tacitus is confirmed by Julius Cæsar, who says, the laws of hospitality are inviolable among the Germans. Their visitors are sure of a cordial reception. Their houses are open to every guest. Book vi. s. 22. Lafitau informs us, that the laws of hospitality are held sacred by the savages of America. The guest, on his first arrival, never tells who he is, or whence he came, nor does the master of the house make any inquiry. No time is lost in that exchange of compliments so much cultivated by polished nations. The stranger, as soon as he enters the cabin, has his repast laid before him, and he sits down to it without ceremony. His account of himself is always given after his meal, and sometimes at the end of four, six, or ten days. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. See an account of the European Settlements in America, vol. i. p. 171. Montesquieu observes that hospitality flourishes most where the manners are rude and simple. The spirit of commerce may unite civilized nations, but individuals are not the more connected. Every thing in those countries has its price. The sentiments of the heart, the social affections, and the virtues of humanity, are exchanged and bartered in a course of traffic. Barbarians have little or no attention to their interest. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xx. ch. 2. The Burgundian law imposed a fine on every man who refused his roof and fireside to the coming guest; but the Salic law provided, that no man should harbour an atrocious criminal.

and for what he receives he acknowledges no obligation.

XXII. In this manner the Germans pride themselves upon their frankness and generosity. Their hours of rest are protracted to broad daylight. As soon as they rise, the first thing they do is to bathe, and generally, on account of the intense severity of the climate, in warm water.[1] They then betake themselves to their meal, each on a separate seat, and at his own table.[2] Having finished their repast, they proceed completely armed to the despatch of business, and frequently to a convivial meeting. To devote both day and night to deep drinking is a disgrace to no man. Disputes, as will be the case with people in liquor, frequently arise, and are seldom confined to opprobrious language. The quarrel generally ends in a scene of blood.[3] Important subjects, such as the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family-alliances, the election of chiefs, and even peace and war,[4] are generally canvassed in their carousing festivals. The convivial moment, according to their notion, is the true season for business, when the mind opens itself in plain simplicity, or grows warm with bold and noble ideas. Strangers to artifice, and knowing no refinement, they tell their sentiments without disguise. The pleasure of the table expands their hearts, and calls forth every secret. On the following day the subject of debate is again taken into consideration, and thus two different periods of time, have their distinct uses; when warm, they debate; when cool, they decide.

XXIII. Their beverage is a liquor drawn from barley or from wheat, and, like the juice of the grape, fermented to a spirit.[5] The settlers on the banks of the Rhine provide themselves with wine. Their food is of the simplest kind; wild apples, the flesh of an animal recently killed, or coagulated milk.[6] Without skill in

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1 Contrivances for bathing in warm water occur in the books of almost all travellers in North America. The inhabitants of the south have recourse to lakes and rivers. Lafitau informs us, that the people of Peru and Mexico, living under the intense heat of the sun, as soon as they rise in the morning, betake themselves, men and women, to the seaside, where that advantage is near at hand, or to the nearest river, and there exercise themselves in the water for a considerable time. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. i. p. 265. The severity of the winter towards the north requires the use of hot stoves. The Russians are remarkable for the same custom. Their vapour-baths, to which men and women resort promiscuously, and, after exciting a violent perspiration, go forth without any covering to roll in the snow, are described at length by Abbe la Chappe, in his account of his *Journey through Siberia to Tobolski*.

2 The manner in which the Romans placed themselves at table, differed from most other nations. Three couches, called triclinia, were ranged in order, but so as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the servants. Three persons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches; sometimes four or five. Horace mentions four:

> Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos.

Cicero, in Pisonem, says, there was nothing in his house neat or elegant. Five Greeks, and often more, lay crowded on one couch. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans. Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures.* Tacitus seems never to be better pleased, than when he has opportunity of passing an oblique censure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way seated themselves each at his own table. That this was the primitive custom of remote ages, appears frequently in Homer; and Virgil, his great imitator, says,

> Hic sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete cæso
> Perpetuæ solitæ patres considere mensæ.
>
> Æneid, vii. v. 175.

> This was their temple, this their court of state;
> Here at their sacred feast the fathers sat.
>
> *Pitt's Virgil.*

3 The same love of liquor, with all its consequential mischiefs, have been observed by all travellers among the savage tribes of America. Charlevoix says, the avarice of the French dealers introduced drunkenness among them, and that in the streets of Montreal, husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters, were frequently seen in a state of intoxication, worrying one another with their teeth, like so many enraged wolves. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter viii. See also the *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 169. To suppress the evil consequences of intoxication among the Franks, the Salic Law ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or seven, the survivors should convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the composition for his death. Tit. *De Homicidiis in Convivio factis.*

4 Lipsius says, that, when he read Xenophon's account of the Persians (*Cyropædia*, lib. viii.), he was struck with the wonderful conformity of the eastern nations to the manners of the ancient Germans. See the speech of Civilis in a sacred grove, when all were warm with liquor. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 14. Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs*, b. vii. qu. 9, observes, that it was the custom of the Greeks, as well as the Persians, to debate of state affairs at their convivial meetings. He refers to a passage in Homer, where Nestor advises Agamemnon to prepare a feast, and then hear the ablest counsellor. For this Plutarch gives a reason: There is, he says, a wineless drunkenness excited by anger, malice, ambition, and other turbulent passions; but wine rather overcomes the bad affections, and stirs and agitates the generous emotions of the heart. Among the American savages, when any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole tribe partakes. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 178.

5 Pliny the elder observes, that the Egyptians had their intoxicating liquor distilled from grain, which their country produced in great abundance. But while the Earth thought that she was yielding large crops of corn, the wit of man, ever ingenious in new modes of vice, derived the art of making even water an intoxicating liquor. *Heu, mira vitiorum solertia! inventum est quemadmodum aqua quoque inebriaret. Nat. Hist.* lib. xiv. s. 29.

6 What Tacitus calls *lac concretum*, coagulated milk, Cæsar calls by the name of cheese. *Major pars victus eorum lacte, et caseo, et carne consistit. De Bell. Gall.*

cookery, or without seasoning to stimulate the palate,[7] they eat to satisfy nature. But they do not drink merely to quench their thirst. Indulge their love of liquor to the excess which they require,[8] and you need not employ the terror of your arms; their own vices will subdue them.

XXIV. Their public spectacles boast of no variety. They have but one sort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their pastime to dance entirely naked amidst pointed swords and javelins. By constant exercise, this kind of exhibition has become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance. Their talents, however, are not let out for hire.[9] Though some danger attends the practice, the pleasure of the spectator is their only recompense. In the character of a German there is nothing so remarkable as his passion for play. Without the excuse of liquor (strange as it may seem!), in their cool and sober moments they have recourse to dice,[10] as to a serious and regular

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lib. vi. c. 21 Pliny the elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived so much on milk, had not the skill to make cheese. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and used it as an unguent. *Nat. Hist.* b. xi. c. 96. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made use of butter to oil their hair.

Infundunt acido comam butyro.

7 The refinements of the culinary science were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela says, that they fed on the raw flesh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to some degree of softness. See Mela, b. iii. ch. 3. The Romans, on the contrary, studied the pleasures of the table, and luxury was in such vogue, that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquisite skill could enable his master to eat up his fortune, was in the highest request. *Coqui triumphorum pretiis parabuntur; nulluque prope jam mortalis æstimatur plusris, quam qui peritissime censum domini mergit.* Plin. lib. ix. c. 17. Statius, in an elegant poem, giving an account of the manner in which he passed a night with a friend, says, they had no fashionable dishes, no rarities from distant climates, and no wines of an age to vie with consuls of ancient date. Wretched they, who know the difference between the Phasian bird and the crane of Rhodope; who can tell what kind of goose has the largest liver; why the Tuscan boar exceeds the Umbrian; and on which coast may be found the best bed of oysters!

——— Neque enim ludibria ventris
Hamimus, aut epulas diverso a sole petitas,
Vinaque perpetuis sevo certantia fastis.
Ah! miseri, quos noss juvat quid Phasidos ales
Distat ab hyberna Rhodopes grue; quis magis anser
Exta ferat; cur Thuscus aper generosior Umbro;
Lubrica qua recubant conchylia mollius alga.
Stat. Sylv. lib. iv. poem. 6.

Florus relates, that the Cimbrians, after their expedition over the Alps, lost all their ferocity by the use of bread, meat dressed at the fire, and the delicious wines of Italy; and, by consequence, were more easily defeated by Marius. Florus, b. iii. ch. 3.

8 Thus we know that the Europeans, when they settled in North America, soon found it their interest to supply the natives with spirituous liquors. They waged a war of gin and brandy against the various tribes, some of which have been subdued, and others almost totally extirpated, by their own drunkenness. See Charlevoix, letter viii. The same writer says, that a savage, being asked by a French officer what he thought the brandy, which he loved so much, was made of, gave for answer: "It is made of *tongues and hearts*; for when I have drunk it, I fear nothing, and I talk like an angel." Letter xxi. p. 83.

9 Public exhibitions cost the Athenians more than their wars. At Rome the expense was enormous, and the profession of a player was so profitable, that, according to Pliny, Roscius gained annually a sum almost incredible. In the luxury of the times that followed, immense fortunes were acquired by the public performers.

10 The rage for gaming, which has been observed among barbarians in almost every quarter of the globe, may be accounted for without much difficulty. The life of a savage is passed in war, in hunting, fishing, and in scenes of plunder and rapine. When that employment no longer calls for his exertions, he sinks down in listless indolence. The ordinary occurrences of the day have nothing to rouse his faculties. Tired of himself and of languid apathy, he wants some object to excite and agitate his passions. Gaming answers this purpose. Every thing is put to the decision of chance; hope and fear succeed each other; and joy and rage, and pleasure and disappointment, excite the strongest emotions of the soul. The danger of losing his whole stock, and even his liberty, relieves the savage from the oppression under which he laboured. The deeper the play, the more his passions are alarmed; and that inward conflict, that agitation of the mind, is the incentive that makes him delight in games of chance. Brotier quotes a remarkable passage from St. Ambrose, who gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he says, a fierce and warlike race, are always subject to a set of usurers, who lend them what they want for the purposes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. *Et cum sine legibus vivant, aleæ solius legibus obedire.* St. Ambrose adds, that when the unsuccessful gamester has lost his all, he sets his liberty, and even his life, upon a single cast, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour. Upon this principle a person well known to the Roman emperor, suffered death at the command of the winner. Lafitau has an entire chapter concerning the love of play among the savages of America. He describes their manner of supplying the want of dice, by forming the bones of animals to a convenient size, with six faces, but two larger than the rest, one of them black, and the other of a pale yellow hue. One half of a village plays against the other, and often village against village. They hazard all they have, and frequently retire stark naked in the deep snow and rigour of the winter. They even stake their liberty, and go willingly into servitude. Lafitau cites father Labat to prove the same custom among the negroes of Africa. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. p. 338 to 359. See also Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 12 and 13. Dr. Robertson says, the same causes which so often prompt persons in civilized life to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. Both run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few

business, with the most desperate spirit committing their whole substance to chance, and when they have lost their all, putting their liberty and even their persons upon the last hazard of the die. The loser yields himself to slavery. Young, robust, and valiant, he submits to be chained, and even exposed to sale. Such is the effect of a ruinous and inveterate habit. They are victims to folly, and they call themselves men of honour. The winner is always in a hurry to barter away the slaves acquired by success at play; he is ashamed of his victory, and therefore puts away the remembrance of it as soon as possible.

XXV. The slaves in general are not arranged at their several employments in the household affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependent,[1] who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel. The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further. All domestic affairs are managed by the master's wife and children. To punish a slave with stripes, to load him with chains, or condemn him to hard labour, is unusual. It is true, that slaves[2] are sometimes put to death, not under colour of justice, or of any authority vested in the master; but in a transport of passion, in a fit of rage, as is often the case in a sudden affray; but it is also true, that this species of homicide passes with impunity. The freedmen[3] are not of much higher consideration than the actual slaves: they obtain no rank in the master's family, and, if we except the parts of Germany where monarchy is established,[4] they never figure on the stage of public business. In despotic governments they rise above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipse the whole body of the nobles.[5] In other states the subordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

XXVI. The practice of placing money at

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desires, as soon as they engage at play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at the gaming-table; and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. *History of America*, vol. ii. p. 202 and 203. The love of play and dice is, undoubtedly, a passion of great antiquity, and will not easily be eradicated. A writer in Churchill's Voyages says, he went to St. Cosmo, half a league from Mexico, to see the house and gardens of Don John de Vargas; the first finely finished, and the second full of fountains. This gentleman keeps his coach and six, spends six thousand pieces of eight a year, without any other revenue but what he has from cards and dice. On some nights he wins thirty thousand pieces of eight. Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 508. Have not such persons been heard of in Europe, and in modern times? St. Ambrose, in the tract quoted above, assigns the reason: Dice have their laws, which the courts of justice cannot conquer. *Habet et alea suas leges, quas jura fori non solvunt.* See Senftleblus, *De Alea Veterum*, p. 14.

1 See in Tacitus (*Annals*, b. xiv. s. 43) an account of Pedanius Secundus, who had fourscore servants in his family, with specific names for their several departments. This was called his city establishment, *familia urbana*. In the country the Romans had their rural slaves under different appellations. In Germany the slaves were prædial servants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the soil, *glebæ adscripti*. Their condition, Brotier observes, was the same as that of the vassals, or SERFS, who, a few centuries ago, were so numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real slaves, while those who remained in a state of rural vassalage were called LIDI. This distinction appears in the SALIC LAW, tit. XXX. See in Spelman's *Glossary*, title *Villanus*. Villenage was a species of tenure manifestly derived from the Germans.

2 A composition was paid for homicide; but still, it seems, a man might kill his slave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the slave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expense of the suit.

3 The slave at Rome, when manumitted, was called LIBERTUS, and his descendants were LIBERTINI. In process of time, when the Franks, in their new possessions, became acquainted with money, the ceremony of enfranchisement was performed by striking out of the slave's hand a DENARIUS, and from that circumstance the freedman was called DENARIATUS. Their rank, however, was little higher than that of a slave; and by the Ripuarian law, tit. lvii. lex 4, if a freedman died without issue, his fortune went to the public treasury.

4 As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narcissus, Icelus, and others of that description, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, rose to the first eminence in the state. The tyranny of such men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind. Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, never transacted any kind of public business by the intervention of their freedmen. We are told that Adrian, seeing one of his slaves walking, with a familiar air, between two senators, ordered a person to go directly and give the impudent fellow a box on the face, with this monition, "Learn more respect for those, to whom you may be transferred as a slave." Tacitus informs us, that Agricola never suffered his slaves or freedmen to play the part of agents in the affairs of his administration. See *Life of Agricola*, s. 19. It is observed by Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, b. xv. ch. 18.), that the freedmen under the emperors paid their court to the weaknesses of their masters, and then taught them to reign by their vices, not their virtues. It is remarkable that the same abuse of power that prevailed at Rome under the worst of the emperors, was also felt in those parts of Germany, where monarchy and despotism were established.

5 We have here four distinct ranks; the nobles, the men of ingenuous birth, the freedmen, and the slaves. In Gaul, according to Cæsar, there were two principal orders of men, the druids and the nobles, the common people being little better than slaves. Book vi. s. 12. The Franks, in imitation of their German ancestors, had four classes of men; their nobles, their ingenuous, their LIDI, and their slaves; and this, Montesquieu observes, is clearly proved by the composition for offences proportioned to the different ranks of the several complainants. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 25. See *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 541.

interest, and reaping the profits of usury,[6] is unknown in Germany; and that happy ignorance is a better prevention of the evil than a code of prohibitory laws. In cultivating the soil, they do not settle on one spot, but shift from place to place.[7] The state or community takes possession of a certain tract proportioned to its number of hands; allotments are afterwards made to individuals according to their rank and dignity. In so extensive a country, where there is no want of land, the partition is easily made. The ground tilled in one year, lies fallow the next, and a sufficient quantity always remains, the labour of the people being by no means adequate to the extent or goodness of the soil. Nor have they the skill to make orchard-plantations, to inclose the meadow-grounds, or to lay out and water gardens. From the earth they demand nothing but corn. Hence their year is not, as with the Romans, divided into four seasons. They have distinct ideas of winter, spring, and summer, and their language has terms for each; but they neither know the blessings nor the name of autumn.[8]

XXVII. Their funerals[9] have neither pomp nor vain ambition. When the bodies of illustrious men are to be burned, they choose a particular kind of wood for the purpose, and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither strewed with garments nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased are committed to the flames, and sometimes his horse.[10] A mound of turf is raised to his memory

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6 The practice of laying out money at exorbitant interest, and exacting payment with harsh severity, was an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cause of clamour and sedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to suppress the mischief; but those laws were eluded, because, as Tacitus says, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 16, and note.

7 The critics make it a question, whether it should be *per vices* or *per vicos*. But whether we understand that the Germans cultivated the lands by turns, or removed to different places, the difference does not seem to be material. It is, however, ascertained by Cæsar, that the magistrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper, and in the next year removed to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; lest, seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war; lest a desire of enlarging their possessions should prevail, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold; lest avarice should get footing among them; and, in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 21. See Duncan's Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. Horace describes the Scythians wandering, in like manner, from place to place, and never occupying the same spot for more than a single year.

> Campestres melius Scythæ,
> Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
> Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
> Immetata quibus jugera liberas
> Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
> Nec cultura placet longior annua.
>
> Lib. iii. ode 24.

8 In the first ages of the world, the year was distinguished by two seasons only. Moses mentions seed-time and harvest, summer and winter. *Genesis*, ch. viii. In process of time, the exertions of industry marked out other periods; but all that the Germans wanted of the earth was corn and grain, and, the harvest being over, they had no fruits to expect in autumn. Brotier says, the Germans at this day have no distinct word in their language for the autumnal season. The term that satisfies them is HERBST, harvest. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in English was borrowed from the Latin. The *fall of the leaf* is a paraphrastical expression, denoting that season of the year by the decay of Nature, not by the maturity of her fruits.

9 The simplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occasion permits, in direct contrast to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus ordered for himself a pompous funeral, which cost a sum almost incredible. Book xxxii. And the same author says, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of spice consumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Book xii. The Romans borrowed their superfluous pomp from the eastern nations, and particularly from the Persians, who did not burn the dead bodies, but deposited them in sepulchres of superb structure, where they heaped an immense quantity of spices, and a profusion of rich ornaments. Plutarch mentions at the funeral of Sylla two hundred and ten plates of exquisite spices, and the images of Sylla and his lictor constructed with frankincense and cinnamon. The following lines in Lucan, describing the last honours paid by Cornelia to the remains of Pompey the Great, happily illustrates the custom of the Romans:

> Collegit vestes miserique insignia Magni,
> Armaque, et impressa auro, quas gesserat olim,
> Exuvias, pictasque togas, velamina summo
> Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni.
>
> *Pharsal.* lib. ix. v. 175.

> To her lord's shade she builds a funeral pile,
> And decks it proud with many a noble spoil.
> There shows his arms with antique gold inlaid,
> There the rich robes which she herself had made;
> The relics of his past victorious days
> Now this his latest trophy serve to raise,
> And in one common flame together blaze.
>
> *Rowe*, b. ix. v. 294.

10 The things which a German valued most, were his arms and his horse. These were added to the funeral pile, with a persuasion that the deceased would have the same delight in his new state of existence. Hence the same custom, in almost every quarter of the globe, particularly in the northern parts of Europe. It is true that Tacitus does not expressly tell us that the Germans believed in the immortality of the soul; but in sect. 39. we find that they had a conception of a Supreme God, the Governor of the world; *regnitor omnium Deus, cætera subjecta atque parentia.* And since it is evident, that the Icelandic mythology attributed to the Deity infinite power, boundless knowledge, and incorruptible justice; since it appears that they did not allow the Divinity to be represented under any corporeal form, nor to be confined within the inclosure of

and this, in their opinion, is a better sepulchre than those structures of laboured grandeur, which display the weakness of human vanity, and are, at best, a burden to the dead. Tears and lamentations are soon at an end, but their regret does not so easily wear away. To grieve for the departed is comely in the softer sex. The women weep for their friends;[1] the men remember them.

XXVIII. This is the sum of what I have been able to collect touching the origin of the Germans, and the general manners of the people. I now shall enter into a more minute description of the several states, their peculiar rites, and the distinctive character of each; observing at the same time, which were the nations that first passed the Rhine, and transplanted themselves into Gaul. That the Gauls, in ancient times, were superior to the Germans,[2] we have the authority of Julius Cæsar, that illustrious historian of his own affairs. From what is stated by that eminent writer, it is highly probable that colonies from Gaul passed over into Germany: for, in fact, how could a river check the migrations of either nation, when it increased in strength, and multiplied its numbers? So weak an obstacle could not repel them from taking possession of a country, not as yet marked out by power, and of course open to the first occupant. We find, accordingly, that the whole region between the Hercynian forest,[3] the

walls; and since they were taught to offer up their adoration in woods and consecrated forests; it may be fairly inferred from that striking coincidence in the religious opinions of both nations, that the belief of a future state was part of the German creed. See *Northern Antiquities*, ch. v. We read, that in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, his spear, his sword, with his other warlike weapons, and even his horse's head, were found in his tomb. A human scull was also discovered, supposed to be that of his faithful follower. See Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Francoise*, tom. i. p. 10. Lafitau, Charlevoix, and other travellers, describe the same notions of a future state, and the same funeral ceremonies, among the savages of America. Dr. Robertson says, as they imagine that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, they bury, together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tombs the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is reckoned among the necessaries in their simple mode of life. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. b. 4. See also *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183. Virgil describes a funeral ceremony exactly similar to that of the Germans.

> At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
> Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.
> *Æneid.* lib. vi. v. 232.
>
> This done, to solemnize the warrior's doom,
> The pious hero raised a lofty tomb.
> The towering top his well-known ensigns bore,
> His arms, his once loud trump, and tapering oar.
> *Pitt's Virgil.*

1 Sentiments of a similar kind occur in Seneca, and, perhaps, the distinguishing critic may trace some resemblance in the expression. A year, he says, is allowed to female grief, not with intent that the whole time should be so employed, but that it should not be protracted longer. No time is prescribed to the men, because none is proper. *Annum fœminis ad lugendum constituere majores, non ut tamdiu lugerent, sed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum.* Epist. 64. In another place, he says, Our ancestors did not forbid grief and mourning, but they fixed the bounds; observing a just mean between the tenderness of affection and the rules of reason. They wisely said, Feel regret for your friends, but conquer it. *Majores nostri non prohibuerunt luctus, sed finierunt: optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum est, et sentire desiderium, et opprimere.* *De Consol.* cap. 15. He takes in another place of birds and other animals that love their young with ardent affection; but their love ends with their offspring. This, he says, does not become a man: let him continue to remember, but let him cease to grieve. *Meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.* Epist. 99. The same rule has taken place among the American savages. Lafitau observes, that the women vent their grief in songs of bitter lamentation and floods of tears; but the men consider that excess as a weakness beneath their dignity. They sit in pensive silence, and grieve inwardly; sensible of their loss, but not unmanned by tenderness. The author of the *European Settlements in America* says, the women lament the loss with bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183.

2 We are now come to what may be called the second part of this Treatise. The author has taken a survey of the general manners, and he now proceeds to give a distinct account of the several states that occupied the various divisions of the country. It has been observed (s. 1. note,) that the Upper and Lower Germany, which lay on the side of Gaul, *Gallia Cisrhenana*, is not comprised in this inquiry. It is Germany beyond the Rhine, *Germania Transrhenana*, that the author intends to describe. He begins his chart near the head of the Rhine, and follows down the current of that river to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the German Ocean. From that place he proceeds eastward along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, or the Weissel. Tacitus accedes to the opinion of Julius Cæsar, who says, that formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in military fame, often made war upon them, and, abounding in people, sent several colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly the VOLCÆ took possession of the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest, known to Greek writers by the name of *Orcinia*. They were distinguished by their bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for their poverty, their abstinence, and laborious way of life. Cæsar, *De Bel. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 23. It is worthy of notice, that Tacitus calls Cæsar the most respectable of historians, *summus auctorum*, and yet, in some instances, differs from him. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that whenever a variance arises between them, Tacitus did not wilfully seek occasion to contradict a writer of great authority. Many years had passed since Cæsar threw his bridge over the Rhine; the Romans had penetrated farther into the heart of the country; new channels of information were opened, and time had, probably, wrought many changes.

3 The Hercynian Forest, according to Cæsar's account, was about nine days' journey in breadth; that

Maine and the Rhine, was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians;[4] both originally Gallic nations. The name of BOHEMUM, which remains to this day, shows the ancient state of the country, though it has since received a new race of inhabitants. Whether the Araviscians,[5] who settled in Pannonia, were originally a colony from the Osi, a people of Germany; or, on the other hand, whether the Osi overflowed into Germany from the Araviscians, cannot now be ascertained. Thus much is certain, the laws, the manners, and language of both nations are still the same. But which of them first passed the Danube? The same good and evil were to be found on both sides of the river; equal poverty and equal independence! To be thought of German origin is the ambition of the Treverians,[6] and the Nervians, both conceiving, that the reproach of Gallic softness and effeminacy, which still infect their national manners, may be lost in the splendour of a warlike descent. The Vangiones,[7] the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, who stretch along the banks of the Rhine, are, beyond all doubt, of German extraction. The Ubians,[8] for their services, were made a Roman colony, and, with their own consent, became known by the name of AGRIPPINIANS, in honour of their founder; and yet they still look back with pride to their German origin. They issued formerly from that country, and having given proof of their fidelity, obtained an allotment of territory on the banks of the Rhine, not so much with a

being the only way of computing it, as the Germans were ignorant of the use of measures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and, turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vast tract of country. Numbers travelled six days into this forest, yet no one pretended to have reached the farthest limit. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 24. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a description of this prodigious forest, lib. xvi. s. 2. Gronovius and other commentators say, that the German word is *Hirtsenwald*, importing the forest of stags. The Romans softened the barbarous sound to their own idiom, by calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods, which go by particular names, such as the Black Forest; *La Forst de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are supposed to be a remnant of the Hercynian Forest. The Helvetians inhabited originally what is now called Switzerland, with a wide tract of country extending towards Lyons. The time when they migrated into Germany cannot now be ascertained. It is known, however, that they settled in Germany near the Hercynian Forest, and occupied the country now called Suabia, between the Rhine, the Mænus or the Mein, and the Black Forest.

4 The Boians were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians, in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany cannot be fixed with precision. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls sent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. He says, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, sent his sister's son Sigovesus into the Hercynian Forest, in order to discharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which, at that time were greatly over-peopled. Book v. s. 34. It is most probable that the Boians and Helvetians joined in that expedition. La Bletterie is of opinion that the Boians occupied part of what is now called Bohemia. He says, that the old German term *heim* or *haim* signifies habitation, and thence the French derived *homeau*; and the compound word *Boiohæmum* was *the habitation of the Boians*. We read in Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. s. 109) that *Boiohæmum* was the name of the country occupied by Maraboduus. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar the Boians, expelled by the Marcomanni, retired towards the Danube, where their territory was called Boiaria, now Bavaria.

5 Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable that the Araviscians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Osians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany. The commentators make it probable that they bordered on the Marcomanni, and occupied the northern part of Hungary beyond the Danube. See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, vol. i. p. 184.

6 The Treverians inhabited what is now called *the diocese of Treves*; the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray. See more concerning the Nervians, Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. ii.

7 These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied *the diocese of Worms*; the Triboci, *the diocese of Strasbourg*; the Nemetes, *the diocese of Spire*. Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

8 During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Ubians, then settled on the German side of the Rhine, sent their ambassadors to the Roman general and, having delivered hostages, and formed an alliance, implored his protection against the Suevians, by whom they were dreadfully oppressed. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that Cæsar resolved to build his bridge over the Rhine. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 16. From that time the Ubians were obnoxious to the German nation. Their alliance with the Romans, and their having called in a foreign aid, inflamed the indignation of their enemies. Pressed and persecuted by the Cattians, they applied to the Romans for a safe retreat on the Gallic side of the Rhine. Their request was granted, and lands were assigned to them in the country now called the Electorate of Cologne. The exact time of this migration cannot now be fixed with certainty. Agrippa commanded in Gaul in the years of Rome 716 and 735; and it was, most probably, in one of those expeditions that he received the Ubians under the protection of Rome. The Ubians in their new settlement built a city on the banks of the Rhine. It was the birth-place of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the mother of Nero. Being married afterwards to the emperor Claudius, she established a colony of veterans in the city of the Ubians, which was from that time called *the Agrippinian colony*; and thence the modern name of *Cologne*. The people were pleased with a title, which at once did honour to their protectress, and recalled the name of the first founder. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 27.

view to their security, as to make them a guard to defend the Roman frontier.

XXIX. Of all these various nations the Batavians[1] are the most brave and warlike. Incorporated formerly with the Cattians, but driven out by intestine divisions, they took possession of an island, formed by the river Rhine, where, without any extent of land on the continent, they established a canton in alliance with the Romans. The honour of that ancient friendship they still enjoy, with the addition of peculiar privileges. They are neither insulted with taxes, nor harassed by revenue-officers. Free from burdens, imposts, and tributes, they are reserved for the day of battle; a nursery of soldiers. The Mattiaci[2] are in like manner at-

1 The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their skill in swimming across rivers, and their faithful attachment to the interest of Rome. In the second book of the *Annals*, s. 10, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the History, they are said to be originally of the Cattian nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marshy island, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. They adhered with unshaken constancy to the Romans. They served in Britain as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent spirit of CIVILIS, they threw off the yoke, and having stormed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to swear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *History*. The Batavian island is said in the *Annals*, b. ii. s. 6, to be formed by two branches of the Rhine; one running in a direct course, and with a rapid current, till it empties itself in the German Ocean; the other more gentle, falling into the Vahal (now the Waal), and thence through the broad mouth of the Mosa (the Meuse) into the Ocean. It is certain, however, that there was another outlet, since Tacitus mentions the canal made by Drusus, the father of Germanicus, through which the Rhine had a communication with several prodigious lakes that discharged themselves into the Ocean. Germanicus sailed through the canal of Drusus to the open sea. See *Annals*, b. ii. s. 8. Grotius, the scholar, and, it may be added, the rival of Tacitus, in his *History of the Wars with Spain*, which, in imitation of his master, he called Annals, has given an account of the country, that may with propriety be inserted in this place. The Isle of Batavia was famous in ancient times. Lying between Gaul and Germany, it afforded convenient opportunities for carrying on the operations of war. The inhabitants were originally a people of the Cattians. Having formed an alliance with the Romans, they furnished levies, and were subject to no other burden; distinguished by their skill in horsemanship, their dexterity in swimming, and their bravery, no less than their fidelity. When Civilis, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, excited them to a revolt, and roused the people of Gaul to assert their liberty, they carried on the war with undaunted valour. *Antiquis temporibus nobilissima fuit Batavorum insula. Germanis Galliisque media, positu ad ducendum transmittendumque bellum opportunissimo. Nomen habitatoribus et origo a Cattis. Romana societate, extra dilectus, cætera sui juris agere; equitandi, nandi peritia, fide, virtute auxiliarium honoratissima. Nec minus clari eo bello, quo, sub initia Vespasiani, Civili duce, Galliæ ad libertatem excitarunt.* Grotius goes on to give a description of the isle of Batavia. The Rhine, he says, branching off into the Vahal, and flowing also in another channal, where it still retained its own name, embraced the island of Batavia, and through two different mouths discharged itself into the ocean. That which lay to the right, and opened to the sea near Leyden, being narrow and scanty, was in time lost into the Leck and a waste of sand. The other branch of the river, which ran into the Vahal, flowed into the Meuse, and through that opening emptied itself in the German Ocean. At present, before it reaches the mouth of the Meuse, it washes a number of islands, and, being frequently swelled by inundations from the sea, it spreads a surface more like a sea than the current of a river. The third channel, through which the Rhine flows on the right hand farther towards the north, was the military work of Drusus. The river falling through that artificial canal into the Issel, and thence into the lakes, which divide the two nations of the Frisians, contracted its current near the isle of Flevus, and took the name of that place during the rest of its course into the ocean. But the face of this whole country has been so changed by inundations, that now the whole body of water looks more like an irruption of the sea, than the bed of a river. *Eam insulam Rhenus in Vahalim et sui nominis alveum distinctus, at duobus maxime capitibus in oceanum influens, amplectitur. Dextrum Lugdano non procul exibat, olim etiam tenue, post vi tempestatis sabulo obstructum, aquas in Leccam vertit. Sinistro Mosæ mixtus Vahalis ostio tenus ripis continebatur. Hodie, antequam eo perveniat, varias insulas interfusus, ob crebra diluvia in maris speciem transeiit. Tertium Rheno ostium, quod a dextro longius in Septentriones abit, Drusus aperuit. Nam in Isalam flumen perductus amnis opere militari, inde se immergens in lacus, quibus Frisiorum nationes distinebantur, arctatusque apud Flevum insulam, hoc eodem accepto nomine in oceanum effluebat. Cæterum et hæc facies locorum ita mutata est, ut non emitti fluvius, sed contra, mare terras irrupisse, et, angusto primum ingressu, laxare mox se in spatium ingentis sinus videbatur.* The bay or gulf mentioned by Grotius, is called a lake by Tacitus, and now bears the name of *Zuiderzee*. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, gives to the Rhine four openings into the sea. The first is called the Waal, which running through Guelderland by Nimmeguen, loses itself in the Maese; the second, which keeps the name of the Rhine, passes by Arnheim, and thence in a contracted channel to Utrecht, and so through Holland and Leyden. The third, called the Leck, takes its course through the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, and so into the sea betwixt Dort and Rotterdam. And the fourth, called the Yssell, which passing by the towns of Zulphen and Deventer, betwixt Guelderland and Over-Yssell, empties itself into the ocean near Amsterdam. Heylin, p. 310. From these accounts it is evident, that the Vahal, or Waal, flowed on the western side of Batavia; but which of the other two, according to Tacitus and Grotius, or the three, according to Heylin, washed the right hand side of the island, remains uncertain. The commentators are agreed, that the name of the island, which was probably Latinized by the Romans, implied a flat marshy country; and, to confirm their opinion, they observe that there is at this day, between the Rhine and the Leck, a low swampy district called BETUVE.

2 The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the Visurgis (the WESER). Their country was partly in Weteravie, and partly in Hesse. Brotier says, Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and that the fountains (FONTES MATTIACI) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

tached to the interest of the Romans. In fact, the limits of the empire have been enlarged, and the terror of our arms has spread beyond the Rhine and the former boundaries. Hence the Mattiaci, still enjoying their own side of the river, are Germans by their situation, yet in sentiment and principle the friends of Rome; submitting, like the Batavians, to the authority of the empire; but, never having been transplanted, they still retain, from their soil and climate, all the fierceness of their native character. The people between the Rhine and the Danube, who occupy a certain tract, subject to an impost of one tenth, and therefore called the Decumate Lands,[3] are not to be reckoned among the German nations. The Gauls, from their natural levity prone to change, and rendered desperate by their poverty, were the first adventurers into that vacant region. The Roman frontier, in process of time, being advanced, and garrisons stationed at proper posts, that whole country became part of a province, and the inhabitants of course were reduced to subjection.

XXX. Beyond the Mattiaci lies the territory of the Cattians,[4] beginning at the Hercynian forest, but not, like other parts of Germany, a wide and dreary level of fens and marshes. A continued range of hills extends over a prodigious tract, till growing thinner by degrees they sink at last into an open country. The Hercynian forest attends its favourite Cattians to their utmost boundary, and there leaves them, as it were, with regret. The people are robust and hardy; their limbs well braced;[5] their countenance fierce, and their minds endowed with vigour beyond the rest of their countrymen. Considered as Germans, their understanding is quick and penetrating. They elect officers fit to command, and obey them implicitly; they keep their ranks, and know how to seize their opportunity; they restrain their natural impetuosity, and wait for the attack; they arrange with judgment the labours of the day, and throw up entrenchments for the night; trusting little to fortune, they depend altogether on their

3 The country where the decumate lands were situated is now called Suabia. During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in possession. In the time of Augustus, Maroboduus, their king, a brave, politic, and ambitious prince, saw that the Rhine was not a sufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He resolved to seek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houses strongly built; and all their wealth consisted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the soil. A band of adventurers, supposed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took possession of the vacant lands; and being subjects of the empire, they continued to own their former masters, and, as was necessary in their new situation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*. Cicero says, the whole soil of Sicily is decuman. *Omnis ager Siciliæ decumanus est.* The tithe of their products was the tribute usually paid by the provinces that made a voluntary submission to the Romans. Suabia was converted by the new settlers into a Roman province, and, as Tacitus expressly says, was defended from the incursions of the Germans by a chain of posts. Tacitus wrote his Treatise in the second consulship of Trajan. That emperor repaired all the forts erected by Drusus, and the several commanders in Germany. Hadrian raised a rampart, which extended from Neustadt, on the banks of the Danube, over a large tract of country as far as the Neckar, near Wimpsen, a space of sixty French leagues. This rampart, La Bletterie says, subsisted in the time of Aurelian, but could then no longer withstand the irruption of the German nations. Those fierce invaders bore down all opposition, till the emperor Probus checked their progress, and, in the place of the former rampart, which was raised with wood and turf, built a stone wall to repress the enemy. The design was grand, but it proved ineffectual. About the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, the Germans began to see, that, while they fought in detached parties, the general interest was in danger. The spirit of liberty was roused, and a combination was formed to act with the united vigour of all Germany. Towards the Lower Rhine a league was formed under the name of the FRANKS; a word that signified FREEMEN. Towards the southern parts of the Rhine, the people bordering on the decumate lands, and the stone wall of Probus, established another confederation, under the name of ALLMANNI, importing that it was the league of a brave people; ALL MEN; *omnes viri.* In the following verses of Claudian we find that poet no stranger to the name of the *Franks* and the *Alamanni*.

> —— Pavidique orantes murmure *Franci*
> Procubuere solo. Juratur Honorius absens,
> Imploratque tuam supplex *Alamannia* nomen.
> *De IV. Consulat. Honorii*, v. 447.

In the time of Dioclesian and Maximin, the wall built by Probus was overturned by the German invaders, who possessed themselves of the decumate country, and called it ALAMANNIA. The word has been adopted by the French, who call Germany by the name of ALLMAGNE, and the Germans, les ALLEMANS. See *Alsatia Illustrata*, tom. i. p. 174 and 241.

4 The territory of the Mattiaci is said by the commentators to have been between the Rhine, the Mayne, the river Sala, and part of the Hercynian Forest near the Weser: now the countries of Hesse, Thuringia, part of Paderborn, and Franconia. Brotier says, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy, have remarked of the Suevi, should always be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes that the people were called Catti, from some resemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being CATTE.

5 Brotier quotes a passage from Vegetius, in which that author gives a lively description of the form and structure of body proper for a soldier. Let the youth intended for a martial life have a quick piercing eye, a neck firm and erect, an open chest, broad and muscular shoulders, strong fingers, a length of arm, the belly not too prominent, legs well shaped, without superfluous flesh either on the calf or the foot, well braced with hard and close compacted sinews. Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 6.

valour; and, what is rare in the history of Barbarians, and never attained without regular discipline, they place their confidence, not in the strength of their armies, but entirely in their general.[1] The infantry is their main strength. Each soldier carries, besides his arms, his provision and a parcel of military tools. You may see other armies rushing to a battle; the Cattians march to a war. To skirmish in detached parties, or to sally out on a sudden emergence, is not their practice. A victory hastily gained, or a quick retreat, may suit the genius of the cavalry; but all that rapidity, in the opinion of the Cattians, denotes want of resolution; perseverance is the true mark of courage.

XXXI. A custom, known, indeed, in other parts of Germany, but adopted only by a few individuals of a bold and ardent spirit, is with the Cattians a feature of the national character. From the age of manhood they encourage the growth of their hair and beard;[2] nor will any one, till he has slain an enemy, divest himself of that excrescence, which by a solemn vow he has devoted to heroic virtue. Over the blood and spoils of the vanquished the face of the warrior is, for the first time, displayed. The Cattian then exults; he has now answered the true end of his being, and has proved himself worthy of his parents and his country. The sluggard continues unshorn, with the uncouth horrors of his visage growing wilder to the close of his days. The men of superior courage and uncommon ferocity wear also an iron ring,[3] in that country

1 This was an improvement in military discipline beyond the rest of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main strength; and, accordingly, Livy says, it was evident that the republic succeeded more by her general officers than by the armies of the commonwealth. *Ut facile appareret, ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse.* Livy, lib. ii. Florus expresses a similar thought with his usual brevity; *Tanti exercitus, quanti imperator.* Lib. ii. cap. 18. The value of an army is in proportion to the skill of the general. Quintilian agrees with the two historians; he says, If we make a fair estimate, it is by military discipline that the Roman name has flourished to this day with undiminished lustre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations; nor are our bodies more robust than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurement to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military system established by the institutions of our ancestors; our attention to discipline; our love of labour, and our constant preparation for war, assiduously kept alive by unremitting exercise. We conquered more by our manners, than by force of arms. Quintilian, *Pro Milite*, Declam. iii. s. 14.

2 Vows of this kind occur in the history of various nations. In the days of chivalry the same custom prevailed, and manifestly owed its origin to the practice of the Germans, who over-ran all Europe. He who undertook a bold enterprise, or thirsted for revenge, made a vow never to sleep in a bed, nor take off his clothes day or night, till he had executed his grand design. Upon this principle, Civilis, the Batavian chief, curtails his hair and beard as soon as he had performed his promise. See Tacitus, *History*, b. iv. s. 61. Lipsius, in his note on that passage, mentions from the History of the Langobards six thousand Saxons, who survived the slaughter of their countrymen, and bound themselves by a solemn vow, neither to shave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themselves on the Suevian nation. Brotier relates the same fact from Warnefrid's *History of the Lombards*, b. iii. ch. 7. This practice of encouraging the growth of the hair was known to Silius Italicus, and accordingly that poet mentions, among the slain in one of his battles, a Gaul, who had bound himself by a similar vow, never to be shorn till he returned victorious from the field of battle.

> Occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
> Cesariem, crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
> Auro certantem, et rutilum sub vertice nodum.
> *Bell. Punic.* lib. iv. v. 202

A modern instance of this custom occurs in Strada's *History of the Wars between Spain and the United Provinces*. After relating at some length the charge against Egmont and Horn, with their sentence and execution, the historian adds, that William Lume, one of the counts of Marc, bound himself by a barbarian vow (as Civilis the Batavian chief had formerly done in his war with the Romans) not to divest himself of his hair, till he obtained revenge for the deaths of the two slaughtered heroes. Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, lib. vii. p. 338. Grotius relates the same event with the brevity of his master Tacitus. Egmont and Horn, he says, two men no less distinguished by their martial exploits than by their illustrious birth, were brought forth at Brussels as soon as mass was ended, and, by order of the duke of Alva, executed on a public scaffold. Their heads, affixed to two high poles, exhibited a public spectacle, which the Dutch beheld with horror. A band of soldiers under arms overawed the common people, and controlled their looks, their tears, and their complaints; but compassion sunk the deeper, and revenge took possession of every brave and warlike mind. An incredible multitude gathered round the tombs of the two victims, printing kisses on the place, and washing it with their tears. Numbers vowed to let their hair grow into length, and, according to the ancient custom, never to shorten it till they revenged that noble blood. *Hi duo viri, omnium confessione eminentissimi, nec minus factis quam stirpe illustres, Bruxellæ, post sacra Romano ritu peracta, loco publico cervices carnifici præbuere. Capita aliquamdiu suffixa palis, Belgarum in oculis atrox spectaculum; et quamquam circumfusa arma vocibus ac prope vultibus imminebant, altius animis omnium miseratio, fortiorum etiam ultio insedit, cum incredibilis turbæ oculis et fletu sepulchra celebrarentur, alii vero et comas promiserent, priscum in morem obligato oris habitu, quem non mutarent, nisi vindicato tam nobili sanguine.* Grotius, *Annal.* b. ii. p. 40.

3 This custom of voluntarily putting on a badge of slavery was observed by the descendants of the Germans in various parts of Europe, and in the times of chivalry seems to have grown into general use. It was then a mark of amorous gallantry. In the year 1414, John, duke of Bourbon, to distinguish himself in the service of his mistress, associated himself with sixteen knights and squires, who all joined him in a vow, by which they obliged themselves to wear a ring round their left legs on every Sunday for two years; that of the knights

a badge of infamy, and with that, as with a chain, they appear self-condemned to slavery, till by the slaughter of an enemy they have redeemed their freedom. With this extraordinary habit the Cattians are in general much delighted. They grow grey under a vow of heroism, and by their voluntary distinctions render themselves conspicuous to their friends and enemies. In every engagement the first attack is made by them: they claim the front of the line as their right, presenting to the enemy an appearance wild and terrible. Even in the time of peace they retain the same ferocious aspect; never softened with an air of humanity. They have no house to dwell in, no land to cultivate, no domestic care to employ them. Wherever chance conducts them, they are sure of being maintained. Lavish of their neighbours' substance, and prodigal of their own, they persist in this course, till towards the decline of life their drooping spirit is no longer equal to the exertions of a fierce and rigid virtue.

XXXII. The Usipians and Tencterians[4] border on the Cattians. Their territory lies on the banks of the Rhine, where that river, still flowing in one regular channel, forms a sufficient boundary. In addition to their military character, the Tencterians are famous for the discipline of their cavalry. Their horse is no way inferior to the infantry of the Cattians. The wisdom of their ancestors formed the military system, and their descendants hold it in veneration. Horsemanship is the pride of the whole country, the pastime of their children, the emulation of their youth, and the habit of old age. With their goods and valuable effects their horses pass as part of the succession, not, however, by the general rule of inheritance, to the eldest son, but, in a peculiar line, to that son who stands distinguished by his valour and his exploits in war.

XXXIII. In the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned states formerly occurred the Bructerians,[5] since that time dispossessed of their territory, and, as fame reports, now no longer a people. The Chamavians and Angrivarians,[6]

to be gold, and that of the gentlemen silver. And this they were to perform till it should be their lot to meet with an equal number of knights and squires, to engage with them in the tournament. Vertot, *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 595.

4 The Usipii are supposed to have occupied the duchy of Cleves, and part of the bishopric of Munster. Martial makes mention of this people:

> Sic leve flaverum valent genus Usipiorum.
>
> Lib. vi. epig. 60.

Cæsar calls them *Usipetes;* and they, he says, with the Tencteri, were driven by the Suevians from their territories; and, having wandered over many regions of Germany during a space of three years, they settled at last on the banks of the Rhine, near the Menapians, who had lands on both sides of the river. Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1. Afterwards, in the reign of Augustus, when the Sicambri were transplanted to the west side of the Rhine by Tiberius, who commanded the legions in those parts, the Usipians and Tencterians succeeded to the lands left vacant in Germany; supposed now to be the duchy of Berg, and Mark, Lippe, Waldeck, and the bishopric of Paderborn. In the *History of Tacitus*, b. iv. s. 64, we see them acting in conjunction with Civilis against the Romans.

5 The Bructerians dwelt between the Rhine, the Luppia (the Lippe,) and Amisia (the Ems.) The country is now supposed to be Westphalia, and Over-Yssel. They entered into an alliance with Civilis, the Batavian chief; and, having in the course of that war incurred the hatred of their countrymen, they were at length exterminated. It is observable, however, that Tacitus does not state the ruin of the people as a positive fact. He mentions it as a report. That they were still a people, appears in a letter of Pliny, who wrote in the time of Trajan. The emperor, he tells us, decreed a triumphal statute to Vestritius Spurinna, who, without the necessity of coming to an engagement, humbled the Bructerians by the terror of his name. The barbarians had experienced his courage and his conduct, and therefore not only received their king from him, but quietly submitted to their former government. Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7. It is probable, therefore, that Tacitus was misinformed. Claudian, the celebrated poet, who flourished in the fourth century of the Christian era, in the time of the emperor Theodosius, mentions the Bructerians as a people, who, with the rest of the German nations, submitted to the Roman general.

> ——— venit secula sylva
> Bructerus Hercynia.
>
> *De IV. Consul. Honorii*, v. 459.

It is still to be observed, that neither this passage in Claudian, nor that in Pliny's letter, has fixed the place where the Bructerians resided. If, according to the poet, they were contiguous to the Hercynian Forest, it confirms what Tacitus says, that they were driven from their territory. Wherever they dwelt, there is reason to conclude that they were still a people. The report to the contrary, seems to have had no foundation. Eccard (*De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 304) says, they settled between Cologne and Hesse, and were afterwards engaged in the league of the Franks.

6 The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amisia (the Ems,) supposed to be Lingen and Osnaburg. The Angrivarians bordered on the Visurgis (the Weser,) where at present are Minden and Schawenburg. They were also called Angrarii; a word which, Gronovius observes, according to the German etymology, signifies AGGRESSORS. Brotier says, they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The same writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought against the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Drusus (see s. xxix. note,) and the account of that prodigious slaughter arrived at Rome in the first year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occasion seems to exult in the destruction of the human species. *Above sixty thousand of the Germans*, he says, *lay dead on the field of battle; a glorious spectacle for the legions who beheld that scene of blood.* The ambition of the Romans aiming always at universal dominion, it was part of their policy to give the name of barbarians to the nations that did not tamely submit to their victorious

it is said, with the consent of the adjacent tribes invaded the country, and pursued the ancient settlers with exterminating fury. The intolerable pride of the Bructerians drew upon them this dreadful catastrophe. The love of plunder, was, no doubt, a powerful motive; and, perhaps, the event was providentially ordained in favour of the Roman people. Certain it is, the gods have of late indulged us with the view of a fierce engagement, and a scene of carnage, in which above sixty thousand of the enemy fell a sacrifice, not to the arms of Rome, but, more magnificent still! to the rage of their own internal discord, all cut off, as it were in the theatre of war, to furnish a spectacle to the Roman army. May this continue to be the fate of foreign nations! If not the friends of Rome, let them be enemies to themselves. For in the present tide of our affairs, what can fortune have in store so devoutly to be wished for as civil dissension amongst our enemies?

XXXIV. At the back of the states, which I have now described, lie the Dulgibinians[1] and the Chasuarians, with other nations of inferior note. In front occurs the country of the Frisians[2] divided into two communities, called, on account of their degrees of strength, the Greater and the Lesser Frisia. Both extend along the margin of the Rhine as far as the ocean, inclosing within their limits lakes of vast extent, where the fleets of Rome have spread their sails. Through that outlet we have attempted the Northern Ocean, where, if we may believe the account of navigators, the pillars of Hercules are seen still standing on the coast; whether it be, that Hercules did in fact visit those parts, or that whatever is great and splendid in all quarters of the globe is by common consent ascribed to that ancient hero. Drusus Germanicus was an adventurer in those seas.[4] He did not want a spirit of enterprise; but the navigation was found impracticable in that tempestuous ocean, which seemed to forbid any further discovery of its own element, or the labours of Hercules. Since that time no expedition has been undertaken: men conceived that to respect the mysteries of the gods, and believe without inquiry, would be the best proof of veneration.[5]

XXXV. We have hitherto traced the western side of Germany. From the point, where we

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arms. The combats of their gladiators inured them to blood and carnage from their very infancy; and, by consequence, they considered the race of man as so many victims, who were to bleed for the ambition of a people who aspired to be the governors of the world. To conquer the proud (*debellare superbos*) was a state maxim, and moral virtue gave way to fierce ambition. There is a passage in Livy not unlike what is said by Tacitus, but not delivered with the same harshness of expression. A contention, he says, arose between the Volsci and the Æqui; each claiming a right to name a commander in chief for their confederate army. A violent sedition followed, and the consequence was a bloody engagement, in which the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed two armies of the enemy. *Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prælium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus, haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine, confecit.* Livy, lib. ii. s. 40.

1 It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe; and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the Attuarii: see Paterc. lib. ii. s. 105. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, said by Tacitus to have dwelt in their neighbourhood, are supposed by Brotier to have been the Ansibarii and Tubantes. The former he thinks should rather be called Amsibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amisia.

2 The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus *entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Drusus. Annals*, b. ii. s. 8. It has been since enlarged by irruptions of the sea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Lesser Frisians were settled on the south-west side of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland and Utrecht. The Greater Frisians were on the north-east of the lake or gulf, in the territory now called Groningen, extending themselves along the sea-coast as far as the river Amisia (now the Ems.) The name of the Frisians seems to be preserved in that of FRIESLAND, the most northern of the United Provinces.

3 One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the sea, happened so late as the year 1530, and swallowed up seventy-two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coast of Holland, and laid all Friesland under water. In that flood no less than 20,000 persons lost their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules stood cannot now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open sea lay beyond it, was in ancient times said to be the spot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend that the spot intended by Tacitus was on the coast of the Frisians; others will have it to be the point of the CIMBRIAN CHERSONESUS, now Jutland.

4 Drusus was the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. See the *Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 79. History ascribes to him the most amiable character, and every Roman virtue. Though educated at the court of Augustus, he was in sentiment a republican. He commanded in Germany, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Elbe. He imposed a tribute on the Frisians (see *Annals*, b. iv. s. 72,) and, in order to explore the German Ocean, sailed as far as the point of Jutland: but the art of navigation being then little understood, he did not venture to proceed farther in that violent and tempestuous sea.

5 Tacitus, perhaps, alluded to the precept of the philosopher, who said, *Worship God, believe in him, but do not presume to investigate his nature:* DEUM COLE, ATQUE CREDE, SED NOLI QUÆRERE. The ancients, says La Bletterie, thought it presumptuous to inquire too far into the mysteries of nature; and the moderns do not spare the mysteries of religion.

stop, it stretches away with a prodigious sweep towards the north. In this vast region the first territory that occurs, is that of the Chaucians,[6] beginning on the confines of the Frisians, and, though at the extremity bounded by the sea-shore, yet running at the back of all the nations already described, till, with an immense compass, it reaches the borders of the Cattians. Of this immeasurable tract it is not sufficient to say that the Chaucians possess it: they even people it. Of all the German nations, they are, beyond all question, the most respectable. Their grandeur rests upon the surest foundation, the love of justice; wanting no extension of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never seek to enrich themselves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great; but the best evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing by injustice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike spirit, they are ever ready in a just cause to unsheath the sword. Their armies are soon in the field.[7] In men and horses, their resources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarnished.

XXXVI. Bordering on the side of the Chaucians, and also of the Cattians, lies the country of the Cheruscans;[8] a people by a long disuse of arms enervated and sunk in sloth. Unmolested by their neighbours, they enjoyed the sweets of peace, forgetting that amidst powerful and ambitious neighbours, the repose, which you enjoy, serves only to lull you into a calm, always pleasing, but deceitful in the end. When

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6 The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems (Amisia) to the Elbe (Albis), and the German Ocean washed the northern extremity. The nation was distinguished into the Greater and the Lesser, divided from each other by the Visurgis (the Weser). The former dwelt (as appears in *Annals*, b. ii. s. 18 and 19) between the Ems and the Weser; the latter on the north-east side of the Weser, between that river and the Elbe. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, has represented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He says, he himself had seen the Greater and the Lesser Chaucians, living in a vast level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt, whether it is sea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages, raised above the high-water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fish is their only sustenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and sea-weed. Their fuel is the common mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the sun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almost frozen. The rain-water, collected in ditches round their huts, is their only drink. *Sunt vero in Septemtrione visæ nobis gentes Chaucorum, qui Majores Minoresque appellantur. Vasto ibi meatu, bis dierum noctiumque singularum intervallis, effusus in immensum agitur oceanus, æternam aperiens rerum naturæ controversiam, dubiumque terra sit, an pars maris. Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta altissimi æstus casis ita impositis. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacto fructice. Ulva et palustri junco funes nectunt ad pratexenda piscibus retia; captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam sole siccantes: hac terra cibos et rigentia Septemtrione viscera sua urunt. Potus non nisi ex imbre servato scrobibus in vestibulo domus.* Pliny, lib. xvi. s. 1. Pliny concludes his account of the Chaucians with an observation natural in the mouth of a man, who, with the rest of his country, thought that Rome, as mistress of the world, had a right to give laws to the nations round her, and that subjection was the duty of barbarians. If, he says, that wretched people were conquered by the Romans, they would call it slavery, and complain of the yoke of bondage. The fact is, Fortune spares some nations, but her mercy is the severest punishment. She leaves them to their misery. *Et has gentes, si vincantur hodie a populo Romano, servire se dicunt. Ita est profecto: multis Fortuna parcit in pœnam.* Pliny, it should seem, thought luxury a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty: he did not reflect, that to live under the arbitrary will of man is the worst lot of human life, and that independence can make *barren rocks and bleak mountains smile.* Lucan differed widely from Pliny: Liberty, he says, fled from the guilt of civil war beyond the Tigris and the Rhine, never to return, though often sought by the Romans at the risk of life. In his emphatic manner he calls liberty *a German and a Scythian blessing.*

——Fugiens civile nefas, reditusque nunquam
Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,
Ac, toties nobis jugulo quæsita, negatur,
Germanum Scythicumque bonum!
Lucan, lib. vii. v. 432.

7 The Chaucians, with their love of justice and moderation, still retained their warlike spirit. To prevent their incursions, the Romans found it convenient to station garrisons at proper posts. Lucan alludes to those garrisons; but he gives the people a new name, that of CAYCI.

Et vos crinigeros bellis arcete Cayecos
Oppositi. Lib. i. v. 438.

You too tow'rds Rome advance, ye warlike band,
That wont the shaggy Caeci to withstand.
Rowe's Lucan, b. i. v. 321.

8 The territory of the Cheruscans began near the Weser (Visurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Luneburg, Brunswick, and part of Brandenburg. Arminius, their chief, made head against the Romans with distinguished bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the first and second book of the *Annals*. He was at last cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours, in the last section of the second book. Varus and his legions were destroyed by the zeal and violent spirit of Arminius, as appears in the speech of Segestes, *Annals*, b. i. s. 58. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people sunk into sloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occasioned by the death of Arminius; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and sent to command the legions in the east. In the time of Augustus, they occupied a large tract of country on the west side of the Weser, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Drusus, and his wars in Germany.

the sword is drawn, and the power of the strongest is to decide, you talk in vain of equity and moderation: those virtues always belong to the conqueror. Thus it has happened to the Cheruscans: they were formerly just and upright; at present they are called fools and cowards. Victory has transferred every virtue to the Cattians, and oppression takes the name of wisdom. The downfall of the Cheruscans drew after it that of the Fosi,[1] a contiguous nation, in their day of prosperity never equal to their neighbours, but fellow-sufferers in their ruin.

XXXVII. In the same northern part of Germany we find the Cimbrians[2] on the margin of the ocean; a people at present of small consideration, though their glory can never die. Monuments of their former strength and importance are still to be seen on either shore. Their camps and lines of circumvallation are not yet erased. From the extent of ground which they occupied, you may even now form an estimate of the force and resources of the state, and the account of their grand army, which consisted of such prodigious numbers, seems to be verified. It was in the year of Rome six hundred and forty, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, that the arms of the Cimbrians first alarmed the world. If from that period we reckon to the second consulship of the emperor Trajan, we shall find a space of near two hundred and ten years: so long has Germany stood at bay with Rome! In the course of so obstinate a struggle, both sides have felt alternately the severest blows of fortune, and the worst calamities of war. Not the Samnite, nor the republic of Carthage, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthian, has given such frequent lessons to the Roman people. The power of the Arsacidæ[3]

1 This is the only place in which Tacitus makes mention of the Fosi. Cluverius and others, suppose that they were the same as the ancient Saxons. But this opinion does not seem to be well supported. According to Ptolemy, the Saxons inhabited the country of Holstein at the entrance of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, or Jutland. The name of the Saxons could not be mentioned by Tacitus: it was not known till long after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, when, in conjunction with the Angles, they issued from their hive, and afterwards became masters of Britain. The Fosi were a different people. They bordered on the Cheruscans near the Elbe; and, since we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, subordinate to that nation.

2 The Cimbri inhabited the peninsula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is now Jutland, including Sleswic and Holstein. In the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, A. U. C. 640, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian era, this people, in conjunction with the Teutones, made an irruption into Gaul, and having spread terror and devastation through the country, resolved to push their conquest into Italy. They sent a deputation to the senate, demanding an allotment of lands, and in return promising fidelity. It appears in the Epitome of Livy, lxv. that, the senate having refused to enter into any compromise with such bold invaders, the new consul, Marcus Silanus, marched against them. The Cimbri stormed his intrenchments, pillaged the camp, and put almost the whole army to the sword. This victory was followed by the defeat of three more Roman generals, who lost their camp, and had their armies cut to pieces. Florus does not hesitate to say, that Rome was on the brink of destruction, had there not existed in that age a Marius to redeem the Roman name. That officer had triumphed over Jugurtha, and his military skill was equal to his valour. He gave battle to the Teutones at the foot of the Alps, near the place then called Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence), and gained a complete victory. Livy says, (Epitome, lxviii.), that no less than two hundred thousand of the enemy were slain in the action. The whole nation perished. Florus adds, that their king Theutobochus was taken prisoner; and, in the triumph of Marius, his immense statue, towering above the heaps of warlike trophies, exhibited to the Roman people an astonishing spectacle. The Cimbri, in the mean time, passed over the Alps, and made a descent into Italy. They penetrated as far as the banks of the Adige, and, having crossed that river, in spite of Catulus Luctatius, the Roman general, spread a general panic through the country. They halted near the Po, and sent to Marius a second time to demand a place for their habitation. Marius answered, that "their brethren, the Teutones, already possessed more than they desired, and that they would not easily quit what had been assigned to them." Enraged by that taunting raillery, the Cimbri prepared for a decisive action. Florus says, that their vigour was relaxed by the soft clime of Italy. The battle was fought, according to Florus, at a place called Raudium, on the east side of the river Lessites, which runs from the Alpes Graiæ, and falls into the Po. Victory declared for the Romans. If we may believe Livy, Florus, and Plutarch in the Life of Marius, above one hundred and forty thousand of the Cimbri perished in the engagement. Mention has already been made (s. viii. note) of the behaviour of the Cimbrian women, when they saw the victory in the hands of the Romans. They dashed out the brains of their children, and completed the tragedy by destroying themselves. In this manner ended the expedition of the Cimbri. The reader who desires to see the history of that transaction more in detail, will find it related with accuracy and elegance in Mons. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 22. The number of the Cimbri, and their confederates, the Teutones, said to have been destroyed by Marius in his two engagements, would seem incredible, were it not in some degree explained by Florus, who says, that the whole nation was driven by inundations of the sea, to seek new habitations in every quarter of the globe. *Cum terras eorum inundasset oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quærebant.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 3. Plutarch, in the life of Marius, says, that the number of fighting men was 300,000, besides as great a number of women and children. Their native country, after this grand emigration, continued so depopulated, that at the end of two centuries, when Tacitus wrote this tract, it had not been able to recover itself. It was long after that the Angles and Saxons issued from their northern hive, as Sir William Temple calls it, to establish their Anglo-Saxon government in this island.

3 Oriental despotism was not able to shake the solid strength of the Roman republic. Parthia was divided

was not so formidable as German liberty. If we except the slaughter of Crassus and his army, what has the east to boast of? Their own commander, Pacorus, was cut off, and the whole nation was humbled by the victory of Ventidius. The Germans can recount their triumphs over Carbo, Cassius,[4] Scaurus Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Manlius,[5] all defeated, or taken prisoners. With them the republic lost five consular armies; and since that time, in the reign of Augustus, Varus perished with his three legions. Caius Marius,[6] it is true, defeated the Germans in Italy; Julius Cæsar made them retreat from Gaul: and Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, overpowered them in their own country; but how much blood did those victories cost us! The mighty projects of Caligula ended in a ridiculous farce. From that period an interval of peace succeeded, till, roused at length by the dissensions of Rome, and the civil wars that followed, they stormed our legions in their winter-quarters,[7] and even planned the conquest

by a long tract of country, and by the Mediterranean Sea. The brilliant splendour of the Arsacidæ might glitter in the eyes of courtiers, whose ambition aimed at honours and marks of distinction, and the people were dazzled by the glory of their monarch. But glory, though it is the principle that unites the subjects in support of despotism, is weak and powerless, when opposed to the virtue of a republic, or the love of freedom that pervades a fierce and savage nation. The latter is a passion implanted by the hand of nature; the motives of slaves are all artificial. The Germans took up arms in defence of liberty; the Parthians fought for the splendour of the imperial diadem, and, by consequence, rivetted their own chains. It is true that Crassus and his whole army were cut to pieces; but the Parthians delivered hostages to the Romans, and their princes received their sceptre from the hands of the emperor. The Germans made a fiercer resistance. The Cimbrians and the Teutones filled all Italy with terror. From that time, during a space of more than two centuries to the reign of Trajan, Rome and Germany were often at war, with alternate victory, and alternate slaughter. Arminius roused his countrymen against the Romans, and he is called by Tacitus the DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, declared to his people, that Syria, Asia, and the oriental nations, inured to the yoke of despotism, might continue to crouch in bondage; but as to himself and the Gauls, they were born in freedom. By the death of Varus slavery was driven out of Germany. Those were the sentiments that inflamed the martial spirit of that adventurer. With what heroic ardour he prosecuted the war, Tacitus has related in the fourth book of his History. The historian, most probably, foresaw that German liberty would in the end accomplish the ruin of the empire; and that foreknowledge, perhaps, extorted from him the fervent prayer which he offers up (s. xxxiii.) for the continuance of civil discord among the enemies of Rome. This triumph of the Germans happened long after the time of Tacitus. In the year of Rome 1229, and of the Christian era 476, Odoacer overturned the western empire, and left the last of the emperors to languish in a castle near Naples. Before the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne, king of the Franks, caused one of his sons to be crowned king of Italy by Pope Adrian, and, by the rapid progress of his arms, proved what Tacitus has said, that German liberty is more vigorous than eastern despotism. See Charlemagne's Preface to the Salic Law, a monument of antiquity which, Brotier says, is seldom inspected even by the curious. For that reason he has given it at length in his notes on this section of Tacitus.

4 The slaughter of Crassus and his army is well known: but in revenge Pacorus, son of Orodes, the Parthian king, was put to death, and the kingdom was reduced to a lower condition than even that of Ventidius, who gained a complete victory. Tacitus says, *infra Ventidium dejectus oriens*, alluding to the meanness of that officer's first employment: he let out mules for hire, and was afterwards raised to the consulship by Antony the triumvir. Upon that occasion a libel was fixed up in the public places of Rome, stating, as a kind of prodigy, that the man who dressed mules was made a consul.

> Portentum insuitatum conflatum est recens;
> Nam mules qui fricabat, consul factus est.

The victory obtained by this man (see Florus, lib. iv. s. 9.) places the weakness of the Parthians in a clear point of view. But the loss of so many Roman consuls with their armies, shows the warlike genius of the Germans. Carbo was consul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians, with his whole army. Livy, Epitome lxiii. Lucius Cassius was consul A. U. C. 647. He himself was slain in battle, and his whole army passed under the yoke. Cæsar, b. i. s. 12. See Livy, Epitome lxv.

5 Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner. Being summoned to a consultation held by the enemy, he advised them not to think of passing the Alps, because the Romans were invincible. For that offence Bolorix, a young man of great ferocity, killed him on the spot. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Servilius Cæpio proconsul, and Cneius Manlius consul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Florus, lib. iii. s. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 12. This last defeat happened A. U. C. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do justice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to observe that these disasters happened in the best days of Rome, that is, in the time of the republic. *Quinque simul consulares exercitus* POPULO ROMANO *abstulerunt*. He adds, that Augustus the emperor lost Varus and his three legions. The calamity made such an impression on the mind of Augustus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair and beard grow for several months, at times striking his head against the wall, and exclaiming, "QUINTILIUS VARUS, GIVE ME BACK MY LEGIONS." Sueton. *in Augusto*, s. 23. See the fine description of Germanicus and his army traversing the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen lay unburied. *Annals*, b. i. s. 61.

6 Marius, as has been mentioned, triumphed over the Teutones and the Cimbri. See s. 37, note.

7 During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, Claudius Civilis, the Batavian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plausible pretence of promoting the interest of Vespasian, but, in fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himself the friend of Vespasian, while he stormed the Roman camps, and obliged the legions to

of Gaul. Indeed we forced them to repass the Rhine; but from that time what has been our advantage? We have triumphed, and Germany is still unconquered.

XXXVIII. The Suevians[1] are the next that claim attention. Possessing the largest portion of Germany, they do not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, form one state or community, but have among themselves several subdivisions, or inferior tribes, known by distinct appellations, yet all comprehended under the general name of Suevians. It is the peculiar custom of this people to braid the hair, and tie it up in a knot.[2] Between them and the rest of the Germans this is the mark of distinction. In their own country it serves to discriminate the free-born from the slave. If the same mode is seen in other states, introduced by ties of consanguinity, or, as often happens, by the propensity of men to imitate foreign manners, the instances are rare, and confined entirely to the season of youth. With the Suevians the custom is continued through life: men far advanced in years are seen with their hoary locks interwoven, and fastened behind, or sometimes gathered into a shaggy knot on the crown of the head. The chiefs are more nicely adjusted: they attend to ornament, but it is a manly attention, not the spirit of intrigue or the affectation of appearing amiable in the eyes of women. When going to engage the enemy, they fancy that from the high structure of their hair they appear taller and gain an air of ferocity. Their dress is a preparation for battle.

XXXIX. The Semnones[3] are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion. On a stated day a procession is made into a wood consecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The several tribes of the same descent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the slaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous worship is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with superstitious terror. No man enters that holy sanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting his humble sense of his own condition, and the superior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not presume to rise, but in that grovelling state makes his way out of the wood. The doctrine intended by this bigotry is, that from this spot the whole nation derives its origin, and that here is the sacred mansion of the all-ruling mind, the supreme God of the universe,[4] who holds every thing else in a chain

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surrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of the German nations into a conspiracy; and acting on every occasion with consummate policy, he appears to have learned in the school of the Romans the art of contending with his masters. What he attempted was reserved for a later period, and for the abilities of William Nassau, who freed the United Provinces from the dominion of Spain. See the enterprising spirit and the gallant exploits of Civilis in the History of Tacitus, book iv. He was at length abandoned by the Germans, and, by consequence, reduced to the necessity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general. An imperfect account of this transaction may be seen in what remains of the fifth book of the History, which has suffered by the injury of time.

1 The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vast extent, stretching southward from the Baltic to the Danube, and eastward from the Elbe to the Vistula, which was the boundary that separated Germany from Sarmatia. Several nations inhabited that vast tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and being so connected, were called by one general appellation. Some distinct states were subject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards established took the title of ALAMANNI: see this Tract, s. 29, note. The two names have been promiscuously used by historians to signify the Suevi or the Alamanni: and hence the country, which, after the destruction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamannia and Suabia.

2 It should seem, from what is here said, that the rest of the Germans let their hair flow loosely about their head and shoulders. Seneca mentions the ruddy hair of the Germans gathered into a knot; but he does not call it a general custom: he only says it was not deemed unmanly. *Nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet.* Seneca, *De Ira*, lib. iii. cap. 26. Martial, in his first book (epigram iii.) on the public spectacles exhibited at Rome, talks of the Sicambri with their hair collected into a knot:

Crinibus in nodum tortis venere Sicambri.

In a passage already cited from Silius Italicus (s. 31, note) that poet mentions the ruddy hair tied up into a knot. *Et rutilum sub vertice nodum.*

3 The Semnones occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the ODER), with part of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and also of Silesia. The late king of Prussia has thrown great light on the history of the Semnones. See his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*.

4 The belief of a Supreme God, the governor of the universe, has been from the earliest time common to all nations, however rude and barbarous. It is well known to have been the persuasion of the Scythians, from whom the Germans derived their origin; and it is also known that the Scythians offered human sacrifices. Accordingly we find the Semnones addicted to the same barbarous rites. The old treatise of Icandic mythology, entitled the EDDA, shows that the Scandinavians believe in a supreme Deity, "the author of every thing that exists; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being; the searcher into concealed things, the Being that never changeth." See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 78. That the Americans believed in a God and a future state, appears in Charlevoix and other travellers. This concurring opinion of all mankind is observed by Cicero, who says, there never was a people so rude, so savage, and so sunk in ignorance, as not to be impressed with the idea of a supreme all-ruling mind. The conceptions of men are, indeed, gross and extravagant; but still all acknowledge a superior

of dependence on his will and pleasure. To these tenets much credit arises from the weight and influence of the Semnones, a populous nation, distributed into a hundred cantons, and by the vast extent of their territory entitled to consider themselves as the head of the Suevian nation.

XL. The Langobards[5] exhibit a contrast to the people last described. Their dignity is derived from the paucity of their numbers. Surrounded as they are by great and powerful nations, they live independent, owing their security not to mean compliances, but to that warlike spirit with which they encounter danger. To these succeed in regular order the Reudignians,[6] the Aviones, Angles, and Varinians: the Eudocians, Nuithones, and Suardonians, all defended by rivers, or embosomed in forests. In these several tribes there is nothing that merits attention, except that they all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or as they call her Herth,[7] whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in human affairs, and, at times, visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island[8] in the Northern Ocean is

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Being, and a divinity that stirs within them. *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Multi de diis prava sentiunt: omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur. Tuscul. Quæstion.* lib. i. s. 13.

5 The Langobards are supposed, in the time of Augustus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenburg and Magdeburg, on the west side of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus says, they were subdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. *Fracti Langobardi; gens etiam Germana ferocitate ferocior.* Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 106. Suetonius (*Life of Augustus*, s. 21) says, they were driven beyond the Elbe. It is evident, however, that they afterwards recovered their strength, since we find the dominion of the Langobards flourishing in Italy, till in the year 784 they were totally subdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preserved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps because they were in his time of little or no consideration; though at the end of several centuries, they were able to make an irruption into Gaul, where they possessed the country which, after them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are still extant.

6 With regard to the seven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of history to guide us at a distant period. Brotier supposes that the Reudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenburg and Lauenburg. The Aviones, he thinks, were situated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenburg, near a river which, after their name, is called AVA by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eastern part of Mecklenburg, where the city of Warren stands at present. The Eudosians, the Nuithones and Suardonians, are almost lost in the mists of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holstein and Sleiswick. In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition into Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the southern part of the island, immortalized the glory of their nation.

7 As Tacitus is here speaking of the adoration paid to a goddess by the several nations whose names have been enumerated, it is not probable that, in Latinizing a barbarous word, he should give it a masculine termination. The text says, HERTHUM, *id est, Terram Matrem colunt.* So, it seems, the word stands in all the manuscripts; and yet, it may be presumed, that the author wrote HERTHAM. The name in all the northern languages signifies earth; in the ancient Gothic, *airtha;* in the Anglo Saxon, *eorthe, ertha, hertha;* in English, *earth.* See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 92. The worship of Mother Earth has been common in all unenlightened nations. We read in a Latin historian, that a tremor of the earth being felt when two armies were in the heat of battle. Sempronius, the Roman general, bound himself by a vow to build a temple to the goddess. *Tremente inter prælium campo, Tellurem deam promissa æde placavit.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 19. The deity that presided over the air and the elements, was supposed to be the FATHER of all, and the earth the MOTHER. This is clearly expressed by Lucretius:

> Postremo pervent imbres, ubi eos *Pater Æther*
> In gremium *Matris Terræ* præcipitavit.
>
> Lib. iv. 251.

The same author, in another place, describes those two parents producing corn and fruit, and the whole human race:

> Omnibus ille idem *Pater* est, unde alma liquentes
> Humorum guttas cum *Mater Terra* recepit,
> Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta,
> Et genus humanum.
>
> Lib. ii. 991.

This idea of a creative power was not confined to Greece and Rome. "It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celestial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they had for the earth, which they considered as a goddess. They called her MOTHER EARTH, and the HERTHA of the Germans was the same as *Frica* or *Frea*, the wife of Odin, mother of the gods; she was also known under the name of ASTAGOOD, or the goddess of love; a name not very remote from the ASTARTE of the Phœnicians; and under that of GOYA, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The FATHER of the gods and MOTHER EARTH were called by some of the Scythian nations JUPITER and APIA; by the Thracians, COTIS and BENDIS; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, SATURN and OPS. Antiquity is full of traces of this worship, which was formerly universal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddess, wife of the Supreme God; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Persians offered sacrifices to her." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91 and 95. A festival in honour of MOTHER EARTH was instituted by the Scandinavians, and fixed at the first quarter of the second moon of the year. Mallet says, they sacrificed to the goddess the largest hog they could get. That the same worship was paid by the rude inhabitants of Italy, we have the authority of Horace in the Epistle to Augustus:

> *Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant.*

8 Cluverius pretends, that the island intended by Tacitus is the isle of RUGEN, which is in the Baltic sea, on

dedicated to her. There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and re-conducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a sacred lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live. This part of the Suevian nation stretches away to the most remote and unknown recesses of Germany.

XLI. On the banks of the Danube (for we shall now pursue that river, in the same manner as we have traced the course of the Rhine,) the first and nearest state is that of the Hermundurians,[1] a people in alliance with Rome, acting always with fidelity, and for that reason allowed to trade not only on the frontier, but even within the limits of the empire. They are seen at large in the heart of our splendid colony in the province of Rhætia, without so much as a guard to watch their motions. To the rest of the Germans we display camps and legions, but to the Hermundurians we grant the exclusive privilege of seeing our houses and our elegant villas. They behold the splendour of the Romans, but without avarice, or a wish to enjoy it. In the territories of these people the Elbe takes its rise,[2] a celebrated river, and

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the coast of Pomerania. He mentions a forest on the island, in the midst of which was a vast lake, always an object of superstition. La Bietterie observes, that Helmoldus, a writer of the twelfth century, calls the isle of RUGEN the centre of paganism till the missionaries converted the natives, and built a church. But the Christian religion did not long prevail. The islanders, relapsing into their former errors, banished the priests, and changed the church into a temple for their pagan worship. And yet, as Tacitus places this island in the ocean, and as he afterwards mentions the Rugians (see s. xliii.), without ascribing to them the same religious rites, it is more likely to have been the isle of HEILIGELAND, which is not far from the mouth of the Elbe. The Angles (from whom our English ancestors derived their name) were seated on this coast; and Arnkiel hath shown, in his Cimbric Antiquities, that the ancient Germans held this island in great veneration. The word HEILIGELAND signifies "Holy Land." See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. ii. chap. 18. Other learned men pretend that the isle in question was Zealand; but it is, after all, not very certain or important. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 93.

1 We are now entering on what may be considered as the third part of this Treatise. In the first the author has given a striking picture of the general manners of the whole nation, considered as a people living under the influence of the same rough northern climate. From the beginning of section xxviii. he has traced the several states from the head of the Rhine, in the country of the GRISONS, along the western side of Germany to where it branches off, and forms the isle of Batavia. From that place Tacitus has traced the several nations to the Elbe, and along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, the eastern boundary of Germany. In this third division of the work he pursues the course of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eastern side of the country, where a chain of mountains, or, as he expresses it, mutual fear, draws the line of separation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the first nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at first between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Bolemum (now Bohemia), which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians possessed the southern part of Germany, and, being faithful to the Romans, were highly favoured. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius they entered into a league with their countrymen, and met with a total defeat. The colony in the province of Rhætia (the country of the Grisons), where they enjoyed a free intercourse, was most probably AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Ausburg). Vindelica was a part of Rhætia. The liberty of passing and repassing within the limits of the empire, without a guard to watch their motions, which was granted to the Hermundurians, was a great mark of confidence. The like indulgence was not extended to other nations, as may be seen in the complaint of the Germans to the Ubians, then inhabitants of the Agrippinian colony: The earth, they say, the light of heaven, rivers and cities are barred against us; and, to the disgrace of men born to the use of arms, we are obliged to approach the walls of your city defenceless, naked, in the custody of a guard, and even for this a price is exacted. *Ut, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes, ac prope nudi, sub custode et pretio coiremus.* See *Hist.* b. iv. s. 64.

2 Tacitus is supposed in this place to be guilty of a geographical mistake. The source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that separate that country from Silesia. Bohemia, as will be seen in the following section, was, after the expulsion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It should, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians served in the army of Maroboduus, in his expedition against the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its rise. If so, Tacitus has made no mistake. There is a river, called the EGRA, which rises in Suabia, and this, it is supposed by some of the commentators, Tacitus confounded with the source of the Elbe; a river more known by the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, than by any discoveries made by the Romans since the days of those two commanders.

formerly well known to the Romans. At present we only hear of its name.

XLII. Contiguous to the last mentioned people lies the country of the Nariscans,[3] and next in order the Marcomannians[4] and the Quadians. Of these the Marcomannians are the most eminent for their strength and military glory. The very territory now in their possession is the reward of valour, acquired by the expulsion of the Boians. Nor have the Nariscans or Quadians degenerated from their ancestors. As far as Germany is washed by the Danube, these three nations extend along the banks, and form the frontier of the country. The Marcomannians and the Quadians, within our own memory, obeyed a race of kings, born among themselves, the illustrious issue of Maroboduus[5] and of Tudrus. Foreign princes at present sway the sceptre; but the strength of their monarchy[6] depends upon the countenance and protection of Rome. To our arms they are not often indebted: we choose rather to supply them with money.

XLIII. At the back of the Marcomannians and Quadians lie several nations of considerable force, such as the Marsignians,[7] the Gothinians, the Osians, and the Burians. In dress and language the two last resemble the Suevians. The Gothinians, by their use of the Gallic tongue, and the Osians by the dialect of Pannonia, are evidently not of German original. A further proof arises from their submitting to the disgrace of paying tribute, imposed upon them as aliens and intruders, partly by the Sarmatians, and partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians have still more reason to blush; they submit[8] to the drudgery of digging iron in mines. But a small part of the open and level country is occupied by these several nations: they dwell chiefly in forests, or on the summit of that continued ridge of mountains,[9] by which Suevia is divided and separated from other tribes that lie still more remote. Of these the Lygians[10] are the most powerful, stretching to a great extent, and giving their name to a number of subordinate communities. It will suffice to mention the most considerable; namely, the[11] Arians, the Helvecones, the Manimians, the Elysians, and Naharvalians. The last

3 The Nariscans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria.

4 The Marcomannians, before they took possession of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are said to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemburg, in the north part of the circle of Suabia. They derived their name from the circumstance of their being settled on the borders of Germany, the word MARO signifying a frontier or boundary. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Austria; in the time of Tacitus, a brave and warlike people, but in the reign of VALENTINIAN and VALENS, a nation of little consequence. See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxix. ch. 15.

5 Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, see *Annals*, b. ii. s. 46; and see Velleius Paterculus, who says, that this prince, a barbarian by his birth, not by his talents, was able to subdue the neighbouring states, or by conventions to reduce them to subjection. *Maroboduus, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, finitimos omnes aut bello domuit, aut conditionibus sui juris fecit.* Lib. ii. s. 108. He was attacked afterwards by Catualda at the head of a powerful army, and driven from his throne. He fled for refuge into Italy, and lived a state prisoner at Ravenna during a space of twenty years, forgetting all his former dignity, and growing grey in disgrace and misery. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at present.

6 We are told by Tacitus that it was the policy of Rome to make even kings the instruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors disposed of sceptres whenever an occasion offered itself; and accordingly Tiberius, to keep in subjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63. When the German prince was afterwards attacked by the Hermundurians, the emperor Claudius declined to take any part in the war, thinking it sufficient to promise the German king a safe retreat if the insurgents prevailed against him. *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29. We read in Dio, b. lxvii. that the Lygians, harassed in Mysia by the Suevians, sent their ambassadors to solicit the protection of Domitian, who was unwilling to involve the empire in a war, and therefore sent a slender force, but privately assisted with a supply of money.

7 History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The Marsignians dwelt on the north-east of Bohemia, near the Viadrus (now the ODER), which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia, and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack mountains, and the sources of the Vistula.

8 Ptolemy mentions iron-mines in or near the country of the Quadians. The Gothinians laboured in those mines, and had therefore, says Tacitus, more reason to be ashamed of their submission. This is well explained by Ernest, the German editor: they had iron, and did not make use of it to assert their liberty. The answer of Solon to Crœsus, king of Lydia, is well known: The people, he said, who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold. The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth.

9 These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia.

10 The nations of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia, and Poland as far as the banks of the Vistula. They are mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29.

11 The situation of these several tribes cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Silesia, Brandenburg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the ODER) and the Vistula. Some of the commentators will have it, that the word *Silesia* was derived from the people called the ELYSIANS. The etymology seems to be strained, and how it is supported does not merit further inquiry.

show a grove famous for the antiquity of its religious rites. The priest appears in a female dress. The gods whom they worship, are, in the language of the country, known by the name of Alcis, by Roman interpreters said to be Castor and Pollux.[1] There are, indeed, no idols in their country; no symbolic representation; no traces of foreign superstition. And yet their two deities are adored in the character of young men and brothers. The Arians are not only superior to the other tribes above mentioned, but are also more fierce and savage. Not content with their natural ferocity, they study to make themselves still more grim and horrible by every addition that art can devise. Their shields are black; their bodies painted of a deep colour;[2] and the darkest night is their time for rushing to battle. The sudden surprise and funeral gloom of such a band of sable warriors are sure to strike a panic through the adverse army, who fly the field, as if a legion of demons had broke loose to attack them; so true it is, that in every engagement the eye is first conquered. Beyond the Lygians the next state is that of the Gothones,[3] who live under regal government, and are, by consequence, ruled with a degree of power more rigorous than other parts of Germany, yet not unlimited, nor

1 It has been observed (s. ix. note), that the Greeks and Romans amused themselves with a discovery of their own deities in the various objects of superstitious veneration among the barbarous nations, which their arms had overawed or conquered. The Romans worshipped Castor and Pollux, as two stars propitious to mariners: Horace calls them *Fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera;* but it is not probable that the Naharvalians ever heard of the Roman mythology. During a storm they saw meteors and glittering lights on the sails and masts of ships. Considering those exhalations as the forerunners of an approaching calm, they deified that phenomenon, and paid their adoration to it. Seneca has described it with exactness: in storms, he says, Castor and Pollux shine like stars on the sails of the vessel, and the mariners then conceive that they are favoured by those deities. *In magna tempestate apparent quasi stellæ velo insidentes; adjuvari se tum periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine.* Sen. *Natural. Quæst.* lib. i. s. 1. The Naharvalians, who dwelt near the Baltic, were well acquainted with this *ignis fatuus,* and called it in their own language, by the name of *Alff,* or *Alp,* which, according to Keysler (see his *Celtic Antiquities*), is still the term among the northern nations for the genii of the mountains. Tacitus, it is most likely, changed the word to ALCIS; but that the Greek and Roman Castor and Pollux entered into the idea of rude barbarians is a supposition too improbable. The Germans worshipped, as Cæsar says, those objects of sight by which they were benefited; they saw the operations of nature, and thought them the immediate effect of a deity presiding in that department. The Greeks and Romans did the same. When they found among barbarians a god of war, a god of thunder, or a goddess of love, they found their own divinities, and made their religion universal. The late Dr. Musgrave, in his Dissertation on the Grecian Mythology, was aware of this national vanity, and, accordingly, observes that the Greeks were sagacious enough to find out their own gods in Persia, notwithstanding the known contrariety of the two religions. The Persians, we are told, worshipped JUPITER under the name of OROMASDES; HADES under the name of ARIMANIUS; and VENUS under the name of MITRA. It was the same with respect to the Romans and the Gauls. The many peculiar superstitions of the Druids were so totally foreign to all we know of the Romans, as to preclude every idea of one nation having borrowed from the other. Yet Cæsar does not hesitate to say, that the Gauls worshipped APOLLO, MARS, JUPITER, and MINERVA; meaning, as may be supposed, certain gods corresponding in their attributes to those so denominated by his countrymen. The gods of Scandinavia were in later times consubstantiated, in like manner, with the gods of Latium; but no one will pretend that their WODEN, THOR, and FRICA, were copies of JUPITER, MERCURY, and VENUS. And yet, when the Goths came to intermix with the Romans, they found resemblance enough between their gods, to translate each of those words by the other, and this custom appears so universal, that we have no other way of rendering WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY, into Latin, but by calling them DIES MERCURII, JOVIS, and VENERIS. See Musgrave on the *Grecian Mythology*, p. 13—15. Hence we may conclude, that though Tacitus finds CASTOR and POLLUX among a race of savages bordering on the Baltic, it was, notwithstanding, nothing more than some of the attributes of those mythological deities, whom a gross and ignorant people worshipped under the name of ALFF, or ALP, changed by the Roman author into the word ALCIS. But it is observable, that Tacitus throws from himself what is said in the text of CASTOR and POLLUX, since he adds expressly, that he follows the Roman interpretation: *interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant.* Whoever is desirous to have a clear idea of the German and Scandinavian gods, will find a full account in the *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. 6; as also in Schedius, *De Diis Germanis.* It is evident in Verstegan's *British Antiquities*, that the German and other northern nations worshipped the Sun and Moon, whence were derived Sunday and Monday; and also TUISTO, WODEN, THOR, FRICA or FREA, and SEATER, called Saturn by the Roman writers; and thence we have Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, formed in regular succession, from the deities above enumerated. In that rude system of theology, the national vanity of the Greeks and Romans found Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and the rest. See this tract, s. ix. note.

2 The custom of painting the body has been in general use among all savage nations, for ornament as well as terror in the day of battle. Cæsar says, the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a blue cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. Book v. s. 14. The elder Pliny (b. xxii. s. 1.) mentions the same custom among the Dacians and Sarmatians. It is almost superfluous to say, that the Britons, who retired to the hills of Caledonia, were called PICTS, from the custom of painting their bodies and their shields. For an account of the same practice among the tribes of North America, see Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, p. 70.

3 The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Vistula, in part of Pomerania and the north-west of Poland. If they were not the same as the Goths, who will be mentioned hereafter, they were most probably in alliance with that famous people.

entirely hostile to civil liberty. In the neighbourhood of these people, we find, on the sea-coast, the Rugians and Lemovians,[4] both subject to royal authority. When their round shields and short swords are mentioned, there are no other particulars worthy of notice.

XLIV. The people that next occur are the Suiones,[5] who may be said to inhabit the ocean itself. In addition to the strength of their armies, they have a powerful naval force.[6] The form of their ships is peculiar. Every vessel has a prow at each end, and by that contrivance is always ready to make head either way. Sails are not in use, nor is there a range of oars at the sides. The mariners, as often happens in the navigation of rivers, take different stations, and shift from one place to another, as the exigence may require. Riches are by this people held in great esteem;[7] and the public mind, debased by that passion, yields to the government of one with unconditional, with passive obedience. Despotism is here fully established. The people are not allowed to carry arms in common, like the rest of the German nations. An officer is appointed to keep in a magazine all the military weapons, and for this purpose a slave is always chosen. For this policy the ostensible reason is, that the ocean is their natural fence against foreign invasions, and in time of peace the giddy multitude, with arms ready at hand, soon proceeds from luxury to tumult and commotion. But the truth is, the jealousy of a despotic prince does not think it safe to commit the care of his arsenal to the nobles or the men of ingenuous birth. Even a manumitted slave is not fit to be trusted.

XLV. At the further extremity beyond the Suiones there is another sea,[8] whose sluggish waters seem to be in a state of stagnation. By this lazy element the globe is said to be encircled, and the supposition receives some colour of probability from an extraordinary phenomenon well known in those regions. The rays of the setting sun[9] continue till the return of day, to brighten the hemisphere with so clear a light, that the stars are imperceptible. To this it is added by vulgar credulity, that when the sun begins to rise, the sound of the emerging luminary is distinctly heard, and the very form of

4 The Rugians were situated on the Baltic shore. The town of RUGENWALD and the isle of RUGEN are subsisting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coast of the Baltic, near the city of DANTZIG. History has recorded the exploits of the HERULI, who afterwards inhabited the territory of the last-mentioned people, and were the first of the Germans, who, under ODOACER, established themselves in Italy; but with regard to the Rugians there are no lights to guide us.

5 The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Danish isles of Funen, Langland, Zeeland, &c. From them and the Cimbrians issued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through several parts of Europe, and at length took possession of the fertile province in France, which derived from those adventurers the present name of Normandy. The GOTHS, VISIGOTHS, and OSTROGOTHS, overturned the Roman empire, and took the city of Rome, which had vainly promised itself an eternal duration, and boasted of the immovable stone of the capitol: *capitolii immobile saxum*. The laws of the Visigoths are still extant, but they have not the simplicity of the German laws. The SUIONES are said by Tacitus to have dwelt in the ocean; *ipso in oceano*. Scandinavia (the ancient name of SWEDEN and NORWAY) was supposed to be an island. Pliny says, that the Baltic Sea (which he calls CODANUS SINUS) is filled with a number of islands, of which Scandinavia is the largest; but no more than a small portion of it was known to the Romans. Pliny, lib. iv. s. 13.

6 The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time considerable. Their descendants in the eleventh century, had the honour of framing the code of nautical laws, which were published at Wisby, the capital city of the isle of Gothland. The North American tribes build their canoes in the same form. The extremities terminate in two sharp points; so that, in order to go backward, the canoe-men have only to change offices. He who remains behind, steers with his oar. All the canoes, the smallest not excepted, carry sail, and with a favourable wind make twenty leagues a day. Charlevoix, letter xii.

7 The love of money is here assigned as the cause of that state of slavery in which the Suiones were content to live. The observation is worthy of Tacitus, who, upon this occasion, called to mind the good old republic, and knew that the great revolution that happened, was occasioned by a total change of principle; that is, by substituting a passion for riches in the room of ancient virtue. As a proof of the vast wealth of the SUIONES, Adam of Bremen (*Ecclesiastical History*, ch. 233) describes a temple built at Ubsola (now Upsal,) not far from the cities of Sictona and Birca. The temple, he says, is richly adorned with gold, and the people worship the statues of their principal gods. THOR is seated on a couch, with WODEN on one side, and FRICA on the other. Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden, rose out of the ruins of the two ancient cities of Sictona and Birca. The crown among the Suiones is said by the learned to have been hereditary, not elective; and this seems to be fairly inferred from an arbitrary government, that knew no limitations, no uncertain or precarious rule of submission.

8 The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81, can scarce be deemed navigable. That this sea was meant by Tacitus, is by no means certain. It is more probable that he had in contemplation the northern extremity of the Baltic Sea, with the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which are frozen every winter, and, consequently, impracticable to mariners.

9 It is well known that in the northern climates, the sun, in some latitudes, is above the horizon during the four and twenty hours; in others still more to the north, an entire month, and at the pole full six months. Astronomy was not well understood in the days of Tacitus: hence the idea of the sun emerging out of the sea, and the horses of the god being visible. Tacitus has given a poetical description, like that in Juvenal (sat. xiv. v. 280), which mentions the sun hissing in the Herculean gulf.

Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.

the horses, the blaze of glory round the head of the god, is palpable to the sight. The boundaries of nature, it is generally believed, terminate here.[1]

On the coast to the right of the Suevian ocean[2] the Æstyans have fixed their habitation. In their dress and manners they resemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to the dialect of Britain. They worship the mother of the gods.[3] The figure of a wild boar is the symbol of their superstition; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence. The use of iron is unknown, and their general weapon is a club. In the cultivation of corn, and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is exerted in another instance: they explore the sea for amber, in their language called GLESE,[4] and are the only people who gather that curious substance. It is generally found among the shallows; sometimes on the shore. Concerning the nature or the causes of this concretion, the barbarians, with their usual want of curiosity, make no inquiry. Amongst other superfluities discharged by the sea, this substance lay long neglected, till Roman luxury gave it a name, and brought it into request. To the savages it is of no use. They gather it in rude heaps, and offer it to sale without any form or polish, wondering at the price they receive for it. There is reason to think that amber is a distillation from certain trees,[5] since in the transparent medium we see

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1 The ancients thought that the ocean was the boundary of nature, and that no land lay beyond it. Thus Curtius, speaking of the Indian Ocean, says, that Nature can proceed no farther. *Ne Naturam quidem longius posse procedere.* Lib. ix. s. 28. He afterwards talks of Alexander's entering that sea which Nature designed as the utmost limit of the habitable world. *Licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse Natura.* Lib. ix. s. 8.

2 The Æstyans inhabited the kingdom of Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia. La Bletterie is of opinion, that they were called ÆSTYI from the word EST, because they were situated on the eastern side of Germany, on the borders of the Suevian Ocean, or the Baltic Sea. Their language bore an affinity to the British, because the people, lying contiguous to Sarmatia, retained the Scythico-Celtic dialect, which was for a long time in use among the Britons.

3 FREA, or FRICA, was deemed to be the mother of the gods. See *Northern Antiquities*, and s. xi. note. Brotier says, that vestiges of their symbolic representation are still subsisting in Sweden, where the peasants, in the month of February (the season formerly sacred to FREA,) make boars of paste, and use them in superstitious ceremonies. See Eccard, *De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, tom. i. p. 409.

4 Pliny (b. xxxviii. s. 3) agrees with Tacitus that amber or *succinum*, was by the Germans called *glessum;* a word Latinized from GLESS, or GLASS. He says, that it was found in great quantities in the islands of the northern seas, and that one of those islands, remarkably productive, was known by the name of *Glessaria.* The Greeks used the word *electrum* for amber, and thence gave to the places that produced that substance the name of ELECTRIDES; but, confounding the VENETI (now the Venetians) with the VENEDI, who dwelt on the borders of Sarmatia, and were the conveyers of amber into Italy, they erroneously supposed that the substance, which they so much admired, was gathered on the banks of the ERIDANUS, now the Po. Adopting that mistake, the poets feigned that the sisters of Phaeton were converted into poplars, and that their tears, distilling through the pores of the trees, formed the concretion, which served to embellish the dress of the Roman ladies.

> Inde fluunt lachrymæ; stillataque sole rigescunt
> De ramis electra novis, quæ lucidus amnis
> Excipit, et nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis.
>
> *Metamorph.* lib. ii. v. 364.

Authors make mention of other places, besides the banks of the Po, where amber is gathered; such as the coast of Marseilles, and divers parts of Asia, Africa, and even America; but Hartman, who wrote the *History of the Prussian Amber*, treats all those accounts as fables, and denies *amber* to be found any where but in the northern countries of Europe, viz. Poland, Silesia, Jutland, Holstein, and Denmark; but most of all in Prussia, where the amber gathered on the coast yields that prince a handsome revenue. See Chambers's *Dictionary*, verbo *Amber.*

5 Naturalists are much divided as to the origin of *amber*, and to what class of bodies it belongs; some referring it to the vegetable, others to the mineral, and some even to the animal kingdom. Its natural history, and its chemical analysis, afford something in favour of each opinion. Some have imagined it a concretion of the tears of birds, or the urine of certain beasts; and others, a congelation formed in the Baltic sea, or in fountains, where it is found swimming like pitch. On the other hand, it is supposed by many to be a bitumen trickling into the sea from subterraneous sources, and, when concreted, thrown ashore by the waves. This last opinion seems now to be discarded. Many contend, that it is produced in Prussia by mixing with the vitriolic salts abounding in that country, and, its fluidity being fixed, it congeals into what we call *amber.* The chemists are as much divided as the naturalists: some of them refer it to the class of sulphurs or bitumens, while others contend that it is of the vegetable kind, from its resolving into the same principles with vegetables; viz. water, spirit, salt, and oil. See Chambers's *Dictionary.* To decide between so many contending parties is not the business of these annotations; but that amber is not a mineral or subterraneous substance, may be inferred from the spiders, ants, and bees, and other insects, which are almost universally found in the transparent body. Pope, in his satirical style, has said,

> Pretty, in *amber* to observe the forms
> Of hairs, and straws, and dirt, and grubs, and worms;
> The things, we know, are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.

If the authority of another poet may be admitted, Martial has removed the wonder. He tells us, in three beautiful epigrams, that amber is a distillation from the branches of the poplar; that in its fluid state it catches various insects, and afterwards hardening into a solid substance, incloses them in a tomb that enhances

a variety of insects, and even animals of the wing, which, being caught in the viscous fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it. It is probable, therefore, that as the east has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincense perspire through the pores of trees, so the continents and islands of the west have their prolific groves, whose juices, fermented by the heat of the sun, dissolve into a liquid matter, which falls into the sea, and, being there condensed, is afterwards discharged by the winds and waves on the opposite shore. If you make an experiment of amber by the application of fire, it kindles, like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame, and in a little time, taking the tenacious nature of pitch or rosin. Beyond the Suiones, we next find the nation of Sitones,[5] differing in nothing from the former, except the tameness, with which they suffer a woman to reign over them. Of this people it is not enough to say, that they have degenerated from civil liberty; they are sunk below slavery itself. At this place ends the territory of the Suevians.

XLVI. Whether the Peucinians,[6] the Venedians, and Fennians, are to be accounted Germans, or classed with the people of Sarmatia,[7] is a point not easy to be determined: though the Peucinians, called by some the Bastarnians, bear a strong resemblance to the Germans. They use the same language: their dress and habitations are the same, and they are equally inured to sloth and filth. Of late, however, in

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their value. The classical reader will, perhaps, be pleased to find Martial's elegant verses inserted in this place. The first is on a bee enclosed in amber:

> Et latet, et lucet Phaetontide condita gutta,
> Ut videatur apis nectare clausa suo:
> Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum,
> Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori.
>
> Lib. iv. epig. 32.

The second describes a viper caught in the transparent substance, where it has a nobler tomb than Cleopatra:

> Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera serpit,
> Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram.
> Quæ dum miratur pinguicæ rore teneri,
> Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
> Ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, sepulchro,
> Vipera si tumulo nobiliore jacet.
>
> Lib. iv. epig. 59.

The third epigram describes an ant entombed in the same manner:

> Dum Phaetontea formica vagatur in umbra,
> Implicuit tenuem succina gutta feram.
> Sic modo quæ fuerat vita contempta manente,
> Funeribus facta est nunc pretiosa suis.
>
> Lib. vi. epig. 15.

Whether Martial had sufficient physical knowledge, may still be matter of doubt; but a late writer (Formey, of the Academy at Berlin), who pursued his inquiry with unwearied diligence, has concluded, not without probability, that amber is a fluid that oozes from pine and poplar trees.

5 The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway; and since they are mentioned as a people included in the general name of the Suevian nation, an idea may be formed of the vast extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube. The state of slavery, to which they submitted, is mentioned in the emphatic manner of Tacitus. They degenerated from liberty, because they were content to be slaves in a land of freedom; and they were sunk beneath the usual debasement of servitude, because they endured the galling yoke of a female reign. Tacitus makes that reflection in the true spirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country, not to suffer the softer sex to intermeddle in any department of the state. The ladies at Rome, were during their whole lives, subject to the authority of their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers. From the expulsion of the Tarquin family, no title alluding to the rank or employment of the husband, was annexed to the wife. There were no terms in the Latin language to signify *senatress*, *dictatress*, or even *empress*. When the fathers were willing to lavish titles and dignities on Livia, the mother of Tiberius, that politic prince restrained their zeal by reminding them, that it was a state maxim not to be prodigal of honours in favour of women. *Annals*, b. i. s. 14. Freinshemius, who, in his supplement to Livy, has given a description of Germany, is angry with Tacitus for the opinion which so pointedly proscribes a female reign. He says (b. civ. s. 21) that, in the time of Tacitus, Norway was governed by a queen distinguished by her spirit of enterprise. He adds, that there has been a succession of other heroines, whose wisdom, magnanimity, and warlike achievements, the glory of the proudest monarch has not been able to surpass. But Freinshemius, it should be remembered, was historiographer to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and his work is dedicated to his royal mistress.

6 The Peucinians, often known by the name of Bastarnians, and so called by Pliny, dwelt on the eastern side of Germany, and extended as far as the island now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-east side of Germany, and stretched over a long tract of country as far as the SINUS VENEDICUS, now the gulf of Dantzig. When the German nations burst into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedians, who were also called WINEDI, settled on vacant lands between the Vistula and the Elbe, and soon after crossed the Danube to plant themselves in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Carniola near the Noric Alps. Their language was the Sclavonian, which subsists at this day. The FENNIANS are described by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier observes, the better reading seems to be Feningia; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

7 Sarmatia (as has been mentioned s. 1, note) was divided from Germany by the Vistula, and a range of mountains; but still we find, that, towards the north, part of the country on the east side of that river was supposed to belong to Germany, and was called GERMANIA TRANSVISTULANA. Tacitus, however, assigns all beyond the Vistula to Sarmatia. Modern geographers upon the authority of Pliny and other writers, considered the Peucinians and Venedians as German nations, and therefore, in their charts, called their territory by the name of GERMANO-SARMATIA. It is evident, that, living beyond the Vistula, they were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though their language, their modes of life, and their apparel, clearly demonstrate a German origin.

consequence of frequent intermarriages between their leading chieftains and the families of Sarmatia, they have been tainted with the manners of that country. The Venedians are a counterpart of the Sarmatians: like them they lead a wandering life, and support themselves by plunder amidst the woods and mountains, that separate the Peucinians and the Fennians. They are, notwithstanding, to be ascribed to Germany, inasmuch as they have settled habitations, know the use of shields, and travel always on foot, remarkable for their swiftness. The Sarmatians, on the contrary, live altogether on horseback or in waggons. Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fennians,[1] nor is there any thing so disgusting as their filth and poverty. Without arms, without horses, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage; the skins of beasts their only clothing, and the bare earth their resting-place. For their chief support they depend on their arrows, to which, for want of iron, they prefix a pointed bone. The women follow the chase in company with the men, and claim their share of the prey. To protect their infants from the fury of wild beasts, and the inclemency of the weather, they make a kind of cradle amidst the branches of trees interwoven together, and they know no other expedient. The youth of the country have the same habitation, and amidst the trees old age is rocked to rest. Savage as this way of life may seem, they prefer it to the drudgery of the field, the labour of building, and the painful vicissitudes of hope and fear, which always attend the defence and the acquisition of property. Secure against the passions of men, and fearing nothing from the anger of the gods, they have attained that uncommon state of felicity, in which there is no craving left to form a single wish.[2]

The rest of what I have been able to collect is too much involved in fable, of a colour with the accounts of the Hellusians and the Oxio-

1 The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were settled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany. The reader will find in Warnefrid's History (*De Gestis Langobard*, lib. v.) an account of the poverty and savage manners of these people, perfectly coinciding with what we are told by Tacitus. "The SCRITOFINNI (for so he calls the Fenni) are surrounded with snow in the midst of summer; and being in point of sagacity almost on a level with the brute creation, they live on the raw flesh of wild animals, and use the hides for their clothing. For the purpose of hunting the wild beasts, they have the art of bending pieces of wood into the shape of a bow, and with these they spring and leap amidst the snows." Brotier sees in this account a resemblance of the snow shoes, or raquets, used by the North American savages. See Charlevoix, let. xiv.

2 Having nothing, they were secure against the violence of men; and they had no reason to dread the vengeance of heaven. Seneca has a similar sentiment. He says in commendation of poverty, What can be happier than that state, which promises perpetual liberty, without an idea of danger from man, without any thing to fear from the wrath of the gods? *Quanto hoc majus est, quo promittitur perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec Dei timor?* Epist. xvii. Delivered by their extreme poverty from all apprehensions, this rude and simple people had no desires beyond their wretched condition: like Abdalominus the gardener, in Quintus Curtius, they had nothing, and they wanted nothing. *Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.*

The Hellusians and Oxionians, who are the last people mentioned by Tacitus, are supposed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beasts. What gave birth to those ancient fables was, probably, the dress of the natives, who, in those regions of frost and snow, were covered with the hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other savage nations near the Frozen Ocean. But to amuse his readers with a fabulous narrative was not the design of such an author as Tacitus. He was not writing a romance. He meant to give, upon the fullest information, an authentic account of a people, whose fierce and unconquerable love of liberty was, as he says himself, more dangerous to the Roman empire than all the pomp and pride of oriental monarchs. He has accordingly left, in his Treatise of the Germans, a faithful picture of society in its wild uncultivated state. His work, compendious as it is, may be fairly called the most precious monument of antiquity.

Some critics have imagined that the great author wrote from invention, intending, by a fictitious draught of savage manners, to give a political satire on the manners of the Romans, like the Gulliver of Swift. But in answer to those who, in this instance as well as many others, have suspected the fidelity of the historian, it may be asked, how it has happened, that the manners here delineated are a counterpart of the savage customs of Canada, and other parts of America? The same causes have produced the same effects in both parts of the world. It has been the scope of the foregoing notes to point out the similitude as often as it occurred. The likeness is so striking, that it serves to confirm the account given by Tacitus, and to prove, beyond a doubt, that he drew his colouring from nature, not from the storehouse of a lively imagination. The force of this argument was felt by Dr. Robertson; and he has accordingly formed a comparison between the ancient Germans and the savage tribes of America, which the reader will find, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 250.

It may be asked, in the second place, how it has happened that the manners of the ancient Germans can be traced with so much certainty in all the countries of Europe? The answer is obvious. The descendants of those people, when they made their irruption into France, Spain, and Italy, carried with them the manners of their country, and founded laws, which sprung from the same source. The codes still extant, such as the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and many others, evidently bespeak their German origin. The Anglo-Saxon government in this country plainly shows from what soil it sprung. The michel-gemote, or great meeting; the witena-gemote, or meeting of the wise men; the shires, the hundreds,

nians, of whom we are told, that they have the human face, with the limbs and bodies of wild beasts. But reports of this kind, unsupported by proof, I shall leave to the pen of others.

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the composition for homicide, and, above all, the limited authority of the king, as Tacitus expresses it, *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*, are manifest proofs of the obligation the people of England are under to their German ancestors for that free constitution, which for so many centuries has stood the shock of civil wars, and, though often tottering on the brink of destruction, still rears its head, the pride of every honest Briton, and the wonder of foreign nations:

——————vulturaque semper
Stat, mirum! moles.

Sir William Blackstone, who knew how to be profound with ease and elegance, has truly said, If we would investigate the elements of the English laws, the originals should be traced to their fountains; to the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus; to the codes of the northern nations, and, more especially, to those of the Saxon princes; but, above all, to that inexhaustible reservoir of antiquities, the Feodal Law, or, as Spelman has entitled it, the Law of Nations in our Western Orb. See vol. i. p. 36. The same observation has been made by Vertot with regard to the constitution of the French monarchy, which stood, for a length of time, on the foundation of civil liberty, till the three estates, or general council of the realm, were merged in a supreme court of justice, improperly called a parliament. Vertot has given a compendious view of Tacitus, and, by a curious parallel between the manners of the Franks and those of the ancient Germans, has clearly shown the origin of the French constitution. See three dissertations in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. 4to edit. Those pieces are a just commentary on Tacitus; and, if we add the laws and institutions of other parts of Europe, we shall be of opinion with Montesquieu, that "in Cæsar and Tacitus we read the code of Barbarian laws, and in the code we read Cæsar and Tacitus."

THE

LIFE

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

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The Life of Agricola was written,

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
850	97	Nerva, emperor, 3d time.
850	97	Verginius Rufus.

THE

LIFE[1]

OF

CNÆUS JULIUS AGRICOLA.

I. To transmit to posterity the lives and characters of illustrious men, was an office frequently performed in ancient times. Even in the present age, incurious as it is about its own concerns,[2] the same good custom has prevailed, whenever a great and splendid virtue has been able to surmount those two pernicious vices,[3]

1 This work is supposed by the commentators to have been written before the Treatise on the Manners of the Germans, in the third consulship of the emperor Nerva, and the second of Verginius Rufus, in the year of Rome 850, and of the Christian era, 97. Brotier accedes to this opinion; but the reason which he assigns, does not seem to be satisfactory. He observes that Tacitus, in the third section, mentions the emperor Nerva; but as he does not call him DIVUS NERVA, the deified Nerva, the learned commentator infers that Nerva was still living. This reasoning might have some weight, if we did not read, in section xliv. that it was the ardent wish of Agricola, that he might live to behold Trajan in the imperial seat. If Nerva was then alive, the wish to see another in his room would have been an awkward compliment to the reigning prince. It is, perhaps, for this reason that Lipsius thinks this very elegant tract was written at the same time with the Manners of the Germans, in the beginning of the emperor Trajan. The question is not very material, since conjecture alone must decide it. The piece itself is admitted to be a masterpiece in the kind. Tacitus was son-in-law to Agricola; and while filial piety breathes through his work, he never departs from the integrity of his own character. He has left an historical monument highly interesting to every Briton, who wishes to know the manners of his ancestors, and the spirit of liberty that from the earliest time distinguished the natives of Britain. "Agricola," as Hume observes, "was the general, who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island. He governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. He carried his victorious arms northward; defeated the Britons in every encounter, pierced into the forests and the mountains of Caledonia, reduced every state to subjection in the southern parts of the island, and chased before him all the men of fiercer and more intractable spirits, who deemed war and death itself less intolerable than servitude under the victors. He defeated them in a decisive action, which they fought under Galgacus; and having fixed a chain of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he cut off the ruder and more barren parts of the island, and secured the Roman province from the incursions of the barbarous inhabitants. During these military enterprises, he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws and civility among the Britons; taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life; reconciled them to the Roman language and manners; instructed them in letters and science; and employed every expedient to render those chains, which he had forged, both easy and agreeable to them." Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 9. In this passage Mr. Hume has given a summary of the Life of Agricola. It is extended by Tacitus in a style more open than the didactic form of the Essay on the German Manners required, but still with the precision, both in sentiment and diction, peculiar to the author. In rich but subdued colours he gives a striking picture of Agricola, leaving to posterity a portion of history, which it would be in vain to seek in the dry gazette style of Suetonius, or in the page of any writer of that period.

2 Injustice to living merit proceeds from a variety of causes; from inattention, ignorance, or envy. We praise the past, and neglect the present. *Vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*, says Tacitus, *Annals*, b. ii. s. 88. Velleius Paterculus makes the same remark, and adds the reason. We envy the living, and venerate departed merit; by the former we think ourselves overwhelmed; we edify by the latter. *Præsentia invidia, præterita veneratione prosequimur; et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus.* Lib. ii. s. 92. Before either Tacitus or Paterculus, Horace had expressed the same sentiment:

> Virtutem incolumem odimus,
> Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
>
> Lib. iv. ode 24.

> Though living virtue we despise;
> When dead, we praise it to the skies.

3 Cornelius Nepos tells us that Chabrias, the Athenian general, when recalled by the violence of the people, did not choose to stay long in the sight of his fellow-citizens, because envy, the common vice of all free and great cities, would be sure to behold rising merit with a malignant eye. *Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, et libenter de his detrahant, quos eminere videant altius.* Corn. Nep. *in Chabria*, s. 3.

which not only infest small communities, but are likewise the bane of large and flourishing cities; I mean the vices of insensibility to merit, on the one hand, and envy, on the other. With regard to the usage of antiquity, it is further observable, that, in those early seasons of virtue, men were led by the impulse of a generous spirit to a course of action worthy of being recorded; and, in like manner, the writer of genius undertook to perpetuate the memory of honourable deeds, without any motives of flattery, and without views of private ambition, influenced only by the conscious pleasure of doing justice to departed merit. Many have been their own historians,[1] persuaded that in speaking of themselves they should display an honest confidence in their morals, not a spirit of arrogance or vain-glory. Rutilius[2] and Scaurus left an account of their own lives, and the integrity of the narrative has been never called in question;

1 Cicero has left a beautiful epistle to his friend Lucceius, earnestly urging him to interweave with his history of Roman affairs a full account of Cicero's consulship, and the various turns of fortune which he met with in consequence of a firm and upright administration. This request, he says, an awkward bashfulness deterred him from making in person: but, separated as they then were, he could speak with confidence; for a letter does not blush. *Coram me tecum eadem hæc agere sæpe conantem deterruit pudor quidam pæne subrusticus; quæ nunc expromam absens audacius: epistola enim non erubescit.* He proceeds to acknowledge his ambition to live in history; he avows his hopes of obtaining from the remembrance of after-ages a glorious immortality, and even the pleasure of enjoying his posthumous fame in his own lifetime. If his friend should not comply with his wishes, he threatens to undertake the work himself, after the example of many illustrious men, who have written their own history. He is, however, aware that such a performance may be liable to many objections. When a praiseworthy action occurs, the author must speak of himself with reserve and modesty; and where there happens to be room for censure, he may glide over the passage, or varnish it with art, or pass it by in silence. For this reason, the life of an eminent citizen, written by himself, is not entitled to much credit, and, by consequence, the practice is fallen into disrepute. No man, the critics observe, should be the trumpeter of his own fame. The very public criers, who declared the victors in the gymnastic games, are more modest: they crown the conquerors, and proclaim their names with an audible voice; but when, in their turn, they have gained a victory, they call other criers to their assistance, that they themselves may not be the publishers of their own fame. *Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si qua res te impedierit; cogar fortasse facere, quod nonnulli sæpe reprehendunt; scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo, et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, hæc sunt in hoc genere vitia; et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum; et prætereant, si quid forte reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas; multi denique reprehendant, et dicant verecundiores esse præcones ludorum gymnicorum, qui, cum cæteris coronas imposuerint victoribus, eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona denentur, alium præconem adhibeant, ne sua voce ipse se victores esse prædicent.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. v. epist. 12.

2 The two persons mentioned in this place, as having written memoirs of their own lives, were men of superior eminence, distinguished as well by their virtues as their abilities. Rutilius was consul A. U. C. 649, before the Christian era 105. He had served in the wars in Numidia; and in the year of Rome 657, when Mucius Scævola was appointed proconsular governor of Asia Minor, he was chosen by that virtuous citizen in the rank of lieutenant governor. In the course of their administration, they acquired the love and admiration of the province, by a constant exercise of those virtues, which had been the practice, it may be said the fashion, of the citizens of Rome, but in that period began to decline, yet not so rapidly as to give to distinguished merit the name of singularity. The administration of Scævola was pronounced by the senate a model for the conduct of all future governors. He had completed a thorough reform in the mode of collecting the revenues of the province, and thereby gave umbrage to the Roman knights, who were at that time the managers of all the tributes and imposts paid by foreign nations. From the same order of men commissioners were chosen to hear and determine all complaints for peculation. A charge of that kind could not with any colour be brought against so revered a character as that of Mucius Scævola; but the men, who had been used to profit by extortion and rapine, were determined to wreak their malice on Rutilius, who had co-operated with the proconsul in all his wisest regulations. They resented the good he had done to others as an injury to themselves. An accusation was framed; and witnesses were suborned. The cause was heard by the Roman knights; and no wonder that before such a tribunal innocence fell a sacrifice. In the number of commissioners who sat in judgment, there was a Roman knight, of the name of Apicius, at that time a famous epicure, supposed to be of the same family with the second of the name, who distinguished himself by his gluttony in the reign of Tiberius. To avoid a sentence of condemnation, Rutilius went into voluntary exile. This did not appease the resentment of the commissioners. They proceeded to judgment, and imposed a fine that greatly exceeded the whole fortune of their devoted victim. Rutilius withdrew to the very province which he was said to have plundered, and there lived in the highest credit, respected by all ranks of men, and honoured by the princes in alliance with Rome. The remainder of his life was a triumph over his enemies. Sylla granted him liberty to return to Rome, but he refused to accept that act of grace. At the breaking out of the civil wars, his friends suggested to him that, in the convulsions of the state, it was probable that the various exiles would be restored to their country. "No," said Rutilius, "I will never return: I had rather leave my country to blush for the injustice which I have suffered, than be an eye-witness of the horrors of war, and the miseries of a distracted people." During his exile he revised and published the speeches which he had made on different occasions at Rome. He also wrote the history of the Numantian wars, and the memoirs of his own life, to which Tacitus has alluded. Velleius Paterculus calls Rutilius the best man, not only of his own time, but of any age. He exerted himself, says the same historian, in opposition to Tiberius Gracchus, to support the cause of the senate; and yet that very body became his open enemies. He was prosecuted for illegal exactions in the province of Asia, and condemned, to the great grief of the city of Rome. "Quippe eam potestatem nacti equites Gracchanis legibus, cum in multos clarissimos, atque innocentissimos viros sævissent, tum Publium Rutilium,

so true it is, that the age, which is most fertile in bright examples, is the best qualified to make a fair estimate of them. For the present undertaking, which professes to review the life of a great man now no more, I judged it necessary to premise an apology, led as I am, by the nature of my subject, to encounter an evil period,[3] in which every virtue struggled with adversity and oppression.

II. We have it upon record, that Arulenus Rusticus,[4] for the panegyric of Pætus Thrasea,

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virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant. In iis ipsis, quæ pro senatu mollebatur, senatum habuit adversarium." See Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 13. Cicero, De Claris Orat. s. 115.

Æmilius Scaurus is another instance of that conscious integrity with which an upright citizen could venture to talk of himself. He was consul A. U. C. 639, before the Christian era 85. He was descended from a patrician family; but, having but a moderate fortune, he owed his elevation to his talents. He bore for many years the honourable title of PRINCE OF THE SENATE; a title which added nothing to his power, but gave him great weight and authority, implying superior merit, and preeminence in virtue. Cicero says of him and Rutilius, that, though exercised in the practice of the forum, neither of them could be ranked in the first class of orators. They were not deficient in abilities, but eloquence was not their talent. "Neuter summi oratoris habuit laudem, et uterque in multis causis versatus erat. Quamquam iis quidem non omnino ingenium, sed oratorium ingenium defuit." Of Scaurus in particular, Cicero adds, that in his speeches there was the wisdom of a statesman, and the commanding gravity of a virtuous citizen; the more persuasive, as he delivered himself with the air of a man, who was giving his testimony, not with the art of an advocate pleading a cause. His mode of oratory was not calculated for the meridian of the forum, but in debate was wonderfully graceful in a man who was prince of the senate. He spoke with prudence, and his character gave him weight and authority. "In Scauri oratione, sapientis hominis et recti, gravitas summa et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non ut causam, sed ut testimonium dicere putares. Hoc dicendi genus, ad patrocinia mediocriter aptum videbatur: ad senatoriam vero sententiam, cujus erat ILLE PRINCEPS, vel maxime; significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maxime rem continebat, fidem." De Claris Orat. s. 111 and 112. The character of Scaurus drawn by Sallust, gives a different idea of that eminent citizen. According to the historian, he preserved the exterior decencies, the surface of virtue, disguising his passions, and artfully concealing his vices; by his birth illustrious, enterprising, factious, fond of power, of riches, and the honours of the state. "Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia sua callide occultans." Bell. Jugurth. Delph. edit. p. 73. But the veracity of Sallust is sometimes problematical. His own morals were not the best. He was spiteful to Cicero; he preferred Cæsar to Cato, and was not always listed on the side of virtue. The testimony of two such men as Cicero and Tacitus may fairly be allowed to preponderate against a writer whose integrity is by no means established. Valerius Maximus relates a fact that does honour to the memory of Scaurus: being accused by one Varius of having received a bribe from Mithridates to betray the interest of the commonwealth, he said in his defence: "I appeal to the citizens of Rome, a great majority of whom could not be witnesses of the conduct I pursued, and the honours I acquired; and I will dare shortly to state my case: Varius, a native of Spain, charges Æmilius Scaurus with venality, and says, that for a royal bribe he was a traitor to his country: Æmilius Scaurus denies the charge, and declares aloud that such a crime is foreign to his heart. Which of us deserves to be believed?" The magnanimity of the answer excited the general admiration; shouts and acclamations followed, and to appease the people, the prosecutor desisted from his wild attempt. "Qui cum pro rostris accusaretur, quod a rege Mithridate ob rempublicam prodendam pecuniam accepisset, causam suam ita egit: Audebo vos, quorum major pars honoribus et actis meis interesse non potuit, interrogare: Varius Sucronensis Æmilium Scaurum regia mercede corruptum imperium populi Romani prodidisse ait; Æmilius Scaurus huic se affinem esse culpæ negat. Utri creditis? Cujus dicti admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illa dementissima actione pertinaci clamore depulit." Val. Max. De Fiducia sui, lib. iii. cap. 7. Scaurus had a son, who degenerated to such a degree of profligacy from his father, that Pliny the elder is in doubt, which was the greatest evil, the proscriptions of Sylla, or the ædileship of Marcus Scaurus. "Cujus nescio an ædilitas maxime prostraverit mores civiles, majusque sit Syllæ malum tanta privigni potentia quam proscriptio tot millium." Pliny, lib. xxxvi. s. 24. In the passage already cited from Cicero DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS, we are told that there was still extant a collection of orations by Æmilius Scaurus, and his own life in three books, addressed to his friend Lucius Fufidius; a work of value, which nobody read, while the Cyropædia, or institution of Cyrus, was in every body's hands: a work, it must be allowed, of great merit, but, excellent as it is, neither so interesting to the Romans, nor superior to the Memoirs of Scaurus. "Hujus et orationes sunt, et tres ad Lucium Fufidium libri scripti de vita ipsius acta, sane utiles, quos nemo legit. At Cyri vitam et disciplinam legunt, præclaram illam quidem, sed neque tam rebus nostris aptam, nec tamen Scauri laudibus anteponendam." De Claris Orat. s. 112.

3 It has been already mentioned, that Agricola commanded in Britain in the time of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. The reign of the last is the evil period intended by Tacitus: see a description of it, *Hist.* b. i. s. 2.

4 Arulenus Rusticus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 819. A. D. 66. Being then a young man of spirit, he wished to distinguish himself by an early display of those principles of honour, which marked his conduct through the remainder of his life. He intended by his tribunitian authority to prevent a decree against Pætus Thrasea. See *Annals*, xvi. s. 26. Being prætor, during the short reign of Vitellius, he was sent at the head of an embassy to treat of terms of accommodation with the generals of Vespasian's army, then at the gates of Rome; but neither the rank of ambassador, nor the character of the man, could protect him from the outrages committed by the soldiers. Arulenus Rusticus was wounded in the fray, and his lictor was murdered. *History*, b. iii. s. 80. Pliny the younger makes honourable mention of Arulenus Rusticus: he says to his friend, You well know how I loved and honoured that excellent man. You know by what encouragements he cherished my youth, and what praises he bestowed upon me at that time, to make me afterwards capable of deserving them. *Scis enim quantopere summum illum virum suspexerim dilexerimque; quibus ille adolescentiam*

and Herennius Senecio,[1] for that of Helvidius Priscus, were both capitally convicted. Nor was it enough that those excellent authors fell a sacrifice to the tyrant's power; persecution raged

meam exhortationibus foverit, quibus etiam laudibus, ut laudandus viderer, effecerit. Lib. i. ep. 14. It was the misfortune of this eminent citizen to be in favour at the court of Domitian; but between the esteem of a tyrant and his jealousy the partition is thin, and hatred soon succeeds. The mean compliances of a courtier were foreign to the temper of a man nourished in the stoic school, and animated by the tenets of that proud philosophy. He wrote the life of his friend Pætus Thrasea, and for that offence was condemned to die. Regulus, a man who followed the detestable trade of an informer, undertook the management of the prosecution. Pliny, in a letter to one of his friends, says, Did you ever see a more abject wretch than Regulus has appeared, since the death of Domitian, during whose reign his conduct was no less infamous, though more concealed, than under Nero? He not only promoted the prosecution against Arulenus Rusticus, but exulted at his death; insomuch that he actually recited and published a libel upon his memory, wherein he styles him the *ape of the stoics;* adding that he was stigmatized by the wound he received in the cause of Vitellius. *Vidistine quemquam Marco Regulo timidiorem humiliioremque post Domitiani mortem, sub quo non minora flagitia commiserat, quam sub Nerone, sed tectiora? Rustici Aruleni periculum foverat, exultaverat morte, adeo ut librum recitaret publicaretque, in quo Rusticum insectatur, atque etiam* STOICORUM SIMIAM *appellat. Adficit Vitelliana cicatrice stigmosum. Agnoscis eloquentiam Reguli!* Lib. i. ep. 5. The stigma of the *Vitellian scar*, to which Regulus alluded, was the effect of the wound received by Arulenus Rusticus in the camp of Vespasian's general. Domitian considered him as a sullen republican, the more dangerous as he professed the haughty doctrine of the stoic sect. Not content with taking away his life, he declared open war against philosophy in general, and banished the professors of every denomination out of Italy. Epictetus was in the number. Every liberal art was extinguished, and the manners went to ruin.

Pætus Thrasea, for whose panegyric Arulenus Rusticus suffered death, was a native of Padua. He married the daughter of Cæcina Pætus, by the celebrated Arria, who perished with her husband in the reign of Claudius, and left a splendid proof of conjugal fidelity and heroic fortitude She not only encouraged her husband to despatch himself, but set him the example, stabbing herself first, and then presenting the dagger to him, with these words: "Pætus, it gives no pain." Martial has four beautiful lines on the subject:

> Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
> Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;
> Si qua fides, vulnus, quod feci, non dolet, inquit,
> Sed quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.
> *Martial*, Lib. i. epig. 14.

> When the chaste Arria drew the reeking sword
> From her own breast, and gave it to her lord,
> The wound, she said, believe me, I despise;
> I feel that only by which Pætus dies.

Their son-in-law, Pætus Thrasea, was of the stoic school; in sentiment and the whole tenour of his conduct wound up to the highest pitch of that boasted sect. He had the courage to be a virtuous citizen under the tyranny of Nero. Tacitus has made honourable mention of him in sundry places; *Annals*, b. xii. s. 49. b. xiv. s. 12 and 48. Nero at length was determined to cut him off, and in his person to destroy virtue itself. A prosecutor was, accordingly, found; all his praiseworthy actions were summed up, and, by the court-logic of the times, stated as so many crimes. It was urged against him, that when Nero's letter, giving an account of the death of Agrippina, was read in the senate, Thrasea rose from his seat, and left the house; that he seldom attended the juvenile sports, instituted by the emperor; when the fathers were on the point of condemning a poet to death for a copy of verses, he was the author of a milder sentence; and, finally, that he did not assist at the funeral of Poppæa, a new divinity, whom Nero sent to the gods by a kick on the belly. *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 21. He was allowed to choose his own mode of death. Arria, his wife, worthy of her mother of the same name, wanted to share the fate of her husband, but was dissuaded by his advice. Thrasea died with the tranquillity of a philosopher. See the account, *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 34 and 35, and also the *Appendix* to b. xvi. By his wife, Arria, he left a daughter, named FANNIA, who was married to his friend, Helvidius Priscus. Pliny the younger has placed her character in the most amiable light. He describes her emaciated by a fit of illness, in a total decay, with nothing but her spirits to support her, and a vigour of mind worthy of the wife of Helvidius, and the daughter of Thrasea. He adds, She will be, after her decease, a model for all wives, and, perhaps, worthy to be deemed an example of fortitude by the men. The whole letter is in a strain of tender affection, and has all the beauties of style and sentiment that distinguish that elegant author. B. vii. ep. 19.

1 Senecio was a native of Spain, born in the province of Bætica, where he served the office of quæstor in the reign of Domitian, and never aspired to any higher honour. Not choosing to be a candidate for the magistracy, he was considered as an obstinate republican, hostile to the established government, and a friend to innovation. He undertook the prosecution of Bæbius Massa, who was charged with extortion during his government in Spain. By the appointment of the senate, he had the younger Pliny for his coadjutor in that business. Massa was convicted, and his effects sequestered. Pliny relates the fact, in a letter to his friend Tacitus: and being persuaded that the historical works of such a writer would be immortal, he begs to have a niche in that temple of fame. If, says he, we are solicitous to have our pictures drawn by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our conduct may be described by the ablest historian? *Auguror (nec me fallit augurium) historias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis (ingenue fatebor) inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis curæ solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scriptor prædicatorque contingat?* Lib. vii. ep. 33. Tacitus was, probably, writing the history of Domitian, in whose reign Bæbius Massa was condemned. Pliny, as well as Cicero, wished to live in history. Montaigne condemns them both, as instances of immoderate ambition; but let it be remarked, says Melmoth, that the ambition of Pliny will appear far more reasonable than that of Cicero. The latter does not scruple to press his friend, Lucceius, to transgress the rules of history, and to break the bonds of truth in his favour. *Tu plane, etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius quam fortasse sentis, et leges historia negligas, amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas largiaris:* whereas Pliny, with a nobler spirit, expressly declares, that he does not desire Tacitus should heighten the facts, for actions of real worth

against their books, and, by an order of the triumvirs, in the forum and the place of popular convention, the monuments of genius perished in the flames. The policy of the times, no

need only to be set in their true light. *Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit.* See Cicero to Lucceius, lib. v. ep. 12; and see Pliny to Tacitus, lib. vii. ep. 33. It does not appear that Pliny incurred any danger for the part he acted against Bæbius Massa; but Senecio, who was the first mover in that business, provoked a number of enemies. He had written the life of Helvidius, and that work gave him the finishing blow. The praise bestowed upon that excellent man inflamed the rage of Domitian. Mettius Carus, a notorious prosecutor of the best men in Rome, stood forth as the accuser of Senecio, who acknowledged himself the author of the book, but urged in his defence, that he wrote it at the desire of Fannia, the widow of Helvidius. Pliny informs us that Fannia was cited to appear before the senate. The prosecutor, in a tone of menace, asked her, "Did you make such a request? I DID. Did you supply him with materials? I DID SUPPLY HIM. Was it with the knowledge of your mother Arria? IT WAS NOT." Throughout the whole of her examination, not a word betrayed the smallest symptom of fear. She had the courage to preserve a copy of the very book, which the senate, overawed by the tyranny of the times, had ordered to be suppressed; and taking care to preserve the history of her husband, she carried with her the cause of her exile, "Nam cum Senecio reus esset, quod de vita Helvidii libros composuisset, rogatumque se a Fannia in defensione dixisset, quærente minaciter Mettio Caro AN ROGASSET? respondit, ROGAVI. An commentarios scripturo dedissit? DEDI. An sciente matre? NESCIENTE. Postremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo emisit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quamquam ex necessitate et metu temporum abolitos senatus consulto, servavit, habuit, tulitque in exilium exilii causam." Lib. vii. epist. 19. This was the third time of her going into exile. She had accompanied her husband twice in the same disgrace, under Nero, and under Vespasian. Her mother Arria, Thrasea's widow, was banished for a like cause; for the history of Helvidius, written, as already mentioned, by Arulenus Rusticus. During these prosecutions, the senators were held besieged by a party of armed soldiers; they did not dare to utter a sentiment, or even to groan under the tyranny of the times; they were truly, as Pliny describes them, a timid and speechless assembly, where to speak your mind was dangerous; and to declare what you did not think, was the worst state of servitude. "Prospeximus curiam; sed curiam TREPIDAM et MLINEUEM, cum dicere quod velles, periculosum; quod nolles, miserum esset." See b. viii. ep. 14. Senecio, for his praise of Helvidius, was found guilty, and, to glut the cruelty of Domitian, adjudged to death. His work was burnt by the public executioners. For more of Bæbius Massa, and Mettius Carus, see this Tract, s. 45.

Helvidius Priscus, the subject of Senecio's panegyric, was born at Tarracina, a municipal town in Italy. He was confirmed in the doctrines of the stoic school by his father-in-law, Pætus Thrasea. His character, drawn by the masterly hand of Tacitus, may be seen, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 5. He acted, at all times, the part of a firm, a virtuous, and independent senator. When Thrasea was doomed to death by Nero, Helvidius was involved in the ruin of his father-in-law, and sent into banishment. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 36. After the death of Nero, he returned to Rome, and in the senate delivered a vehement speech against Eprius Marcellus, the chief instrument in the destruction of Thrasea. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 43. Being advanced to the dignity of prætor, he assisted at the laying of the first stone of the capitol, which was then to be rebuilt, A. U. C. 823, of the Christian era 70. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 53 and 54. In the reign of Vespasian he was considered as a determined republican, and as such, charged by his enemies with a design to restore the old constitution. Dio Cassius, who often betrays a secret rancour towards eminent characters, represents Helvidius as a violent partisan, adverse to the established government, a declaimer in praise of the old democracy, and often launching out into fierce invectives against Vespasian. Had this picture been copied from the life, it is not probable that two such men as Tacitus and Pliny would have mentioned him in terms of respect little short of veneration. It is true, that he frequently stood in opposition even to Vespasian; another Cato against Cæsar. The emperor was at length so far irritated as to forbid him the senate. Do you mean, said Helvidius, to exclude me for ever? No, replied Vespasian; attend there, if you will, but you must be a silent senator. Then, said Helvidius, you must not call upon me for my opinion; if I am called upon, I shall deliver it with the freedom of an honest man. This discourse so enraged Vespasian, that, forgetting himself, and his character, he threatened Helvidius with death. The intrepid stoic returned the following answer: "I did not say, that I am immortal; you may, if you will, put me to death; in so doing, you will act YOUR part; and, in dying without fear or trembling, I shall act MINE." This is recorded by Arrian, in his Memoirs of Epicurus, as an answer worthy of a Roman, and a disciple of the stoic school. His conduct, from the opening of Vespasian's reign, was such as gave umbrage to the court. When all ranks of men went forth to meet the emperor on his arrival in Italy, Helvidius did not salute him by the name of Cæsar, but treated him as if he had been no more than a private man. In the edicts which he issued in his office of prætor, he made no mention of the emperor. Suetonius, *Life of Vesp.* s. 15. These and other circumstances conspired against him. Mucianus, it is reasonable to suppose, inflamed the indignation of the emperor, and, at length, prevailed upon him to abandon Helvidius to the judgment of the senate. He was sent into exile, and soon after followed by an order for his execution. Vespasian, according to Suetonius, despatched messengers to countermand the sentence; but it was either too late, or the emperor was imposed upon by a false account, that the blow was already struck. In this manner Helvidius fell a victim. He left a daughter by Fannia, of whom nothing is known; he also left a son, the issue of his first marriage, for a further account of whom, see this tract, s. 45. The Roman story, says Lord Orrery (*Remarks on Pliny*, b. vii. ep. 19), cannot produce another instance of so illustrious a family, distinguished by a succession equally bright in heroes and heroines, married among themselves, and more closely allied by their virtues than by their marriages.

List of the Family.

CÆCINA PÆTUS married the first ARRIA.

THRASEA PÆTUS married their daughter, the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS PRISCUS married FANNIA, the daughter of the second ARRIA.

HELVIDIUS the younger (son of HELVIDIUS PRISCUS by his first wife) married ANTHIA, the daughter of Publius Anteius, who, from his attachment to Agrippina, fell

doubt, intended that in the same fire the voice of the Roman people should be stifled, the freedom of the senate destroyed, and the sentiments of the human heart[1] suppressed for ever. To complete the work, all sound philosophy was proscribed, every liberal art was driven into banishment, and nothing fair and honourable was suffered to remain. Of our passive temper we gave ample proof; and as former times had tasted of liberty even to a degree of licentiousness, so we exhausted the bitter cup of slavery to the very dregs. Restrained by the terrors of a merciless inquisition from the commerce of hearing and speaking, and, by consequence, deprived of all exchange of sentiment, we should have resigned our memory with our other faculties, if to forget had been as easy as to submit in silence.[2]

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a sacrifice to the jealousy of Nero. See *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 14.

Thus stands the genealogy of this distinguished house.

1 The custom of destroying books is of ancient date, and was chiefly exercised under despotic governments. Before the invention of printing, there was no way of multiplying copies but by the industry of transcribers, and, at that time, the vengeance of men in power might succeed. At present the common hangman may burn one or more copies of a work deservedly condemned to the flames; but the friends of sedition will take care to be provided with a number, and even the curious will give them a place in their cabinets. It has been mentioned in the last note, that Fannia, the widow of Helvidius, carried the memoirs of her husband into exile; and yet those monuments of genius, as Tacitus calls them, have not come down to posterity. It must be admitted, that, where the people live under a constitution so well mixed and balanced, that liberty and property are fully secured, those who are intrusted with the administration are bound by their duty to the public, to put the laws in force, in order to crush the seeds of treason and rebellion. This principle prevailed in the best days of the Roman republic; and accordingly we read in Livy, that, in the second Punic war, when innovations in the religious rites of the Romans were introduced by tumultuous assemblies in the city of Rome, the ædiles and triumviri were sharply accused by the senate, for not preventing such abuses and disorderly meetings. "Incusati graviter ab senatu ædiles triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent." The same writer adds, that the mischief being found too strong for the ordinary magistrates, the prætor of the city, to whom the business was committed by the fathers, issued his edict, whereby all persons who had in their possession any books, that contained either predictions, forms of prayer, or religious ceremonies, were enjoined to deliver up the same before the next ensuing kalends of April. "Ubi potentius jam esse id malum apparuit, quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, Marco Atilio, prætori urbis, negotium ab senatu datum est, ut his religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in concione senatus-consultum recitavit, et edixit, ut quicumque libros vaticinos, precationesve, aut artem sacrificandi conscriptum haberet, eos libros omnes ad se ante kalendas Apriles deferret." Livy, lib. xxv. s. 1. Under the emperors, when public liberty was extinguished, every thing was turned into the crime of violated majesty. Cremutius Cordus had praised Brutus in his annals, and called Cassius the *last true Roman*. For this he was obliged to finish his days by a total abstinence from food, and his work was ordered to be burnt by the ædiles. But they remained, says Tacitus, in private hands, and were circulated notwithstanding the prohibition. The historian adds, that nothing so clearly shows the stupidity of the men, who fancy, that by an act of arbitrary power they can prevent the knowledge of after times. Genius gains strength and authority from persecution; and the foreign despots, who have had recourse to the same violent measures, have only succeeded to aggravate their own disgrace, and raise the glory of the writer. *Annals*, b. iv. s. 35. We read in Seneca, that this way of punishing individuals, when nothing in their writings affected the public, was introduced by Augustus in the case of Labienus, a man of genius and an eminent orator. His fame was great, and the applause of the public was rather extorted, than voluntarily given. No man objected to his character, who did not pay a tribute to his talents. Against this man a new punishment was invented; by the contrivance of his enemies all his books were burned by the public executioner. Seneca concludes his account of this proceeding with a fine reflection. The policy, he says, of punishing men for their literary merit was altogether new. Happily for the good of mankind, this species of tyranny was not devised before the days of Cicero. What would have been the consequence, if the triumvirate had been able to proscribe the genius of that consummate orator? The gods, in their just dispensations, took care that this method of crushing the powers of the mind, by illegal oppression, should begin at the point of time when all genius ceased to exist. "Res nova et insueta, supplicia de ingeniis sumi. Quid enim futurum fuit, si ingenium Ciceronis triumviris libuisset proscribere? Dii melius, quod eo seculo ista ingeniorum supplicia cœperunt, quo et ingenia desierunt." Seneca, *Controv.* lib. v. *in præfatione*. Lord Bacon has a beautiful thought on this subject. "The punishing of wits enhances their authority; and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of those who seek to tread it out." The reflection is certainly just; but let it not encourage the schismatics, the seditious incendiaries, and the clubs instituted for the purposes of anarchy and wild commotion. It is TRUTH, and TRUTH only, that *flies up in the face* of its oppressors. When the sons of faction tell us, *that men in civil society are born equal;* that in this country *we have no constitution;* that the *succession to the crown cannot be limited by king, lords, and commons;* and that the whole body of the people, who, on every demise of the crown, have unequivocally declared their concurrence, *have no power to consent to such a law;* when the abettors of innovation advance these, and other propositions, equally wild and frantic, let them remember, that all good men throughout the nation have trod their doctrines under foot, and that disappointment and contempt must be their portion.

> Hot, envious, noisy, proud, the scribbling fry
> Burn, hiss, and bounce, waste paper, stink, and die.

2 Pliny describes the senate in a state of stupefaction, forgetting almost every thing, the liberal arts, and the rules and privileges of their own order. In such times what useful knowledge could be acquired? The senate was convened to do nothing, or to be plunged in guilt and cruelty. They were either a laughing-stock, or the instruments of the vilest tyranny. The fathers were involved in the calamities of the times; the citizens of

III. At length, indeed, we begin to revive from our lethargy; but we revive by slow degrees, though the emperor Nerva,[3] in the beginning of this glorious era, found means to reconcile two things, till then deemed incompatible; namely, civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince; though his successor Trajan continues to heal our wounds, and by a just and wise administration to diffuse the blessings of peace and good order through every part of the empire; and though it is apparent, that hopes of the constitution are now conceived by all orders of men, and not only conceived, but rising every hour into confidence and public security.[4] And yet, such is the infirmity of the human mind, that, even in this juncture, the remedy operates more slowly than the disease. For as the body natural is tardy in its growth, and rapid in decay, so the powers of genius are more easily extinguished than promoted to their full maturity. There is a charm in indolence that works by imperceptible degrees; and that listless inactivity, which at first is irksome, grows delightful in the end.

Need I mention that in the course of fifteen years,[5] a large portion of human life! many fell by unavoidable accidents, and the most illustrious men in Rome were cut off by the insatiate cruelty of the prince? A few of us, it is true, have survived the slaughter of our fellow-citizens; I had almost said, we have survived ourselves: for in that chasm, which slavery made in our existence, we cannot be said to have lived, but rather to have crawled in silence, the young towards the decrepitude of age, and the old to dishonourable graves. And yet I shall not regret the time I have spent in reviewing those days of despotism; on the contrary, it is my intention, even in such weak colouring as mine, to give a memorial of our slavery, that it may stand in constrast to the felicity of the present period.

In the meantime, the following tract is dedicated to the memory of Agricola, my father-in-law. The design, as it springs from filial piety, may merit a degree of approbation; it will, at least, be received with candour.

IV. Cnæus Julius Agricola was born at

Rome groaned under oppression during a number of years; and, in that dreadful period, their faculties were debased, and the vigour of their minds utterly extinguished. "Quid tunc disci potuit? quid didicisse juvit? cum senatus aut ad otium, aut ad summum nefas vocaretur; et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentus, nunquam seria, tristia sæpe censeret. Eadem mala jam senatores, jam participes malorum, multos per annos vidimus tulimusque, quibus ingenia nostra, in posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa sunt." Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. But amidst all this tame resignation, a sense of injuries, however suppressed, was rankling in every breast. Men could not forget the massacre of so many citizens of consular rank, and the banishment of the most illustrious women in Rome. See section xiv. and note. They groaned under the yoke of bondage, and yet felt, in secret, that liberty was the natural element of a Roman.

3 On the death of Domitian, that emperor's acts were rescinded, and Nerva began his reign, A. U. C. 849; he adopted Trajan in October or November 850, and died on or about the 21st January, 851. Trajan, from that time, was called Nerva Trajanus. As Nerva is not called DIVUS, that is, the DEIFIED NERVA, Lipsius and most of the commentators have inferred that Nerva was still alive. But how Trajan, in that short time between his adoption and the commencement of his reign, could be said to be every day increasing the public happiness, is not easy to comprehend. It seems more probable that he was emperor of Rome when Tacitus wrote the Life of Agricola, and the compliment paid to him in section xlv. implies that he was then the reigning prince. The words are "In hac beatissima sæculi luce principem Trajanum videre;" in this era of public felicity to see Trajan on the imperial seat. That wish of Agricola would, surely, not have been so openly expressed during the life of another prince. However the fact may be, it is certain that Nerva crowded into his short reign a number of virtues, which were imitated by Trajan, Hadrian, and both the Antonines; a period of ninety years, which may be truly called the golden age of the empire.

4 The public security, SECURITAS PUBLICA, was an inscription on the medals of the times. Though in the very outset of his reign, Nerva showed himself disposed to favour civil liberty, yet Pliny gives an extraordinary picture of Rome in that very period. The servitude of former times, he says, left the citizens in a total ignorance of all liberal arts, and a gross oblivion of the senatorian laws and privileges. For who is willing to learn what is of no kind of use? It is difficult to retain what you acquire, without constant exercise. The return of liberty found us rude and ill-instructed; and yet, charmed with the novelty of public freedom, we are forced to resolve before we understand. "Priorum temporum servitus, ut aliarum optimarum artium, sic etiam juris senatorii oblivionem quandam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quisque tam patiens, ut velit discere quod in usu non sit habiturus? Adde, quod difficile est tenere, quæ acceperis, nisi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit, cujus dulcedine accensi, cogimur quædam facere, antequam nosse." Pliny, lib. viii. ep. 14. This description applies directly to a neighbouring nation. They were intoxicated with the acquisition of liberty, but did not understand the nature of a free constitution. They were worse than the blind men mentioned by Tacitus, and after him by Montesquieu, they built CHALCEDON, while they had BYZANTIUM in their view. The Romans, as we see in Pliny's account, proceeded in a different manner: they employed themselves in the study of their ancient laws, in order to settle a regular government, and their endeavours were seconded by the virtues of Nerva and Trajan.

5 Fifteen years was the period of Domitian's reign. Tacitus speaks of it with horror, and promises to review the tyranny and abject slavery of those dismal times. It is to be regretted, that such a savage as Domitian has escaped from the pen of Tacitus. Had his work come down to us, we should have seen the tyrant stretched on the rack of history. The memorial of happiness under Nerva and Trajan, which he also promised, was either never finished, or is now unfortunately lost.

the ancient and respectable colony of Forojulium.[1] His grandfather, by the maternal as well as the paternal line, served the office of imperial procurator;[2] a trust of importance, which always confers the equestrian dignity. His father, Julius Græcinus,[3] was a member of the senate, distinguished by his eloquence and philosophy. His merit gave umbrage to Caligula. Being commanded by that emperor to undertake the prosecution of Marcus Silanus,[4] he refused to comply, and was put to death. Julia Procilla,[5] Agricola's mother, was respected for the purity of her manners. Under her care, and as it were in her bosom, the tender mind of the son was trained to science and every liberal accomplishment. His own ingenuous disposition guarded him against the seductions of pleasure. To that happy temperament was added the advantage of pursuing his studies at Marseilles,[6] that seat of learning, where the refinements of Greece were happily blended with the sober manners of provincial economy.

He has often declared in my hearing, that in the first career of youth he felt himself addicted to philosophical speculations with more ardour than consisted with the duties of a Roman and a senator;[7] but his taste was soon reformed by the admonitions of his mother. In fact, it cannot be matter of wonder, that a sublime and warm imagination, struck with the forms of moral beauty and the love of science, should aspire to reach the glory of the philosophic character. As he grew up to manhood, his riper judgment weaned him from vain pursuits, and during the rest of his life he preserved, what is difficult to attain, that temperate judgment, which knows where to fix the bounds even of wisdom itself.

V. His first rudiments of military knowledge were acquired in Britain,[8] under the conduct

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1 Forojulium was a colony in Narbonne Gaul, now called Frejus, or Frejules, situated at the mouth of the river Agens, on the Mediterranean, about forty miles north-east of Toulon. It was originally a place of considerable magnificence, as appears in a poem written by Michael Hospital, chancellor of France; in which, after mentioning Forojulium, then reduced to a small city, he describes the ruins of a pompous theatre, the grand arches, the public baths, and the aqueducts. He adds, that the structure at the port was laid in ruins, and where there was formerly a port, it is now a dry shore, with adjacent gardens.

> Inde Forum Julii, parvam nunc venimus urbem,
> Apparent veteris vestigia magna theatri;
> Ingentes arcus, et thermas, et ductus aquarum;
> Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus;
> Atque ubi portus erat, siccum nunc littus, et horti.
>
> Delphin Edition of *Tacitus*, vol. iv. p. 176.

2 The management of all the foreign revenues was in the hands of the Roman knights. Augustus left the appointment of some of the provinces, to the discretion of the senate, and reserved others for his own nomination. The last were called *procuratores Cæsaris*, "imperial procurators," and were either created Roman knights by virtue of their employment, or considered as of equal dignity. The money collected by the officers of the senate was paid into the public treasury (*ærarium*,) and that of the imperial procurators into the fiscus, or exchequer of the prince. The rapacity of these men may be reckoned among the causes that finally wrought the downfall of the empire. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 60.

3 Seneca has given an admirable character of Agricola's father. If, says he, we need the example of a great and exalted mind, let us imitate Julius Græcinus, that excellent man, whom Caius Cæsar (Caligula) put to death for no other reason, than because he had more virtue than a tyrant could endure. "Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Græcini Julii, viri egregii, quem Caius Cæsar occidit, ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset, quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret." De Beneficiis, lib. ii. s. 21. He wrote books of husbandry, and his delight in agriculture is supposed to have given the name of Agricola to his son.

4 Marcus Silanus was highly respected, not only for his birth and rank, but also for his eminent virtues. He had the misfortune of being father-in-law to Caligula. He incurred the hatred of that tyrant by his honest counsels. He enjoyed the privilege of being the first, whose opinion was asked by the consul in the senate; but to deprive him of that honour, Caligula ordered, that, from that time, all of consular dignity should vote according to their seniority. He endeavoured to prevail on Julius Græcinus (mentioned in the last note) to undertake an accusation against Silanus; but not succeeding, he at length took away his life on a frivolous pretence. Though the weather was rough, the tyrant chose to make a little voyage by sea. Silanus, with whom that element did not agree, excused himself from being of the party. This was construed into a crime. Caligula pretended that he staid at Rome, in order to make himself master of the city in case any accident should befall the prince: and for that reason compelled him to cut his throat with a razor. Crevier's *Emperors*, vol. iii. b. 7.

5 We know nothing of Agricola's mother beyond the excellent character given of her by Tacitus. Like some of the best and noblest of the Roman matrons, she attended to the education of her son, which at Rome was a matter of the first importance. The reader will find the advantages of the maternal care stated at large in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 28.

6 This city (now Marseilles) was founded by a colony of the Phocæans, who carried with them the polished manners and the literature of Greece. Strabo says, the Roman nobility had been used to travel to Athens for their improvement, but of late were content to visit Massilia, or Marseilles. See Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iv. s. 43.

7 Military science, a thorough knowledge of the laws, and the powers of eloquence, were the accomplishments by which a citizen of Rome raised himself to the honours of the magistracy, and the consulship. This was not only the case during the republic, but continued under the emperors. The man, who devoted himself to the speculations of philosophy, or to a life of literature, could not, by those abstract studies, open his way into the senate. Agricola was aware of this, and therefore relinquished the metaphysical systems, to which he felt himself strongly addicted.

8 Suetonius Paulinus was sent by Nero to command

of Suetonius Paulinus, that experienced officer; active, vigilant, yet mild in command. Agricola was soon distinguished by his general, and selected to live with him at head-quarters.[9] Honoured in this manner, he did not, as is usual with young men, mix riot and dissipation with actual service; nor did he avail himself of his rank of military tribune to obtain leave of absence,[10] in order to pass his time in idle pleasures and ignorance of his duty. To know the province, and make himself known to the army; to learn from men of experience, and emulate the best examples; to seek no enterprise with a forward spirit, and to decline none with timid caution, were the rules he laid down to himself; prudent with valour, and brave without ostentation.

A more active campaign had never been known, nor was Britain at any time so fiercely disputed.[11] Our veteran forces were put to the sword; our colonies smoked on the ground; and the legions were intercepted on their march. The struggle was then for life; we fought afterwards for fame and victory. In a juncture so big with danger, though the conduct of the war was in other hands, and the glory of recovering the province was justly ascribed to the commander in chief, yet so fair an opportunity did not fail to improve a young officer, and plant in his mind the early seeds of military ambition. The love of fame took possession of him, that principle of noble minds, but out of season in an evil period, when virtue suffered by sinister constructions, and from an illustrious name the danger was as great as from the most pernicious character.

VI. He returned from Britain to enter on the gradations of the civil magistracy, and married Domitia Decidiana, a lady of high rank and splendid descent. By that alliance he gained an accession of strength and credit, that served to forward him in the road to public honours. The conjugal state proved a source of domestic happiness. They lived in perfect harmony, endeared by the tenderest affection, and each ascribing to the other the felicity which they enjoyed. But the merit of Decidiana could not be too much acknowledged. The praise of a valuable wife should always rise in proportion to the weight of censure, that falls on such as violate the nuptial union.

Agricola obtained the office of quæstor;[12] and the province of Asia, of which Salvius Titianus[13]

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in Britain, A. U. C. 814, and of the Christian era 61. Of this officer, one of the ablest that Rome produced during the first century of the Christian era, an ample character is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29. We learn from the elder Pliny, that in the beginning of the reign of Claudius he commanded in Mauritania, and, having defeated the Barbarians in several battles, laid waste the country as far as Mount Atlas. Pliny, lib. v. s. 1. After the death of Galba, he fought on the side of Otho against Vitellius; and being compelled, against his own judgment, to hazard a battle at Bedriacum, he did not dare, after his defeat, to return to his camp, but saved himself by flight. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 44. He afterwards patched up a reconciliation with Vitellius. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 60. In Britain he signalized himself by his great military talents; and in that school of war Agricola, then about twenty years old, acquired that experience, which enabled him, in process of time, to reduce the whole island to subjection.

9 Rank in the Roman armies, such as tribune or centurion, was the claim of merit. It was, for that reason, the custom of young men of illustrious families to attend in the train of the general, in order to learn the first rudiments of war, or, in the modern phrase, to *see service*. The young officer lived at head quarters. By learning to obey, he was taught how to command at a future time. He bore some resemblance to what the French have called an *aide de camp*. Suetonius says that Julius Cæsar's first campaign was in Asia, as tent-companion to Marcus Thermus the prætor. "Stipendia prima fecit in Asia, Marci Thermi prætoris contubernio." Suet. *in Jul. Cæs.* s. 2.

10 There were so many candidates for the rank of tribune, that the general, in order to divide his favours, often granted those commissions for the term of six months. Thus we see Pliny, in a letter to Sossius, requesting a six month's tribuneship for Calvisius, whom he commends in the highest terms. "Hunc rogo semestri tribunatu splendidiorem et sibi et avenculo facias." Lib. iv. ep. 4. It is probable, however, that Agricola's merit obtained a full commission; but he did not avail himself of his preferment to gain his *commeatus*, which Grovonius calls, *jus absentiæ a signis*, the right of being absent from the colours. Those exemptions from duty were often improperly granted, to the great detriment of the service, as we see in the History, b. i. s. 46.

11 While Suetonius was employed in the reduction of the isle of *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, the chief seat of the Druids, and consequently the centre of superstition, the Britons, taking advantage of his absence, rose in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, attacked the Roman stations, and laid a scene of blood and carnage in every quarter. No less than 70,000 were put to the sword without distinction. Suetonius with his small army marched back through the heart of the country, to the protection of London, then a flourishing city; but he found on his arrival, that the place was not tenable. He abandoned it to the merciless fury of the enemy, and it was accordingly reduced to ashes. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle, in which 80,000 Britons are said to have perished. Boadicea put an end to her life by poison. See the account at large, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29, to the end of section 7. In this important scene of military operations, a mind like that of Agricola, young, intent, and ardent, could not fail to prepare himself for that renown, which he was destined to acquire by the complete conquest of the island.

12 The quæstorship was the first office entered upon by those who aspired to the higher magistracies. It might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four. Thus in the *Annals* b. iii. s. 29, we find Tiberius applying to the senate to introduce the eldest son of Germanicus, before he was qualified by his age.

13 Salvius Titianus was the brother of Otho, who, for a short time, was emperor of Rome. During the competition with Vitellius, he was the commander in chief of his brother's army. His rash counsels hurried on the last decisive action of Bedriacum, where his party was totally ruined. He survived that defeat and the victor

was proconsul, fell to his lot. Neither the place nor the governor could warp his integrity. The wealth of the inhabitants invited the hand of rapacity; and Titianus by the bias of his nature prone to acts of avarice, was ready, on terms of mutual connivance, to co-operate in any scheme of guilt and plunder; but Agricola maintained his honour and his principles. During his stay in Asia his family was increased by the birth of a daughter, who proved soon after, when he lost his infant son, a source of consolation. The intermediate space between the expiration of his quæstorship and his advancement to the post of tribune of the people, he had the prudence to pass in calm tranquillity. Even during the year of his tribuneship[1] he acted with the same reserve, aware of those disastrous times, when, under the tyranny of Nero's reign, the want of exertion was the truest wisdom. He discharged the office of prætor with the same moderation and silent dignity, having no occasion, as his good fortune would have it, to sit in judicature.[2] That branch of the magistrate's business did not fall to his share. The pageantry of public spectacles, which belonged to his department, he conducted with economy and magnificence, short of profusion, yet with due regard to popularity. In the following reign, being appointed by Galba one of the commissioners, to inspect the state of oblations to the several temples,[3] he managed the inquiry with so much skill and well-tempered judgment, that no species of sacrilegious rapine, except the plunder committed by Nero, was suffered to pass without redress.

VII. In the course of[4] the following year a dreadful misfortune happened in his family, and proved to him a severe stroke of affliction. A descent, from Otho's fleet, which roved about in quest of depredations, was made on the coast of Liguria. The freebooters plundered the city of Intemelium,[5] and in their fury murdered Agricola's mother, then residing upon her own

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did not think him worthy of his resentment. See more of him, *Hist.* b. i. and ii.

1 The office of tribune owed its origin to a violent dispute between the patricians and plebeians, A. U. C. 260; when the latter, making a defection, could not be reduced to order, till they obtained the privilege of choosing some magistrates out of their own body, for the defence of their liberties, and to ward off all grievances imposed upon them by their superiors. At first two only were elected; three more were added in a short time; and A. U. C. 297, the number increased to ten, which continued ever after. Whoever is conversant in Roman History, will recollect that these new officers, appointed at first as the redressers of grievances, usurped the power of doing almost whatever they pleased. They were reputed *sacrosancti*, which they confirmed by law; so that it was deemed an act of impiety to interrupt them when they were speaking. Their interposing in matters debated by the senate was called *intercessio*, and their authority was declared by one word, VETO. The emperors left them little more than the name and shadow of magistracy, by contriving to have the same power vested in themselves: hence they were said to be *tribunitia potestate donati.* See *Annals*, b. i. s. 2. Pliny the younger states his opinion of the nature of the office, and says, when he was tribune, he declined to plead in any cause; not thinking it fit, that he, who could command others to be silent, should himself be silenced by any hour glass. "Deforme arbitrabar hunc, qui jubere posset tacere quemcumque, huic silentium clepsydra indici." Lib. i. ep. 23.

2 The office of prætor was first instituted in the year of Rome 389, to gratify the patrician order with a new dignity, in consideration of their having resigned the consulship to the choice of the people. Livy, b. vii. s. 1. In process of time, eight prætors were chosen annually, and had their separate provinces in the administration of justice. One had jurisdiction in all private causes between the citizens of Rome; the second decided in all suits between strangers and the inhabitants of Rome. One was called PRÆTOR URBANUS; the other PRÆTOR PEREGRINUS. Livy, b. xxiv. s. 44, expressly mentions these distinct offices. The other six prætors were to sit in judgment in all criminal matters. The authority of the judge, who presided in civil causes, was called JURISDICTIO: when the proceeding was for crimes and misdemeanors, it took the name of QUÆSTIO: if before an extraordinary judicature, it was then termed COGNITIO. So the matter is accurately explained by Lipsius. But the new magistrate created by Augustus, called the governor of the city, PRÆFECTUS URBIS, soon absorbed, and drew into his own vortex, the whole business of the *police*, and the cognizance of all offences. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 10 and 11. The senators and patricians, their wives and sons, were cited to appear at the bar of the senate; but in all cases, it was competent to the person accused, to remove the cause before the prince himself, who either heard it in his cabinet, or referred it to the præfect of the city, or else to a board of special commissioners. Hence the prætorian dignity had little more than the mere shadow of authority. Boetius calls it an empty name, a mere encumbrance on the senatorian rank. "Inane nomen, et senatorii census gravem sarcinam." *Consol. Philosoph.* lib. iii. As the prætors drew lots among themselves, and each man took the province assigned to him by chance, we find that the hearing of civil causes, called JURISDICTIO, did not fall to the share of Agricola. For the rest, the prefect of the city, most probably, relieved him from the care of public offences. Hence nothing remained for him, during the whole year of his prætorship, but the exhibition of public spectacles, and the amusement of the populace.

3 Nero was put to death, A. U. C. 821, of the Christian era 68. Galba succeeded, but reigned only a few months. Agricola was chosen for the due care of religion, and the protection of the public temples; but the plunder committed by Nero, about three years before his death, could not be redressed. The whole was dissipated in wild profusion. See *Annals*, b. xv. s. 45.

4 This was the year of Rome 822, of Christ 69.

5 INTEMELIUM was a municipal town in the country now called *Vintimiglia*, in the territory of Genoa. It was situated on the Mediterranean. The descent made by a band of adventurers from Otho's fleet, and the havoc and devastation committed by those ferocious warriors, is described by Tacitus, *Hist.* b. ii. s. 12 and 13. Vespasian, it now began to be known, declared himself a candidate for the imperial dignity. The news reached Agricola some time in the month of July, in the above year, 822. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 79.

estate. They laid waste her lands, and went off with a considerable booty. Agricola set out immediately to pay the last tribute of filial piety, and being informed on his way, that Vespasian aspired to the imperial dignity, he declared at once in favour of that party.

In the beginning of the new reign,[6] the government of Rome, and the whole administration, centred in Mucianus, Domitian being, at that time, too young for business, and from the elevation of his father claiming no other privilege than that of being debauched and profligate without control. Agricola was despatched to raise new levies. He executed that commission with so much zeal and credit to himself, that Mucianus advanced him to the command of the twentieth legion,[7] then quartered in Britain, and for some time unwilling to swear fidelity to Vespasian. The officer, who had the command of that corps, was suspected of seditious practices, and the men had carried their insolence to such a pitch, that they were even formidable to the consular generals. Their commander was of prætorian rank; but either on account of his own disaffection, or the turbulent spirit of the soldiers, his authority was too feeble. Agricola succeeded to the command of the legion, and to the task of punishing the guilty. He acquitted himself with consummate address, and singular moderation, wishing that the men should have the merit of voluntary compliance, and not seem to have yielded, with sullen submission, to the authority of their general.

VIII. The government of Britain was at that time committed to Vettius Bolanus,[8] a man of milder disposition than consisted with the genius of those ferocious islanders. Agricola, that he might not seem to eclipse his superior officer, restrained his martial ardour, submitting with deference to his commander in chief, and, in every part of his conduct, uniting to his love

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6 Vespasian remained in Asia and Egypt, while his generals carried their victorious arms to the city of Rome, and proclaimed him emperor. His son Titus, in the mean time carried on the siege of Jerusalem. Domitian was at Rome, but too young to conduct the reins of government. Vice and debauchery were more suited to his genius. Mucianus, the confidential minister of Vespasian, arrived at Rome, and took upon him the whole conduct of the administration. He may be said to have reigned with Vespasian. Antonius was the general who conquered for Vespasian, but Mucianus deprived him of his laurels. See *History*, b. iv.; and see the character of Mucianus, *Hist.* b. ii. s. 5.

7 The twentieth legion was, at that time, in Britain; and it is so expressed in the translation, though the text is silent as to that particular. The Romans had three legions in this island, namely, II^a. *Augusta;* IX^a. *Hispaniensis;* XX^a. *Victrix.* The officer to whom Agricola succeeded, was *Roscius Cælius*, a man of a restless, turbulent disposition, malignant, envious, and always at variance with Trebellius Maximus, the commander in chief. The latter was a *consular legat*, LEGATUS CONSULARIS: Cælius was a *prætorian legat*, LEGATUS PRÆTORIUS. The consular legats were either generals of the army, or governors of provinces, and, for the most part, both at the same time. Wherever they were present, the prætorian legat had no higher trust than the command of a legion. And yet Cælius, by exasperating his general officer, and inflaming the minds of the soldiers, raised the dissensions of the army to such a pitch, that Trebellius Maximus was obliged to fly from his post, and to abandon the island. *Hist.* b. i. s. 60. Roscius Cælius remained to enjoy his victory. He governed in a tumultuous manner, by violent measures assuming the supreme authority. His legion had been tardy in declaring for Vespasian, and the delay was imputed to the seditious spirit of the commander. Mucianus thought fit to recall him. Agricola went a second time into Britain, and put himself at the head of the legion, which is supposed to have been at that time quartered at *Deva*, now *Chester*. An inscription has been found in the following words: *Deva Leg.* XX. *Victrix.* See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 538.

8 Vettius Bolanus was sent by Vitellius to command in Britain, after the abdication of Trebellius Maximus. He had served under Corbulo in Armenia, but according to Tacitus, does not seem to have profited by the example of so great a master. Mediocrity was his element. And yet Statius, in a poem to Crispinus, the son of Bolanus, lays out the whole force of his genius to celebrate the warlike achievements of the father. He stuns us with a muster-roll of his virtues, his exploits in the east, and his trophies in Britain. Bolanus, he says, waged war on the banks of the Araxes, and fought to reduce Armenia to subjection under Nero. Corbulo, the commander in chief, admired the ardour of the young officer, and committed to his care the most difficult operations of the campaign.

> ——————— Ille juventam
> Protinus ingrediens, pharetratam invasit Arazem
> Belliger, indocilemque fero servire Neroni
> Armeniam. Rigidi summam Mavortis agebat
> Corbulo, sed comitem belli, sociumque laborum,
> Ille quoque egregiis multum mirantus in armis,
> Bolanum, atque illi curarum asperrima sustus
> Credens, partirique metus.

The poet proceeds to hold up to the son the great example of his father. Learn, he says, from him; you have a family monitor to inspire you with every virtue; let kindred praise excite you to heroic action. The Decii and the Camilli may be pointed out to others. It will be for you to keep your eye on your father; observe with what undaunted fortitude he advanced as far as Thule amidst storms and tempests and the rigours of the winter

> Disce, puer: nec enim externo monitore petendus
> Virtutis tibi pulcher amor; cognata ministret
> Laus animos; alias Decii reducesque Camilli
> Monstrentur; tu disce patrem, quantasque nigrantem
> Fluctibus ascidula, fessosque Hyperione Thulen
> Intrarit mandata gerens.
>
> *Statius, Sylv.* lib. v. poem. ii

Unfortunately for the bard, history is silent about all these great exploits; and when history, the intelligencer of antiquity, *nuntia vetustatis*, shows no foundation for this exaggerated praise, the poet must be supposed to have indulged a flight of fancy. Bolanus was recalled; and Cerealis, who conducted the war against Civilis the Batavian chief (See *Hist.* b. iv. s. 71), was sent by Vespasian to command the legions in Britain, A. U. 823; A. D. 70. Agricola, we find, was still serving in Britain.

of glory, a due regard for the service. Bolanus was soon recalled, and Petilius Cerealis, an officer of consular rank, succeeded to the command. The field of warlike enterprise was laid open to Agricola. Under the new commander, he was, at first, no more than a common sharer in the dangers of the campaign; but in a short time his talents had their free career. The general to make his experiment, sent him at the head of detached parties, and afterwards, encouraged by the event, employed him in more important operations. Agricola never betrayed a symptom of vain-glory. From the issue of his expeditions, however successful, he assumed no merit. It was the general that planned the measure, and he himself was no more than the hand that executed. By this conduct, vigorous in action, but modest in the report of his exploits, he gained a brilliant reputation, secure from the envy that attends it.

IX. On his return to Rome, Vespasian advanced him to the patrician rank,[1] and soon after to the government of the province of Aquitania;[2] an appointment of the first importance, leading directly to the honours of the consulship, to which he then aspired with the concurrence of the prince. The military mind, trained up in the school of war, is generally supposed to want the power of nice discrimination. The jurisdiction of the camp is little solicitous about forms and subtle reasoning; military law is blunt and summary, and where the sword resolves all difficulties, the refined discussions of the forum are never practised. Agricola, however, indebted to nature for a certain rectitude of understanding, was not out of his sphere[3] even among men versed in questions of jurisprudence. His hours of business and relaxation had their stated periods. In the council of the province, or on the tribunal of justice, he discharged the duties of his station with awful gravity, intent to inquire, often severe, but more inclined to soften the rigour of the law. The functions of the magistrate being despatched, he divested himself of his public character; the man in authority was no longer seen. In his actions no tincture of arrogance, no spleen, no avarice was ever seen. Uncommon as it may appear, the sweetness of his manners took nothing from his authority, nor was the impression made by his amiable qualities lessened by the inflexibility of the judge.

To say of a character truly great, that integrity and a spirit above corruption made a part of it, were mere tautology, as injurious to his virtues, as it is unnecessary. Even the love of fame, that fine incentive of generous minds, could neither betray him into an ostentatious display of virtue, nor induce him to practice those specious arts, that court applause, and often supply the place of merit. The little ambition of rising above his colleagues was foreign to his heart. He avoided all contention with the procurators of the prince. In struggles of that nature he knew that victory may be obtained without glory, and a defeat is certain disgrace. In less than three years he was recalled from his province, to take upon him the consular dignity. The voice of fame marked him out, at the same time, for the government of Britain: the report was current, but neither contrived, nor cultivated, by himself. He was mentioned, because he was worthy. Common fame does not always err: it often takes the lead, and determines the choice. During his consulship,[4] though I was then very young, he agreed to a

1 The senators were not, of course, of the patrician order, as appears, *Annals*, xi. s. 25, where we see the emperor Claudius adding the oldest of the fathers to the list of patricians; the families of that rank, created by Romulus and by Brutus, and also those advanced by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, being well nigh extinguished. Vespasian exercised the same authority, and, under his patronage, Agricola rose to the honours of the state.

2 The grand divisions of Gaul have been mentioned in the Manners of the Germans, section i. note. To that account it may be proper to add, that a subdivision was made by Augustus, distributing the whole country into seven provinces; namely, Narbonne Gaul, Aquitania, the province of Lugdunum, or Lyons, properly Celtic Gaul; Belgic Gaul, and Upper and Lower Germany. These several districts, except Narbonne Gaul, were under the immediate management of the prince. The province of Aquitania was inclosed by the Pyrenean mountains, the Rhone, the Loire, and the Atlantic Ocean.

3 The governors of provinces administered justice not only to the army, but likewise to the inhabitants. In discharging the functions of his station, Agricola took care to have no dispute, no contest, with subordinate officers. Seneca observes, to contend with your superior, is a degree of frenzy; with your equal, something is hazarded; with your inferior, it is a degradation. "Cum superiore contendere, furiosum; cum pari, anceps; cum inferiore, sordidum."

4 In the year of Rome 830, and of the Christian era 77, Vespasian was consul, eighth time, with his son Titus, the sixth. On the kalends of July in that year, Brotier says, upon the authority of Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. i. p. 291, that Domitian and Agricola were appointed consuls for the remainder of the year. This practice was first introduced by Augustus, under the plausible pretence of having more frequent opportunities to oblige the illustrious families of Rome, but, in fact, to impair the dignity, and lessen the power of the consuls. The succeeding emperors adopted the same plan of policy; and the mischief went on increasing, till in the reign of Commodus there were no less than five and twenty consuls in one year. During the whole time, the consuls who entered on their office in the beginning of January, gave their name to the whole year. Those who were made occasionally, called CONSULES SUBROGATI, are seldom mentioned in the FASTI CONSULARES. Hence the difficulty of ascertaining their exact time. Agricola, according to Tillemont, was consul A. D. 78.

marriage between me and his daughter, who certainly might have looked for a prouder connexion. The nuptial ceremony was not performed till the term of his consulship expired. In a short time after he was appointed governor of Britain, with the additional honour of a seat in the pontifical college.

X. If I here presume to offer a description of Britain[5] and the manners of the people, it is not my intention to dispute with the number of authors, who have gone before me, either the fame of genius, or diligence in the research. The fact is, Britain was subdued under the conduct of Agricola, and that circumstance may justify the present attempt. Antecedent writers adorned conjecture with all the graces of language: what I have to offer will have nothing but the plain truth to recommend it.

Britain, of all the islands known to the Romans, is the largest. On the east, it extends towards Germany; on the west, towards Spain;[6] and on the south, it lies opposite to the coast of Gaul. The northern extremity is lashed by the billows of a prodigious sea, and no land is known beyond it. The form of the island has been compared by two eloquent writers (Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns) to an oblong shield, or a two-edged axe. The comparison, if we except Caledonia, may be allowed to be just, and hence the shape of a part has been, by vulgar error, ascribed to the whole. Caledonia stretches a vast length of way towards the north. The promontories, that jut out into the sea, render the form of the country broken and irregular, but it sharpens to a point at the extremity, and terminates in the shape of a wedge.

By Agricola's order the Roman fleet[7] sailed round the northern point, and made the first certain discovery that Britain is an island. The cluster of isles called the Orcades,[8] till then wholly unknown, was in this expedition added to the Roman empire. Thule,[9] which had lain

5 The writers who before Tacitus's time had given a description of Britain, were Julius Cæsar, Livy the celebrated historian, and Fabius Rusticus, the friend of Seneca, often quoted by Tacitus. His works have perished in the general wreck of ancient literature. Livy's account was in book cv.; but we have nothing now remaining except the Epitome, not very well filled up by the Supplement of Freinshemius. A slight knowledge of distant countries was sufficient for the ancient geographers. They never were at a loss for some form or shape, to which they compared the place in question, and then conceived that they had given a true outline or draught of the country: but the accurate maps of modern geographers show how much they were deceived. Pliny the elder informs us, that the original name was Albion, and Sir William Temple gives the etymology of the word. Albion, he says, was derived from *Alpion; Alp*, in some of the western languages, signifying high lands or hills, as this isle appears to those who approach it from the continent. In Cæsar's time, Britain was the general appellation. Sir William Temple derives the word from *Brith*, the paint with which the inhabitants gave an azure blue to their bodies and their shields. The Romans, he says, called the island *Britannia*, giving a Latin termination to a barbarous name, in the same manner as they did with regard to other countries that fell under their commerce or conquests; such as Mauritania, Aquitania, and other places commonly known. Camden thinks that Britannia was a compound word, from *Brith*, paint, and *Tania*, a term importing region or country. Cæsar's account of a triangular form may be admitted. Taking the whole length from Dover to the Land's End in Cornwall for one side of the triangle, the eastern and the western coasts contract by degrees, and, though not strictly reduced to a point at the northern extremity, it is there sufficiently narrow to justify Cæsar's comparison, and, according to Tacitus, to present the form of a wedge. It is true, that he calls it an island, but he seems to have had no better authority than the voice of fame. No navigator had, at that time, sailed round the island. The Greeks thought it a large continent. See *Univ. Hist.* vol. xix. p. 68.

6 Cæsar says that the western side extends towards Spain, and that Ireland, about half as large as Britain, lies opposite to that coast. "Vergit ad Hispaniam, atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia." *De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 13. The part of Britain, long since called Scotland, was known to the Romans by the name of *Caledonia*, because, says Sir William Temple, the north-east part of Scotland was by the natives called CAL DUN, which signifies hills of hazel, with which it was covered; from whence the Romans gave it the name of *Caledonia*: thus forming an easy and pleasant sound out of what was harsh to such elegant tongues and ears as theirs.

7 An account of this voyage round the island will be found in this Tract, s. 38. Then, for the first time, the Romans obtained geographical certainty.

8 The *Orcades* (now the *Orkney* Islands) were known by the report of fame in the reign of Claudius. Some historians have ascribed the conquest to that emperor, but for this there does not seem to be sufficient foundation. Flattery was in haste to decorate the prince with laurels unearned. It is true that Pomponius Mela has said that those islands were thirty in number. *Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductæ spatiis.* Mela, lib. iii. s. 6. Pliny likewise mentions them; but his account of the number shows that he relied on mere report. He says, there are FORTY islands, called the Orcades, all separated by narrow straits. *Sunt autem* xl. *Orcades, modicis inter se discretæ spatiis.* Pliny, lib. iv. s. 16. Had Claudius added those islands to the Roman empire, it is not probable that there would have been a variance, as to the number, among the authors of that day. Eutropius, and Eusebius in his chronicle, are the authorities upon which Claudius must rely for his fame; but the silence of Tacitus is a strong contradiction to those writers.

9 Much has been said by the Greek and Roman poets of a place in the northern regions, called Thule; but it is evident they did not all agree in the Geographical description. Camden is of opinion that the *Thule* of Tacitus is one of the *Shetland* islands, which lie to the north of the Orcades, latit. 60. The ancient poets heard of *Thule*, and made their own use of it, to adorn their verse. To fix the exact spot was not their business. They were masters of every northern latitude, and they

concealed in the gloom of winter and a depth of eternal snows, was also seen by our navigators. The sea in those parts is said to be a sluggish mass of stagnated water,[1] hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by winds and tempests. The natural cause may be, that high lands and mountains, which occasion commotions in the air, are deficient in those regions; not to mention that such a prodigious body of water, in a vast and boundless ocean, is heaved and impelled with difficulty. But a philosophical account of the ocean and its periodical motions is not the design of this essay; the subject has employed the pen of others. To what they have said I shall only add, that there is not in any other part of the world an expanse of water that rages with such uncontrollable dominion, now receiving the discharge of various rivers, and, at times, driving their currents back to their source. Nor is it on the coast only that the flux and reflux of the tide are perceived: the swell of the sea forces its way into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its natural channel.

XI. Whether the first inhabitants of Britain were natives of the island,[2] or adventitious settlers, is a question lost in the mists of antiquity. The Britons, like other barbarous nations, have no monuments of their history. They differ in the make and habit of their bodies, and hence various inferences concerning their origin. The ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians[3] indicate a German extraction. That the Silures[4]

could always command ice enough to build their mountains and snow enough to cover them. From the historians and geographers more accuracy might be expected, but navigation was in its infancy. The Northern Ocean, as Tacitus has observed in the Manners of the Germans, always adverse to mariners, was seldom visited by ships from the Roman world. *Thule* was, in general, understood to be the most remote land in the northern latitudes, but the exact local situation was not ascertained. Pliny the elder had all the information that diligence could collect, and he knew how to embellish what he heard with all the graces of elegant composition. But still the Northern Ocean was unexplored. The German Sea, he says, is interspersed with a number of islands, called GLESSARIÆ, and by the Greeks ELECTRIDES, because amber (*electrum*) is found there in considerable quantities. Of these islands, *Thule* is the most distant; and there, at the summer solstice, when the sun is passing the tropic of Cancer, the inhabitants have no night; and, in like manner, during the winter they see no day, for the space, as is generally supposed, of six months. "Ab adverso in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur. Ultima omnium, quæ memorantur, Thule; in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancri signum sole transeunte, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidem senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur." Pliny, lib. iv. s. 30. But it is evident that *Shetland* could not be the place intended by Pliny. A night or day of six months is known in more northern latitudes. Procopius, in his History of the Gothic War, book ii. places Thule in Norway, which was thought by the ancients to be an island. Agricola's fleet might see the coast of Norway at a distance, and, having heard of *Thule*, might conclude that they had seen that region of eternal frost and snow. This, or, according to the conjecture of Camden, Shetland, might be the Thule of Tacitus. That of Pliny was, most probably, Iceland, especially as he says it lay within one day's sail from the Frozen Ocean. "A Thule unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur." Lib. iv. s. 30. If Iceland was intended by Pliny, the accounts given by navigators must have been very imperfect, since he makes no mention of three volcanos, particularly mount *Hecla*, which, amidst a waste of snow, constantly throws up columns of smoke and fire. See a Discourse *Sur la Navigation de Pytheas a Thule*, *Memoirs of the Acad. of Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxvii. p. 436.

1 From vague and uncertain accounts of the Frozen Ocean the ancients might form their idea of a sea in such a thick and concrete state, that the oars could hardly move, and the winds scarcely agitate, such a sluggish mass of water. But the tranquillity of those seas has been long known to be a mere fiction. It is therefore needless to examine the reasons assigned by Tacitus, to account for a phenomenon which does not exist. See what is said of this sea, *Manners of the Germans*, s. 45. What is said of the various inlets, through which the tide forces its way into the heart of the country, is sufficiently warranted by the *Æstuarium Bodotriæ* (the Firth of Forth), by the *Glota* (the Firth of Clyde), and other well known harbours, creeks, bays, and rivers, of Scotland.

2 Through the want of literary records, the history of barbarous nations is generally lost in darkness. When the origin of a people could not be traced, the difficulty was surmounted, by supposing that the soil, by a certain fecundity in those early seasons of the world, produced the race men. Mother earth, or MATER TELLUS, satisfied the inquiries of the most profound philosophy. The sons of the earth were called *indigenæ aborigines*, or natives of the soil. Men were supposed to spring from the bowels of the earth, from the trunks of trees, and even from rocks. The poets were the philosophers and historians of the age. Horace talks of the human race issuing out of the earth: *cum proreperunt primis animalia terris*: and Ovid gives them no other origin. But the age of darkness is past, and the reveries of ignorance have long since vanished. We are now content to be descended from Adam, instead of reckoning rocks and caves for our progenitors. Tacitus judges by a better rule. From certain resemblances of feature, language, and manners: from the size of limb and colour of the hair, he concludes, not without probability, that this island was peopled from Germany, Spain, and Gaul. The government of the country was like that of Gaul, consisting of several nations under different petty princes. Cæsar reckons no less than four in Kent, book v. s. 22. The most considerable tribes, or nations (Caledonia not included), were the *Dumnonii*, in Devonshire and Cornwall; the *Silures*, in Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan; the *Ordovices*, in North Wales; the *Trinobantes*, in Middlesex and Essex; the *Cantii*, or people of Kent; the *Iceni*, in Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the *Brigantes*, in Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland.

3 The *Caledonians*, and the etymology of the name, have been already mentioned, s. 10, note.

4 The Silures, as already stated, occupied Herefordshire, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan-

were at first a colony of Iberians is concluded, not without probability, from the olive tincture of the skin, the natural curl of the hair, and the situation of the country, so convenient to the coast of Spain. On the side opposite to Gaul the inhabitants resemble their neighbours on the continent; but whether that resemblance is the effect of one common origin, or of the climate in contiguous nations operating on the make and temperament of the human body, is a point not easy to be decided. All circumstances considered, it is rather probable that a colony from Gaul took possession of a country so inviting by its proximity.[5] You will find in both nations the same religious rites, and the same[6] superstition. The two languages differ but little.[7] In provoking danger they discover the same ferocity, and in the encounter, the same timidity. The Britons, however, not yet enfeebled by a long peace, are possessed of superior courage.[8] The Gauls, we learn from history, were formerly a warlike people; but sloth, the consequence of inactive times, has debased their genius, and virtue died with expiring liberty. Among such of the Britons,[9] as have been for some time subdued, the same degeneracy is observable. The free and unconquered part of the nation retains at this hour the ferocity of the ancient Gauls.

XII. The strength of their armies consists in infantry, though some of their warriors take the field in chariots.[10] The person of highest distinc-

shire. They may be called the inhabitants of South Wales. The Iberians were the first inhabitants of Spain, so called from the river *Iberus*, now the *Ebro*.

5 Cæsar tells us that frequent migrations were made from Belgic Gaul into Britain; and that the adventurers, having gained possession by force of arms, employed themselves in cultivating the land, in a climate which they had found more temperate than what they had known in Gaul. "Maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt, atque agros colere cœperunt. Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus." Lib. v. s. 12. The continent, most undoubtedly, was peopled first, and the redundant numbers overflowed into the adjacent isles.

6 The Druids, according to Cæsar's account, believed in the transmigration of souls, and that doctrine they thought had a happy tendency to inspire men with courage, and a contempt of death. They taught their pupils a system of astronomy; they described the various revolutions of the planets, the dimensions of the globe, the operations of nature; they talked with reverence of the immortal gods, and initiated their youth in all their mysteries. "In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant, et juventuti tradunt." *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 13. Human sacrifices, as observed in a former note, were part of their superstition. Living bodies were inclosed in large osier cages, and consumed in the flames. That the same rites and ceremonies were established in Britain, there can be no doubt, since we are told by Cæsar, that the religious system of Gaul was transplanted from Britain; and, even in his time, those who wished to be perfectly skilled in the druidical doctrines, passed over into this island for instruction. "Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata, esse existimatur. Et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo, discendi causa, proficiscuntur." *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 12. The late Mr. Hume has observed, "that no idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters, were at last obliged to abolish the druidical system by penal statutes: a violence, which had never, in any other instance, been practised by those tolerating conquerors." Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 5. See Tacitus, *Annals*, book xiv. s. 30.

7 This conformity of languages, Brotier says, still subsists in some parts of Cornwall and of the ancient Armorica, now called Bretagne. It is said, that a dialect of the Welsh is but just extinct in Cornwall.

8 Solinus, speaking of the warlike Britons, says, when a woman is delivered of a male child, she places the infant's first food on the point of her husband's sword, and inserts it in the little one's mouth; and, offering up her supplications to the gods of her country, devoutly prays, that he may die in war amidst hostile swords and javelins. *Solinus*, chap. 22.

9 The Britons were conquered, in the reign of Claudius, by Aulus Plautius, the first Roman general who landed on the island, since the invasion of Julius Cæsar. Plautius defeated the natives, A. U. C. 796, A. D. 43. Several signal victories were afterwards obtained by Suetonius, Paulinus, Petilius Cerealis, and other commanders, insomuch that the southern part of the island was reduced to a Roman province. The Caledonians stood for liberty, till their last decisive action, under Galgacus (see from section 30, to end of section 38), when they retired to their fastnesses in the Highlands.

10 This manner of fighting in chariots calls to mind the practice of heroic times described in the battles of the Iliad. But the heroes of the poet differed, in their notion of the point of honour, from the British chiefs. With the Greeks and Trojans, the driver of the carriage was the second in rank: the warrior of high renown was the person who fought. Hector had his 'squire to guide the reins, while he displayed his towering plume, and braved every danger. Achilles had his Automedon.

> Automedon and Alcimus prepare
> Th' immortal coursers and the radiant car.
> The charioteer then whirl'd the lash arround,
> And swift ascended at one active bound;
> Then bright in heavenly arms, above his 'squire
> Achilles mounts, and sets the field on fire.
>
> *Pope's* Iliad, book xix. v. 455.

Virgil in a beautiful picture representing the wars of Troy, in the first Æneid, describes the Trojans flying before Achilles, who pursues with ardour in the warlike car:

> Hos Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.

In the fifth Iliad Æneas invites Pandarus to join him in the fight:

> Haste, seize the whip, and snatch the guiding reign;
> The warrior's fury let this arm sustain;
> Or if to combat thy bold heart incline,
> Take thou the spear, the chariot's care be mine.
>
> *Pope's* Iliad, book v. verse 231.

tion guides the reigns, while his martial followers, mounted in the same vehicle, annoy the enemy. The Britons were formerly governed by a race of kings:[1] at present they are divided into factions under various chieftains; and this disunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public interest, is a circumstance highly favourable to the Roman arms against a warlike people, independent, fierce, and obstinate. A confederation[2] of two or more states to repel the common danger is seldom known: they fight in parties, and the nation is subdued.

The climate is unfavourable; always damp with rains, and overcast with clouds. Intense cold is never felt. The days are longer than in our southern regions; the nights remarkably bright, and, towards the extremity of the island, so very short,[3] that between the last gleam of day and the returning dawn the interval is scarce perceptible. In a serene sky, when no

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Among the Britons it was otherwise: the chief warrior drove the chariot, by Cæsar called *esseda*, and by Tacitus *covinus*: see this Tract, s. 35, note. The British chiefs, as it seems, thought it more honourable to drive the car into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and distinguished themselves by braving every danger. It appears, likewise, that a number of combatants mounted together, in the same vehicle, which was not the case in Homer's battles.

1 We read in the Annals, b. xii. s. 36, of Caractacus, king of the Silures; in b. xiv. s. 31, of Prasutagus, king of the Iceni; and s. 35 of Boadicea, his widow, who succeeded to her husband's dominions. For Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who delivered up Caractacus to the Romans, see *Annals*, b. xii. s. 36, and *Hist.* b. iii. s. 45.

2 The original says, "rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus." This, translated verbally, imports, "that a meeting is seldom had between two or three cities to repel the common danger." But the word CIVITAS is rarely used by the Latin historians for what, in the modern acceptation, is called a city. CIVITAS generally implies a body politic, a people united in civil society, under a settled constitution and a regular frame of laws. Such were the Silures, under Caractacus; the Icenians, under Boadicea; the Brigantes, under Cartismandua: but there is no instance of their acting in concert for their mutual defence.

3 Tacitus, in this place, may be said to be out of his depth. His notions here, as well as in the passage concerning the Suiones in the Manners of the Germans, section 45, hold more of the poet than the philosopher. Astronomy and geography were sciences not sufficiently cultivated in his time. Pliny endeavours more rationally to account for the phenomenon, from the position of the sun at the summer solstice. In Italy, he says, the length of the day is fifteen hours, and in Britain seventeen; the nights in that island being so bright, that, when the sun at the solstice approaches so near the earth as to become vertical, the northern regions have, by consequence, a day of six months, and in the winter a night of the same length. "In Italia quindecim horas; in Britannia septemdecim; ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubie repromittunt id, quod cogit ratio credi, solstitii diebus accedente sole propius verticem mundi, subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto." Pliny, lib. ii. s. 75. But long sea voyages were rarely undertaken in Pliny's time, and it is, therefore, no wonder that he wanted due information. He mentions one bold navigator, Pytheas of Marseilles, and upon his authority, says that at Thule, which lay six days' sail from the northern part of Britain, the day and night were each of them six months long. The same, he adds, was said of the isle of Mona, which was distant from Camelodunum (*Colchester*) about two hundred miles. "Quod fieri in insula Thule, Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britannia distante. Quidam vero et in Mona quæ distat a Camelodunum, Britanniæ oppido, circiter ducentis millibus adfirmant." Pliny, lib. ii. s. 75. If the Thule of Pytheas was Greenland or Zembla, what is said of the length of days and nights in those islands may be admitted; but the same could not be the case in Britain, or any British island. The Orkneys lie in latitude 60, or thereabouts; and in the summer, their day is not much more than eighteen hours long. But neither Pliny, nor Tacitus, had a just idea of the figure of the earth, and the vicissitudes of seasons occasioned by the annual motion round the sun. The discovery was reserved for the genius of Sir Isaac Newton. Without being a voyager or traveller, that sublime philosopher founded his calculations on mathematical and scientific principles. As Fontenelle observes, he ascertained the true figure of the earth without stirring out of his elbow-chair. The experiments of Maupertius, and his associates, who in the years 1735 and 1736 measured a degree in Lapland, served to confirm Newton's doctrine; and, from that time, the length of days and nights in all parts of the globe has been scientifically known. Mathematicians have informed us, that the degrees of longitude are not, like those of latitude, always equal, but diminish in proportion as the meridians contract in their approach to the Pole, as may be seen in the common tables, showing the number of miles contained in a degree of longitude, in each parallel of latitude from the Equator to the Pole. In consequence of this knowledge, and the position of the earth in every part of its orbit, astronomers have laid down their tables of the various climates between the equator and the extremity of the north. They have enumerated thirty climates: in the first twenty-four, which terminate between the latitudes 66 and 67, the days increase by half-hours; and in the remaining six, by months. At Spitzbergen, or East Greenland, the day lasts five months, and six at the Pole. Pomponius Mela talks of *Thule*, but he did not know where to place this island, so as to account for the length of days, which he has described. He says that *Thule* lies opposite to the coast of the *Belgæ*, and there the nights are dark in winter, but at the summer solstice there is no night at all. "Thule Belgarum littori opposita est: in ea noctes per hyemem obscuræ; per solstitium nullæ." Lib. iii. cap. 6. But that length of days could only happen in the more northern latitudes. When Tacitus says, that the nights, at the extremity of Britain, are so luminous, that the interval between the close and the return of day can scarce be distinguished, this may, perhaps, be admitted; since Lord Mulgrave, in an accurate account of his voyage to the Northern Seas, performed in the year 1773, says, that on the 12th of June (latitude 65 : 28) it was then light enough all night to read upon deck. On the 29th of the same month (latitude 77 : 59), the adjacent coast, covered with snow and ice, would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, bright sunshine, and constant day-light, given a cheerfulness

clouds intervene to obstruct the sight, the sun, we are told, appears all night long, neither setting in the west, nor rising in the east, but always moving above the horizon. The cause of this phenomenon may be, that the surface of the earth, towards the northern extremities, being flat and level, the shade never rises to any considerable height, and, the sky still retaining the rays of the sun,[4] the heavenly bodies continue visible.

The soil does not afford either the vine, the olive, or the fruits of warmer climates; but it is otherwise fertile, and yields corn in great plenty. Vegetation is quick in shooting up, and slow in coming to maturity. Both effects are reducible to the same cause, the constant moisture of the atmosphere and the dampness of the soil. Britain contains, to reward the conqueror, mines of gold and silver,[5] and other metals. The sea produces pearls,[6] but of a dark and livid colour. This defect is ascribed by some to want of skill in this kind of fishery: the people employed in gathering, content themselves in gleaning what happens to be thrown upon the shore, whereas in the Red Sea the shell-fish are found clinging to the rocks, and taken alive. For my part, I am inclined to think that the British pearl is of an inferior quality. I cannot impute to avarice a neglect of its interest.

XIII. The Britons are willing to supply our armies with new levies; they pay their tribute without a murmur; and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient; they are conquered, not broken-hearted; reduced to obedience, not subdued to

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and novelty to the whole of that striking and romantic scene. In the month of August (latitude 80, or thereabouts) his lordship observed, that during the whole time of his being in those latitudes, he never found (though Martin has said otherwise) that the sun at midnight in appearance resembled the moon. His lordship adds, that he saw no difference, in clear weather, between the sun at midnight and any other time, but what arose from a different degree of altitude; the brightness of the light appearing there, as well as elsewhere, to depend on the obliquity of his rays. See the *Voyage*, p. 71.

4 When Tacitus endeavours to assign a reason for the short interval between day and night, and says, *that the extreme and flat parts of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not elevate the darkness, and night falls beneath the sky and the stars*, it is impossible to strike out any thing like sense from a passage so very embarrassed and obscure. The reader is left to regret that a writer, of such acute discernment on all political and moral subjects, should be obliged, without any principles of astronomy and geography (a science in that age little understood), to offer a vain hypothesis for reason and sound philosophy. Tacitus, it should seem, thought that the earth was one extensive continued surface, and that night was occasioned by the sun's retiring behind high lands and mountains. The form of the globe, its rotation on its own axis, and the various positions in its annual orbit, are mathematical discoveries, which were not known to the Romans.

5 Mines of gold and silver, sufficient to reward the conqueror, were found in Mexico and Peru; but this island never produced a quantity to pay the invader for the destruction of the human species. Cicero says, in one of his letters, It is well known that not a single grain of silver could be found in the island. "Illud cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula." *Ad Attic.* lib. iv. epist. 16. This, however, is contradicted by modern authorities. Camden mentions gold and silver mines in Cumberland, a mine of silver in Flintshire, and of gold in Scotland. See Camden's *Britannia*, p. 692 and 741. The same author, talking of the copper mines in Cumberland, says, that veins of gold and silver were found intermixed with the common ore, and, in the reign of Elizabeth, gave birth to a suit at law between the earl of Northumberland and another claimant. Doctor Borlase, in his *History of Cornwall*, p. 214, relates, "that so late as the year 1753, several pieces of gold were found in what the miners call *stream tin;* and silver is now got in considerable quantity from several of our lead mines." A curious paper concerning the *gold mines of Scotland* is given by Mr. Pennant in Append. No. X. to his second part of a *Tour in Scotland in* 1772. But still there never was gold and silver enough to be the price of victory. The other metals, such as iron, lead, tin, and copper, are found in abundance at this day.

6 Suetonius imputes Cæsar's invasion of Britain to his desire of enriching himself with the pearl found in different parts of the coast, *Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum. In Jul. Cæs.* s. 47. Pliny says, it is certain that pearls of an inferior size, and rather discoloured, are produced in Britain; since the deified Julius wished it to be understood, that the breast-plate which he dedicated to Venus, in the temple of the goddess, was composed of British pearl. "In Britannia parvos atque decolores (uniones) nasci certum est, quoniam Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genetrici in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritas factum voluerit intelligi." Plin. lib. ix. s. 35. The pearls most in request with the ancients were those collected in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, and the Indian Ocean; the next in value were the British, tinged on the surface with a colour resembling gold, but, in general, of a dark hue, and less transparent than the Indian. Camden talks of pearl found in *Caernarvon*, in *Cumberland*, and the British Sea. See his *Britannia*, p. 597, 690, and 752. Mr. Pennant, in his Tour in Scotland, 1769, mentions a considerable pearl fishery out of the fresh water muscle in the vicinity of Perth, from whence 10,000*l.* worth was sent to London from 1761 to 1769. But when that ingenious traveller visited Scotland, the fishery was almost exhausted. There is a passage in Pliny that shows the esteem in which the Oriental pearl was held at Rome. Pearls, he says, are imported in such quantities from the Arabian Sea, that Rome was annually drained of an immoderate sum by the inhabitants of the East and the peninsula of India. So much do our finery and our women cost us annually! "Verum Arabiæ etiamnum felicius mare est: ex illo namque margaritas mittit; minimaque computatione millies centena sestertia annis omnibus India et Seres, peninsulaque illa imperio nostro adimunt. Tanto nobis delicæ et fœminæ constant!" Pliny, lib. xii. s. 10. This proves what Tacitus says; When so much encouragement was given, the avarice of British merchants would not be deficient. Their pearl, therefore, was of an inferior sort.

slavery. Even Julius Cæsar, the first of the Romans[1] who set his foot in Britain at the head of an army, can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea-shore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than show it to posterity. Rome could not boast of a conquest. The civil wars broke out soon after, and, in that scene of distraction, when the swords of the leading men were drawn against their country, it was natural to lose sight of Britain. During the peace that followed, the same neglect continued: Augustus called it the wisdom of his counsels,[2] and Tiberius made it a rule of state-policy.

That Caligula meditated an invasion of Britain[3] is a fact well known; but the expedition, like his mighty preparations against Germany, was rendered abortive by the capricious temper of the man, resolving always without consideration and repenting without experiment. The grand enterprise was reserved for the emperor Claudius,[4] who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries. With the officers, appointed to conduct the war, he joined Vespasian, who there laid the foundation of that success which afterwards attended him. Several states were conquered, kings were led in captivity, and the Fates beheld Vespasian giving an earnest of his future glory.

XIV. The first officer of consular rank, that commanded in Britain, was Aulus Plautius.[5] To him succeeded Ostorius Scapula;[6] both eminent for their military character. Under their auspices the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans.[7] Certain districts were assigned to

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1 Tacitus now proceeds to relate the progress of the Roman arms in Britain, from the first invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar to the time when Agricola became commander in chief. This, and the preceding account, may by some be called a digression: but, since Agricola subdued the whole island, a description of the country and the inhabitants is a proper introduction to so bright a career of glory. Julius Cæsar, it is well known, made two attempts upon the island; the first A. U. C. 699, and the second in the following year. The plans which his ambition had formed against his own country, did not leave him at leisure to enlarge the Roman empire. After some slight success, he seems to have been glad to withdraw his forces. There is some truth in what Lucan has said: He showed his back to the enemy whom he sought:

Tergaque quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

2 The moderation or prudence which took place in the councils of Augustus is well known. Content with receiving some petty annual tributes from Britain, that emperor did not choose to involve himself in remote and dangerous wars. It was with him a maxim, that the boundaries of the empire ought not to be enlarged; and in his will, which after his death was read in the senate, he gave that advice to his successors. See *Annals*, b. i. s. 11. Augustus, says the late Mr. Hume, content with the victory obtained over the liberties of his own country, was little ambitious of acquiring fame by foreign wars; and being apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion which had subverted the republic might also overwhelm the empire, he recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans. Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretence for his inactivity. Hume's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 6. See *Annals*, b. i. 77.

3 Caligula's threatened invasion of Britain ended in an idle and vain parade. History has no scene of folly to compare with it. The German expedition presented a farce to the world, in which the emperor exposed himself to derision. His mock triumph over the Britons was a sequel to the former frolic, but still more absurd and ridiculous. Having written to the senate, to reprimand them for enjoying the pleasures of the circus, while their emperor was exposing himself to the greatest dangers, he drew up his army on the coast of *Gesoriacum* (now *Boulogne*); and having, with great parade, disposed his *ballista* and other warlike engines, he ordered his soldiers to gather the sea shells, and fill their helmets and the skirts of their clothes. These, he said, were the spoils of the ocean, fit to be deposited in the capitol. In memory of this signal victory, he erected a tower, to serve as a light-house for mariners; and by letters to Rome ordered preparations to be made for his triumphal entry, with special directions that it should exceed in magnificence every thing of the kind. The fathers refused to comply, and for their disobedience all were devoted to destruction; but before his bloody purpose could be executed, a conspiracy was formed early in the following year, and Caligula was put to death, A. U. C. 794. A. D. 41. See Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, s. 46, 47.

4 The Britons, unmolested by the Romans, had enjoyed their liberty near a century, when in the reign of Claudius, the project of subduing the island was concerted. The most stupid of the emperors was destined to be the conqueror of Britain. A powerful army was sent from Gaul, under the command of able officers. Vespasian was one of the number; and upon that occasion that officer, as Tacitus expresses it, *showed himself to the Fates*. The southern parts of the island being soon reduced, Claudius resolved to visit his new dominions. He took possession of Camelodunum (*Colchester*), received the submission of several petty kings, and in less than six months returned to Rome, to enjoy the splendour of a triumph, with the additional title of Britannicus. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, s. 17.

5 Aulus Plautius was commander in chief of the army sent by Claudius to the invasion of Britain, A. U. C. 796: A. D. 43.

6 An account of Ostorius Scapula and the brilliant success of his arms is given by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 31 to 39. He sent Caractacus a prisoner to Rome, A. U. C. 803. From that time he went on in a career of victory for several months; when, in the midst of a war with the Silures, he died worn out with care and fatigue. Camden says, that in the parish of *Dinder*, near Hereford, the traces of a Roman camp are still to be seen, called Oyster-Hill, and he supposes the name to be derived from Ostorius the Roman general. Gibson's *Camden*, p. 580.

7 The Romans had the precaution to establish a strong post, well garrisoned by a body of veterans. This was at *Camulodum*, in the territory of the Trinobantes, now the county of Essex. *Camulodum*, according to Cam-

Cogidunus, a king who reigned over part of the country. He lived within our own memory, preserving always his faith unviolated, and exhibiting a striking proof of that refined policy, with which it has ever been the practice of Rome to make even kings accomplices in the servitude of mankind.

The next governor was Didius Gallus.[8] He preserved the acquisitions made by his predecessors, without aiming at an extension of territory, and without any advantage, except a few forts, which he built on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining some pretension to the fame of having enlarged the frontier. Veranius[9] succeeded to the command, but died within the year. Suetonius Paulinus[10] was the next in succession. That officer pushed on the war in one continued series of prosperity for two years together. In that time he subdued several states, and secured his conquest by a chain of posts and garrisons. Confiding in the strength which he had thus established, he formed the plan of reducing the isle of Mona,[11] the grand resource from which the malcontents drew their supplies. But having, in that expedition, turned his back on the conquered provinces, he gave an opportunity for a general revolt.

XV. The Britons, relieved from their fears by the absence of the commander-in-chief, began to descant on the horrors of slavery.[12] They stated their grievances, and, to inflame resentment, painted every thing in the most glaring colours. "What was now the consequence of their passive spirit? The hand of oppression falls on the tame and abject with greater weight. Each state was formerly subject to a single king,[13] but now two masters rule with an iron rod. The general gluts himself with the blood of the vanquished, and the imperial procurator devours our property. Those haughty tyrants may act in concert, or they may be at variance; but in either case the lot of the Britons is the same. The centurions of the general, and the followers of the tax-gatherer, add pride and insolence to injustice and rapacity. Nothing is safe from avarice, nothing by lust unviolated. In the field of battle, the booty is for the brave and warlike: at present, cowards and abject wretches seize the possessions of the natives; to them the Britons tamely yield up their children; for them they make new levies, and, in short, the good of his country is the only cause in which a Briton has forgot to die. Compute the number of men born in freedom, who inhabit the island, and the Roman invaders are but a handful. It was thus the Germans argued, and they shook off the yoke.[14] No ocean rolled between them and the invader: they were separated by a river only. The Britons have every motive to excite their valour. They have their country to defend, and they have their liberty to assert; they have wives and children to urge them on; and they have parents, who sue to them for protection. On the part of the Romans, if we except luxury and avarice, what incentives are there to draw them to the field? Let British valour emulate the virtue of ancient times, and the invaders, like

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den, was the town of Malden: Baxter and other antiquarians fix it at Colchester, and that opinion is adopted by most of the commentators.

8 We read in the Annals, that as soon as the death of Ostorius Scapula was known at Rome, Claudius sent Aulus Didius to succeed to the command. That officer was involved in a war, in favour of Cartismandua against Venusius, her repudiated husband; and, though age and infirmity rendered him inactive, he was enabled by his officers to quell the insurrection. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 40. In this Tract he is called Didius Gallus; perhaps his name was Aulus Didius Gallus.

9 Veranius was consul A. U. C. 802. *Annals*, b. xii. s. 5.

10 Suetonius Paulinus has been already mentioned: see this Tract, section 5, note; see also *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29. *Hist.* b. i. s. 87. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 23, 32, 60.

11 It is unnecessary to repeat that MONA is the isle of *Anglesey*. The channel that separates it from Caernarvon, is so narrow, that Edward I. attempted to throw a bridge over it. It was the asylum of the Druids, and the capital of their religious rites. Suetonius attacked this place, destroyed their altars and their sacred groves, where they sacrificed human victims. See *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 29 to 40. It may be necessary to observe, that the Mona of Cæsar and Tacitus ought not to be confounded. That of Cæsar is *the Isle of Man*, b. v. s. 13. Pliny calls it *Monapia*, b. iv s. 16. Tacitus always means the isle of Anglesey. Hume observes, that Suetonius, having destroyed the Druids, with their consecrated groves, and triumphed over the religion of the Britons, thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people to subjection. Hume, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 8. But Paulinus could not stay to make himself master of the island. He was recalled by the revolt under the conduct of Boadicea. The final reduction of the isle was reserved for Agricola. See this Tract, s. 18.

12 The general revolt of the Britons, and the massacre of the Romans, that followed in consequence of the discontents here painted forth in the strongest colours, are related at large in the *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

13 Instead of their own kings, whose power does not appear to have been sufficiently limited, the Britons now groaned under the oppression of two masters; namely, the governor of the province, and the emperor's procurator. Dio Cassius states those two causes of the insurrection, and adds, as a further incentive, the avarice of Seneca. That philosopher, he says, was a well-practised money-lender, and, being perfectly versed in all the arts of usury, laid out a large sum at exorbitant interest among the natives of Britain. As fast as his money became due, he harassed the province with such unrelenting fury, that the distressed inhabitants were fired with indignation. Such is the account of an historian; but an historian with reason suspected of harbouring secret malignity to the most illustrious characters in Rome.

14 An allusion to the fate of Varus and his legions, which happened in the fortieth year of Augustus, A. U. C. 762; A. D. 9. See *Manners of the Germans*, s. 37, note. *Annals*, b. i. sections 58, 61, and 62.

their own deified Cæsar, will abandon the island. The loss of a single battle, and even a second, cannot decide the fate of a whole people. Many advantages list on the side of misery. To attack with fury and persevere with constancy, belongs to men who groan under oppression. The gods, at length, behold the Britons with an eye of compassion: they have removed the Roman general from his station; they detain him and his army in another island.[1] The oppressed have gained an advantage, too often difficult to obtain; they can now deliberate: they are met in council. In designs like these, the whole danger lies in being detected: act like men, and success will be the issue of the war."

XVI. Inflamed by these and such like topics, the spirit of revolt was diffused through the country. With one consent they took up arms, under the conduct of Boadicea,[2] a queen descended from a race of royal ancestors. In Britain there is no rule of distinction to exclude the female line from the throne, or the command of armies. The insurgents rushed to the attack with headlong fury; they found the Romans dispersed in their garrisons; they put all to the sword; they stormed the forts; they attacked the capital of the colony, which they considered as the seat of oppression, and with fire and sword laid it level with the ground. Whatever revenge could prompt, or victory inspire, was executed with unrelenting cruelty; and if Suetonius,[3] on the first intelligence, had not hastened back by rapid marches, Britain had been lost. By the event of a single battle the province was recovered, though the embers of rebellion were not quite extinguished. Numbers of the malcontents, conscious of their share in the revolt, and dreading the vengeance of Suetonius, still continued under arms.

The truth is, notwithstanding the excellent qualities that distinguished the Roman general, it was the blemish of his character, that he proceeded always against the vanquished, even after they surrendered, with excessive rigour. Justice under his administration, had frequently the air of revenge for a personal injury. In his public proceedings he mingled too much of his own passions, and was therefore recalled, to make way for Petronius Turpilianus,[4] a man of less asperity, new to the Britons, and, having no resentments, likely to be satisfied on moderate terms. He restored the tranquillity of the island, and, without attempting any thing farther, resigned the province to Trebellius Maximus,[5] an officer of no experience, by nature indolent and inactive, but possessed of certain popular arts that reconciled the minds of men to his administration. The Barbarians, at this time, had acquired a taste for elegant and alluring vices. The civil wars, which soon after convulsed the empire, were a fair apology for the pacific temper of the general. His army, however, was not free from intestine discord. The soldiers, formerly inured to discipline, grew wanton in idleness, and broke out into open sedition. To avoid the fury of his men, Trebellius was obliged to save himself by flight. Having lain for some time in a place of concealment, he returned with an awkward air to take upon him the command. His dignity was impaired, and his spirit humbled. From that time his authority was feeble and precarious. It seemed to be a compromise between the parties: the general remained unmolested, the soldiers uncontrolled, and on these terms the mutiny ended without bloodshed. Vettius Bolanus[6]

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1 Paulinus was then employed in the isle of Anglesey.

2 Boadicea was the daughter of Prasutagus king of the Icenians: she succeeded to her father's dominions, and, being ignominiously treated by the Romans, headed the revolt, and in the field of action distinguished herself by her martial spirit. *Annals*, b. xiv. The reader, on this occasion, will not forget the late Mr. Glover's excellent tragedy, entitled Boadicea; a piece written in the true style of dramatic poetry; without the luscious sweetness of Rowe; yet elegant, strong, and vigorous. If the last act had been constructed with art, so as to raise expectation, and produce an unforeseen catastrophe, the play would still retain its place in the theatre, inferior to Shakspeare only.

3 On the first intelligence of the revolt, and the dreadful slaughter that followed, Suetonius Paulinus abandoned the isle of Anglesey, and showed at once his conduct and his valour. See *Annals*. b. xiv. s. 31 to 38.

4 Petronius Turpilianus succeeded to the government of Britain, A. U. C. 814, having just then closed the year of his consulship. Tacitus informs us, that Suetonius, having lost a few ships on the coast in a gale of wind, was, under that pretence, recalled by order of Nero. Turpilianus undertook no warlike enterprise, content to varnish his own inactivity with the name of peace. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 39.

5 The account of Trebellius Maximus, given by Tacitus in his History, differs a little from what is related in the passage before us. Being at variance with Roscius Cœlius, an officer of a turbulent spirit, he was obliged to fly to Vitellius for protection, A. U. C. 822, A. D. 69. *Hist.* b. i. s. 60.

6 Tacitus informs us that Trebellius Maximus, was not graciously received by Vitellius, who was then on his way from Lyons into Italy. Vettius Bolanus, a follower in the train of Vitellius, was appointed governor of Britain, A. U. C. 822. *Hist.* b. ii. s. 65. We are told in this Tract, s. 8, that Agricola served in Britain under Bolanus, but repressed his military ardour, lest he should appear desirous of rising superior to his general. In the passage before us, Bolanus seems to have passed his time in indolence; inactive against the enemy, and without authority in his camp. The adulation of Statius, cited in a note, sect. 8, must, therefore, appear the more surprising. It is among the many instances, which show that poets excel most in fiction. There is still another passage in the poem already quoted, which leaves all truth at a distance. The poem is addressed to the son of Bolanus: the author asks him, "What a scene of glory will be found in Caledonia, when an old

was the next commander; but the distractions of the civil war still continuing, he did not think it advisable to introduce a plan of regular discipline. The same inactive disposition on the part of the general, and the same mutinous spirit among the soldiers, still prevailed. The only difference was, that the character of Bolanus was without a blemish. If he did not establish his authority, he lived on good terms with all; beloved, though not respected.

XVII. When Britain, with the rest of the Roman world, fell to the lot of Vespasian, the ablest officers were sent to reduce the island; powerful armies were set in motion, and the spirit of the natives began to droop. In order to spread a general terror, Petilius Cerealis [7] fell with sudden fury on the Brigantes,[8] in point of numbers the most considerable state in the whole province. Various battles were fought, with alternate success, and great effusion of blood. At length the greatest part of that extensive country was either subdued, or involved in all the calamities of war. The fame of Cerealis grew to a size that might discourage the ablest successor; and yet under that disadvantage Julius Frontinus [9] undertook the command. His talents did not suffer by the comparison. He was a man truly great, and sure to signalize himself, whenever a fair opportunity called forth his abilities. He reduced to subjection the powerful and warlike state of the Silures,[10] and, though in that expedition he had to cope not only with a fierce and obstinate enemy, but with the difficulties of a country almost impracticable, it was his glory that he surmounted every obstacle.

XVIII. Such was the state of Britain, and such the events of war, when Agricola arrived about the middle of summer [11] to take upon him the command. He found an army lulled in indolence and security, as if the campaign was at an end, while the enemy was on the watch to seize the first opportunity. The Ordivicians,[1] not long before his arrival, had fallen upon a party of horse, that happened to be quartered in their district, and put them almost all to the sword. By this blow the courage of the Britons was once more revived: the bold and resolute declared for open war, while others, less sanguine, were against unsheathing the sword, till the character and genius of the new governor should be better known.

Many things conspired to embarrass Agricola:

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inhabitant of that ferocious island tells you, Here your father gave his commands; on yonder turf he harangued the legions. Do you see those watch-towers, and those strong-built forts? Your father erected them, and drew these lines of circumvallation. Those trophies and those darts were by him dedicated to the god of war. The inscriptions are still legible. Behold this breast-plate; your father seized it from a British king."

> Quanta Caledonios attollit gloria campos!
> Cum tibi longeves referet trucis incola terras,
> Hic sustus dare jura parens; hoc cespite turmas
> Affixi: nitidas speculas, castellaque longe
> Aspicis? Ille delit, cinxitque hæc mœnia fossa;
> Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit.
> Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipse vacantibus armis
> Induit; hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.
>
> *Statius, Sylv.* lib. v. 142.

When we find from history, that not one word of all this is true, we have only to regret, that a fine poet was obliged to prostitute his pen. Statius gave public recitals of his poems for profit. Juvenal says,

> Hand tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.
>
> *Juvenal*, Sat. v.

7 Petilius Cerealis served, at first, in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 32. He fought afterwards on the side of Vespasian against Vitellius, *Hist.* iii. s. 59. He also commanded the legions in the Lower Germany, and, after his victory over Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, was sent by Vespasian to conduct the affairs of Britain, A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70.

8 The Brigantes, as mentioned in a former note, inhabited the counties of York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire.

9 Julius Frontinus had the chief command in Britain, A. U. C. 826. His treatises of *Stratagems* in four books, and another concerning the aqueducts of Rome, are said by *Brotier* and *La Bletterie*, to be still extant. He was one of the most eminent men of the age in which he lived; a lawyer of profound knowledge; a soldier formed both by theory and experience; and, above all, a man not more distinguished by his talents than his virtues. He died in the reign of Vespasian; and Pliny the consul, says, he desired, by his last directions, that no monument should be raised to his memory, because, he said, it is a superfluous expense. Men will remember me, if by my conduct in life I have deserved it. "Impensa monumenti supervacua est. Memoria nostri durabit, si vita meruimus." Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

10 The subjugation of the Silures, a fierce and obstinate enemy, gave the Romans quiet possession of the south of Britain. It will not be improper, in this place, to state in one view, and in regular succession, the several generals who commanded in Britain, from the first enterprise of Claudius, to the arrival of Agricola, who had the glory of subduing this island.

	A. U. C.
1. Aulus Plautius, sent by Claudius	796
2. Ostorius Scapula, sent by Claudius	803
3. Aulus Didius, by Claudius	804
4. Quintus Veranius, by Claudius	805
5. Suetonius Paulinus, by Nero	814
6. Petronius Turpilianus, by Nero	815
7. Trebellius Maximus, by Nero	816
8. Vettius Bolanus, by Vitellius	822
9. Petilius Cerealis, by Vespasian	824
10. Julius Frontinus, by Vespasian	826
11. Cnæus Julius Agricola, by Vespasian	831

11 Our author hitherto, like a skilful biographer, has laid himself out to prepare the theatre of war, in which Agricola was to make so conspicuous a figure. His introduction is intimately connected with the ensuing narrative. From this place Agricola becomes the grand object of attention. He arrived in Britain in the summer, A. U. C. 831, A. D. 78.

12 The Ordovices inhabited the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery, in North Wales.

the summer was far advanced; the troops were stationed at different quarters, expecting a cessation of arms during the remainder of the year: and to act on the defensive, content with strengthening the weakest stations, was in the opinion of the best officers the most prudent measure. These were circumstances unfavourable to a spirit of enterprise; but the general resolved to put his army in motion, and face the danger without delay. For this purpose, he drew together various detachments from the legions, and, with the addition of a body of auxiliaries, marched against the enemy. The Ordovicians continuing to decline an engagement on the open plain, he determined to seek them on their heights, and, to animate his men by his own example, he advanced at the head of the line. A battle ensued, and the issue was the destruction of the Ordovician state. Knowing of what moment it is to follow the first impressions of fame, and little doubting but that every thing would fall before an army flushed with victory, Agricola formed a plan for the reduction of the isle of Mona,[1] from which Paulinus had been recalled by the general insurrection of the province, as already mentioned.

For the execution of an enterprise so sudden and important, no measures had been concerted, and by consequence no vessels were ready to transport the troops. The genius and resolution of the general supplied all deficiences. He draughted from the auxiliaries a chosen band, well acquainted with the fordable places, and, inured to the national practice of swimming across lakes and rivers with such dexterity, that they could manage their arms and guide their horses at the same time. This select corps, free from the incumbrance of their baggage, dashed into the water, and made their way with vigour towards the island. This mode of attack astonished the enemy, who expected nothing less than a fleet of transports, and a regular embarkation. Struck with consternation, they thought nothing impregnable to men who waged so unusual a war. In despair they sued for peace, and surrendered the island. The event added new lustre to the name of Agricola, who had thus set out with a spirit of enterprise, and crowded so much glory into that part of the year, which is usually trifled away in vain parade and the homage of flatteries. The moderation with which he enjoyed his victory was remarkable. He had reduced the vanquished to obedience, and the act, he said, did not deserve the name of victory, nor even of an expedition. In his despatches to Rome he assumed no merit, nor were his letters, according to custom, decorated[2] with sprigs of laurel: but this self-denial served only to enhance his fame. From the modesty of a commander who could undervalue such important services, men inferred that projects of vast extent were even then in his contemplation.

XIX. Agricola was well acquainted with the manners and national character of the Britons: he knew by the experience of past events, that conquest, while it loads the vanquished with injury and oppression, can never be secure and permanent. He determined, therefore, to suppress the seeds of future hostility. He began a reform in his own household; a necessary work, but attended often with no less difficulty than the administration of a province. He removed his slaves and freedmen from every department of public business. Promotions in the army no longer went by favour, or the partiality of the centurions; merit decided, and the man of worth, Agricola knew, would be the most faithful soldier. To know every thing, and yet overlook a great deal; to forgive slight offences,[3] and treat matters of importance with due severity, was the rule of his conduct; never vindictive, and in many instances disarmed by penitence. The prevention of crimes was what he wished, and to that end, in the disposal of offices he made choice of men, whose

1 Suetonius Paulinus had conquered Anglesey; but the insurrection of the Britons, under Boadicea, did not leave him time to secure possession. As Agricola learned his first rudiments of war under that commander, he was, probably, engaged in the first invasion of the island. Having entirely subdued the Ordovicians, he formed a resolution to retake the place, which had been snatched out of the conqueror's hands. Mr. Pennant mentions a pass into the vale of Clwyd, in the parish of Llanarmon, which, he says, is still called *Bwlch Agrikle*, probably from having been occupied by Agricola in his way to the isle of Mona. The invasion by Suetonius was seventeen years before the final reduction of the place under the conduct of Agricola.

2 The elder Pliny calls the laurel the messenger of joy and victory, being always affixed by the Roman generals to their letters of despatch after success against the enemy, and also to the spears and javelins of the soldiers. "Laurus Romanis præcipue lætitiæ victoriarumque nuntia additur literis, et militum lanceis pilisque." Pliny, lib. xv. s. 30. Persius, the satirist, meaning to sneer at Caligula's mock triumph over the Germans, informs us that the emperor sent an account of his pretended victory in a laurelled letter.

> O bone, nam ignoras? Missa est a Cæsare laurus
> Insignem ob cladem Germanæ pubis.
>
> *Persius*, Sat. vi. v. 43.

3 Suetonius gives a similar account of Julius Cæsar. That great commander neither took notice of all the faults committed by his soldiers, nor proportioned the punishment to the nature of every offence. Desertion and mutiny were objects of his strict inquiry, and were sure to meet condign punishment. In other cases, he chose rather to connive, than know too much. "Delicta neque observabat omnia, neque pro modo exequebatur: sed desertorum et seditiosorum et inquisitor et punitor acerrimus, connivebat in cæteris." Suet. *in Jul. Cæs.* s. 67.

conduct promised to supersede the necessity of punishment.

The exigencies of the army called for large contributions of corn and other supplies, and yet he lightened the burden by just and equal assessments, providing at the same time against the extortion of the tax-gatherer,[4] more odious and intolerable than even the tax itself. It had been the settled practice of the collectors to engross all the corn, and then adding mockery to injustice, to make the injured Briton wait at the door of the public granary,[5] humbly supplicating that he might be permitted to re-purchase his own grain, which he was afterwards obliged to sell at an inferior price. A further grievance was, that, instead of delivering the requisite quantity of corn at the nearest and most convenient magazines, the Britons were forced to make tedious journeys through difficult cross country roads, in order to supply camps and stations at a remote distance; and thus the business, which might have been conducted with convenience to all, was converted into a job to gratify the avarice of a few.

XX. In the first year of Agricola's administration these abuses were all suppressed. The consequence was, that peace, which, through the neglect or connivance of former governors was no less terrible than war itself, began to diffuse its blessings, and to be relished by all. As soon as the[6] summer opened, he assembled his army and marched in quest of the enemy. Ever present at the head of the lines, he encouraged the strenuous by commendation; he rebuked the sluggard who fell from his rank; he went in person to mark out the station for encampments;[7] he sounded the æstuaries, and explored the woods and forests.[8] The Britons, in the

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4 Brotier reads *frumenti et tributorum auctionem*, and understands an *increase of tributes*. Other editions have *exactionem*, meaning the severity with which they were exacted. It may be doubted whether the word *auctio* is ever used by the Latin writers for augmentation. In general it implies what is understood at present by an auction, and so the word is used by Juvenal; *commissa quod auctio vendit*. Some of the manuscripts in the Vatican are said to have *exactionem*, and that sense has been adopted in the translation.

5 La Bleterie has a note which throws great light on this whole passage, relative to the tributes and the collectors. In the first place, each province paid to the Romans a tribute of corn, which, in general, was paid in kind. In those provinces which had voluntarily submitted to the dominion of Rome, the farmer delivered the tenth part of his crop. This was what in modern phrase is called *tythe corn*, *frumentum decumanum*. Secondly, in the conquered provinces, such as Britain, the Romans exacted a gross quantity, fixing the bushel at a stated rate. This was called *frumentum stipendiarium*. Thirdly, besides those two modes of collecting, it was further expected that the inhabitants of the several provinces should furnish, at a settled price, whatever was required for the use of government: this was called purchased corn, *frumentum emptum*. Fourthly, the provinces were further charged with a supply for the use of the proconsul, or governor; but the price was arbitrary, at the will and pleasure of the governor himself. This was not always paid in kind. A composition was made in money, and this was called corn at a valuation, *frumentum æstimatum*. Some of the provinces belonged immediately to the emperor; others were considered as the property of the state, and were, therefore, left to the management of the senate. In the imperial provinces, the tribute was carried to the fiscus, or the exchequer of the emperor; in the senatorian provinces, the levies belonged to the public, and were carried into the *ærarium*, the treasury of the senate. In the various modes of collecting the several imposts, gross abuses were often practised. As soon as the farmer carried in his crop, the revenue officers locked up his granary, and till the tribute was discharged, allowed him no access to his own stock. He wished to have the business finally adjusted, but the collector was not at leisure. The farmer languished at the door of his barn, pining for the use of his property; but that liberty was not granted, till with money, or an additional quantity of corn, he was obliged to bribe the officer in order to get the account settled. In this manner he bought his own, and was afterwards compelled, at the requisition of the governor, to sell it at an inferior price. There was still another grievance: the farmer, who lived at a distance from the quarters of the legions, was ordered to bring in his corn for the use of the army, and to deliver it on the spot assigned. The length of way, and the expense of the conveyance, obliged the natives to compound with the officers, who had the iniquity to enrich themselves by this mode of plunder. Whoever has a mind to see the exactions practised by the collectors of the Roman revenue, will find them stated at large in Cicero's third oration against Verres. We there read of an edict whereby it was ordered, that no man should carry his corn to the granary, till he had made his agreement with the collector. The consequence was, that the officer prescribed his own terms; and the impatience of the farmer was sure to submit. "Exoritur peculiare edictum repentinum, ne quis frumentum de area tolleret antea, quam cum decumano pactus esset. Satis hæc magna vis ad inique paciscendum: malo enim plus dare, quam non mature ex area tollere." *In Verrem*, lib. iii. num. 36, 37. To state all the iniquities of the officers would lead to a great length. They are painted forth in glaring colours by the Roman orator; and if the collectors in Tacitus' time did not improve upon the example left by Verres, there can be no doubt but they practised all the iniquities of that notorious plunderer.

6 This was the second summer after Agricola arrived in Britain, A. U. C. 832, A. D. 79. Vespasian died this year on the 24th of June: Agricola, from that time, continued to command in Britain during the reign of Titus.

7 Many vestiges of Roman camps are still to be seen in various parts of England. Two, which were probably raised by Agricola, will be mentioned in the next note.

8 Agricola, as appears from all circumstances, marched his army from Anglesey, which had surrendered to his army, through North Wales, on his way to Caledonia. Tacitus does not directly say what road he pursued. This, however, is made sufficiently clear by Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, or his Journey through most parts of Scotland. He shows, in the first place, that the march in the second summer was as far as the Firth of Edinburgh, as it corresponds with his penetrating as far as the Tay in the third campaign. This is rendered still more evident by the æstuaries, or

meantime, were by sudden incursions kept in a constant alarm. Having spread a general terror through the country, he then suspended his operations, that, in the interval of repose, the barbarians might taste the sweets of peace. In consequence of these measures, several states, which till then had breathed a spirit of independence, were induced to lay aside their hostile intentions, and to give hostages for their pacific behaviour. Along the frontier of the several districts which had submitted, a chain of posts was established with so much care and judgment, that no part of the country, even where the Roman arms had never penetrated, could think itself secure from the vigous of the conqueror.

XXI. To introduce a system of new and wise regulations was the business of the following winter. A fierce and savage people, running wild in woods, would be ever addicted to a life of warfare. To wean them from those habits, Agricola held forth the baits of pleasure, encouraging the natives, as well by public assistance, as by warm exhortations, to build temples,[1] courts of justice, and commodious dwelling-houses. He bestowed encomiums on such as cheerfully obeyed: the slow and uncomplying were branded with reproach; and thus a spirit of emulation diffused itself, operating like a sense of duty. To establish a plan of education, and give the sons of the leading chiefs a tincture of letters, was part of his policy. By way of encouragement, he praised their talents, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genius, rising superior[2] to the attainments of the Gauls. The consequence was, that they who had always disdained the Roman language, began to cultivate its beauties. The Roman apparel was seen without prejudice, and the toga became a fashionable part of dress. By degrees the charms of vice gained admission to their hearts: baths, and porticos, and elegant banquets, grew into vogue; and the new man-

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wide mouths of rivers, at the flood resembling arms of the sea, which Agricola passed after sounding the fordable places. Those firths, Gordon observes, must be the *Dee* near Chester, the arm of the sea near Liverpool, *Ribble*, and the *Solway Firth*, there being no other firths between *Anglesey* and *Scotland*. Gordon produces another reason to prove that the march was on the western side of England, namely, the encampments, the vestiges of which are still to be seen in the county of Annandale, and the neighbouring counties; the first at a place called *Burnswork Hill*, near the road from *Carlisle to Moffat*; the second about a quarter of a mile from the kirk of *Middleby*, on the duke of Queensbury's estate. These two camps are accurately described by Gordon; and from all these vestiges of Roman works he infers, that Agricola's march was through the valley of *Dumfries*, every other road being impracticable for an army. The reader is referred to Gordon's elaborate argument, which he will find in the Itinerary, chap. ii. That learned antiquarian has the merit of explaining what the laconic manner of Tacitus has left in some obscurity. His judicious observations will show that the march of the Roman army was through *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, into *Annandale* in Scotland, and thence as far as *Edinburgh*; and that the whole country, as far as the isthmus between the firths of *Forth* and *Clyde*, was awed and held in check, during the following winter, by the victorious arms of a general, who made such a rapid progress, and disposed his forts and garrisons with so much judgment, that the enemy found them impregnable. Gordon assures us, that on the neck of land which separates the Forth and the Clyde, there are more remains of Roman works than in any other part of Scotland.

1 Gordon in his Itinerary, has described the remaining vestiges of a number of forts on the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, and also of a town, called COMELON, which, he says, is evidently a Roman work; the ruins of ancient houses are still to be seen. His third chapter is an elaborate dissertation on a Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Forth; which, he contends, was built by Agricola, during the winter after his second campaign in Scotland. Hector Boethius is of opinion, that this round edifice was built by Vespasian, when he served in Britain; and that Aulus Plautius died in the town of *Camelon* in Scotland, which he calls *Camelodunum*. Buchanan explodes this opinion, and, upon the best conjecture he could form, concludes that *Arthur's Oon* was a structure dedicated to the god *Terminus*. But the conjectures of antiquarians, often ingenious, are too often uncertain. It must, however, be said, amidst the clash of opinions, that Gordon seems to have probability on his side, especially as we find in Tacitus, that Agricola, to allure the people from their barbarous manners, taught them to build houses, where they might begin to taste the pleasures of civilization. The state of man in savage life, and the policy of softening the uncultivated mind by the introduction of liberal arts, is finely touched by Cicero in his oration for Sextius; and Plutarch says, that the glory of Alexander did not consist in a number of camels loaded with gold: he either persuaded or compelled the savage tribes of Asia to unite in society, and live under the protection of laws; that was his true glory; and those who escaped his conquering sword, were not so happy as the vanquished. There was nothing to reclaim the former from barbarity; and the latter, even against their will, were tamed and polished.

2 La Bletterie, in his note on this passage, is alarmed for the honour of his country. He doubts whether Agricola was a competent judge; in all events, he appeals from the sentence. He wishes, however, that the palm of genius may be contended for by both nations; and that the rivalship between them, which has produced tragic events and scenes of blood, may, for the future, be changed into a literary contest, to enlighten the rest of Europe with sound philosophy, not with vain metaphysics, which, under the specious pretence of thinking profoundly, tend to nothing but the subversion of government and religion. La Bletterie does not disguise his national partiality: he will have it that learning passed from France into this country. In support of his position, he quotes the threadbare verse;

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Brotier is above the littleness of national prejudice. He says, it is wonderful that Agricola, in rude and savage times, should be able to foretel the genius of a country, which has since produced Bacon, Milton, and Newton, not to mention others of great and illustrious talents.

ners, which, in fact, served only to sweeten slavery, were by the unsuspecting Britons called the arts of polished humanity.

XXII. In the course of the third year[3] the progress of the Roman arms discovered new nations, whose territories were laid waste as far as the æstuary, called the Firth of Tay.[4] The legions had to struggle with all the difficulties of a tempestuous season; and yet the Barbarians, struck with a general panic, never dared to hazard an engagement. The country, as far as the Romans advanced, was secured by forts and garrisons.[5] Men of skill and military science observed that no officer knew better than Agricola, how to seize, on a sudden view, the most advantageous situation, and, accordingly, not one of the stations, fortified by his direction, was taken by storm; not one was reduced to capitulate; not one was surrendered or abandoned to the enemy. At every post, to enable the garrison to stand a siege, a year's provision was provided, and each place having strength sufficient, frequent sallies were made; the besiegers were repulsed; and the Romans passed the winter secure from danger. The consequence of these precautions was, that the enemy who had been accustomed to retrieve in the winter what they lost in the antecedent summer, saw no difference of seasons: they were defeated every where, and reduced to the last despair. Avarice of fame was no part of Agricola's character; nor was he ever known to arrogate to himself the praises due to other officers. From the commander of a legion to the lowest centurion, all found in their general a willing witness of their conduct. In his manner of expressing his disapprobation, he was thought to mix a degree of asperity. The truth is, his antipathy to bad men was equalled by nothing but his politeness to the deserving. His anger soon passed away, and left no trace behind. From his silence you had nothing to fear. Scorning to disguise his sentiments, he acted always with a generous warmth, at the hazard of making enemies. To harbour secret resentment was not in his nature.

XXIII. The business of the fourth campaign[6] was to secure the country, which had been over-run, not conquered, in the preceding summer; and if the spirit of the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been capable of suffering any limits, there was in Britain itself a convenient spot, where the boundary of the empire might have been fixed. The place for that purpose was, where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria,[7] driven up the country by the influx of two opposite seas, are hindered from joining by a narrow neck of land, which was then guarded by a chain of forts.[8] On the south side of the isthmus the whole country was bridled by the Romans, and evacuated by the enemy, who was driven, as it were, into another island.[9]

XXIV. In the fifth summer[10] Agricola made an expedition by sea. He embarked in the first

3 Agricola's third year was A. U. C. 833; A. D. 80.

4 The river *Tay* issues out of *Loch-Tay* in *Breadalbane*, and running south-east, passes the town of Perth, and falls into the German Ocean at Dundee, where it is called the Firth of Tay. Agricola's conquests were, of course, in Fifeshire and in Perthshire.

5 The principal fort built by Agricola was at Ardoch in Perthshire, situated so as to command the entrances into two valleys, *Strathallan* and *Strathearn*. A description and plan of its remains, still in good preservation, are given by Mr. Pennant in his *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, part ii. p. 101. This fort, commanding two extensive valleys, seems to prove what Tacitus says, viz. that no general showed greater skill in the choice of advantageous situations.

6 Agricola's fourth campaign was A. U. C. 834; A. D. 81. Titus died this year, on the thirteenth of September, in the forty-first year of his age; having merited, in a short reign of little more than two years, the love of the Roman people, and the applause of posterity. From the death of that lamented emperor, Agricola *was fallen on evil days*. He still pursued his conquests in Britain; but his virtues and his fame in arms rendered him obnoxious to the jealousy of Domitian, who beheld rising merit with a malignant eye.

7 *Glota* or *Clota*, and *Bodotria*, were the names given by Ptolemy to those famous æstuaries, or arms of the sea. The *Clota* is now called the Clyde, which rises in *Annandale*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the gulf of Dumbarton, on the western side of Scotland, opposite to the isle of Bute. The *Bodotria* of Ptolemy is the river Forth, which rises in *Monteith*, and, after describing a number of beautiful meanders, discharges itself, near Edinburgh, into an arm of the German Sea, called the *Firth of Forth*.

8 The space between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde is not more than thirty miles over. Gordon's Itinerary gives a description of the ruins of a number of forts in a regular chain, within a small distance from each other, beginning at Dumbarton, and thence eastward to Arthur's Oven near the Firth of Forth. See the *Itinerary*, p. 20, 21.

9 By means of these well-situated and well-guarded stations the Caledonians were confined, in that northern part of the island, as it were in a peninsula. On the same neck of land, Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain in the reign of Antonius Pius, erected a wall or rampart, extending from Old Kirkpatrick, on the Clyde, to the borders of the Forth; a space of thirty miles, defended by a chain of forts, all supposed to have been built on the site chosen by Agricola. Some vestiges of the wall are still to be seen. It is usually called Graham's Dike. Guthrie, in his Geographical Grammar, says, one of the greatest improvements for inland navigation is now (1771) carrying on, at a considerable expense, by a society of public-spirited gentlemen, for the purpose of joining the rivers Forth and Clyde; by which a communication will be opened between the east and west seas, to the immense advantage of the whole kingdom, as must be evident to every person who shall throw his eye upon the map of Scotland. *Geographical Grammar*, 4to edit.

10 Agricola's fifth campaign was in the summer A. U. C. 835; A. D. 82.

Roman vessel that ever crossed the æstuary,[1] and having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast, which lies opposite to Ireland, with a body of troops; not so much from an apprehension of danger, as with a view to future projects. He saw that Ireland, lying between Britain and Spain, and at the same time convenient to the ports of Gaul, might prove a valuable acquisition, capable of giving an easy communication, and, of course, strength and union, to provinces disjoined by nature.

Ireland is less than Britain, but exceeds in magnitude all the islands of the Mediterranean. The soil, the climate, the manners and genius of the inhabitants, differ little from those of Britain. By the means of merchants resorting thither for the sake of commerce, the harbours and approaches to the coast are well known. One of their petty kings[2] who had been forced to fly from the fury of a domestic faction, was received by the Roman general, and, under a show of friendship, detained to be of use on some future occasions. I have often heard Agricola declare that a single legion, with a moderate band of auxiliaries, would be sufficient to complete the conquest of Ireland. Such an event, he said, would contribute greatly to bridle the stubborn spirit of the Britons, who, in that case, would see, with dismay, the Roman arms triumphant, and every spark of liberty extinguished round their coast.

XXV. In the campaign,[3] which began in the sixth summer, having reason to apprehend a general confederacy of the nations beyond the Firth of Bodotria, and fearing, in a country not yet explored, the danger of a surprise, Agricola ordered his ships to sail across the gulf,[4] and gain some knowledge of those new regions. The fleet, now acting, for the first time, in concert with the land-forces, proceeded in sight of the army, forming a magnificent spectacle, and adding terror to the war. It frequently happened that in the same camp were seen the infantry and cavalry intermixed with the marines, all indulging their joy, full of their adventures, and magnifying the history of their exploits; the soldier describing, in the usual style of military ostentation, the forests which he had passed, the mountains which he climbed, and the Barbarians whom he put to the route; while the sailor, no less important, had his storms and tempests, the wonders of the deep, and the spirit with which he conquered winds and waves.

At the sight of the Roman fleet, the Britons, according to intelligence gained from the prisoners, were struck with consternation, convinced that every resource was cut off, since the sea, which had always been their shelter, was now laid open to the invader. In this distress, the

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1 We are now to see Agricola penetrating further into North Britain, but the laconic style of the author does not distinctly tell us on which side of the country the attempt was made. From the sequel, however, it is clear, that having driven the Caledonians beyond the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth as it were into another island, the Roman general was determined to march against the nations to the north of the Clyde, in order to spread a general alarm, and make an impression on the west side of the country. For that purpose, Tacitus says, he crossed the æstuary, meaning the gulf of Dumbarton. The commentators are much divided about the construction of the words, *nave prima transgressus; he sailed in the first ship.* Some of them will have it, that he embarked in the first ship of his fleet: but we have no account of a fleet in readiness for this expedition. The translator, therefore, has adopted the most natural and obvious sense. Agricola crossed the æstuary of the Clyde, in the first Roman vessel that was ever seen in those parts. His army, in the mean time, marched over the isthmus, probably near Dumbarton, and, making a rapid progress through Argyleshire, advanced to the sea-coast opposite to Ireland. It appears in the following section, that Agricola had no fleet till he ordered ships to be got in readiness for his sixth campaign.

2 The terms in which La Bletterie expresses himself in his notes on this section, one might imagine were dictated in the heat of the late contest between Ireland and Great Britain. The French author says, "Ireland has more harbours and more convenient ports than any other country in Europe. England has but a small number. Ireland, if she could shake off the British yoke, and form an independent state, would ruin the British commerce; but, to her misfortune, England is too well convinced of this truth." The ruin of Britain would undoubtedly be agreeable to a French patriot; but the man who in his heart is a friend to both countries, may be allowed to express his wish, that, upon proper terms, both islands may be always united in interest. The combined valour of the two kingdoms will be, at all times, an over-match for the maritime powers of Europe. Some of the historians of Ireland seem to be much offended with Tacitus, on account of the opinion here advanced; namely, that one legion, with a body of auxiliaries, would be sufficient for the conquest of Ireland; and perhaps they are right. Courage has been in every age, the distinguishing quality of that country. The Roman general would have found a people no less fierce and independent than the Caledonians: and it is probable, that, among the chieftains, there would have been many a GALGACUS to stand forth in the cause of liberty.

3 Agricola's sixth campaign was A. U. C. 836; A. D. 83; the second year of Domitian's reign.

4 Agricola, in the third year of his expeditions, had penetrated, north of the Forth, as far as the Firth of Tay (see section xxii.); but we are told by Tacitus, that the country was overrun, not conquered: nor was it sufficiently explored. And we find, that Agricola, dreading an insurrection of all the nations beyond the Firth of Forth, judged it right to man a fleet, in order to search the coasts and countries on the eastern side of Caledonia. Gordon, in his Itinerary, is of opinion, since no mention is made in the text of the return of those ships, that, after their survey of the coast, they remained either in some road or harbour in Fifeshire, or within the Firth of Tay, being the most commodious shelter from tempestuous weather. The war was now carried on in the counties of *Fife*, *Perth*, and *Angus*, if not farther.

Caledonians resolved to try the issue of a battle. Warlike preparations were instantly begun with a degree of exertion, great in reality, but, as is always the case in matters obscure and distant, magnified by the voice of fame. Without waiting for the commencement of hostilities, they stormed the Roman forts and castles,[5] and by provoking danger, made such an impression, that several officers in Agricola's army, disguising their fear under the specious appearance of prudent counsels, recommended a sudden retreat to avoid the disgrace of being driven back to the other side of the Firth. Meanwhile Agricola received intelligence that the enemy meditated an attack in various quarters at once, and thereupon, lest superior numbers, in a country where he was a stranger to the defiles and passes, should be able to surround him, he divided his army, and marched forward in three columns.

XXVI. The Caledonians, informed of this arrangement, changed their plan, and, in the dead of night, fell with their united force upon the ninth legion,[6] then the weakest of the Roman army. They surprised the advanced guard, and having, in the confusion of sleep and terror, put the sentinels to the sword, they forced their way through the entrenchments. The conflict was in the very camp, when Agricola, who had been informed that the Barbarians were on their march, and instantly pursued their steps, came up to the relief of the legion. He ordered the swiftest of the horse and light infantry to advance with expedition, and charge the enemy in the rear, while his whole army set up a general shout. At break of day the Roman banners glittered in view of the Barbarians, who found themselves hemmed in by two armies, and began to relax their vigour. The spirit of the legion revived. The men perceived that the moment of distress was over, and the struggle was now for glory. Acting no longer on the defensive, they rushed on to the attack. In the very gates[7] of the camp a fierce and obstinate engagement followed. The besieged legion, and the forces that came to their relief, fought with a spirit of emulation; the latter contending for the honour of succouring the distressed, and the former to prove that they stood in no need of assistance. The Caledonians were put to the route; and if the woods and marshes[8] had not favoured their escape, that single action had put an end to the war.

XXVII. By this victory, so complete and glorious, the Roman army was inspired with confidence to such a degree, that they now pronounced themselves invincible. Nothing could stand before them: they desired to be led into the recesses of the country, and, by following their blow, to penetrate to the extremity of the island. Even the prudent of the day before changed their tone with the event, and talked of nothing but victory and conquest. Such is the tax, which the commanders of armies must always pay; the merit of success is claimed by all; calamity is imputed to the general only.

The Caledonians, notwithstanding their defeat, abated nothing from their ferocity. Their want of success, they said, was not to be ascribed to superior courage; it was the chance of war, or, perhaps, the skill of the Roman general. In this persuasion they resolved to keep the field. They listed the young men of their nation; they sent their wives and children to a place of safety; they held public conventions of the several states, and with solemn rites and sacrifices[9] formed a league in the cause of liberty. The campaign ended in this manner, and the two armies inflamed with mutual animosity, retired into winter-quarters.

XXVIII. In the course of the same summer, a cohort of the Usipians[10] which had been raised in Germany, and thence transported to serve in Britain, performed an exploit so daring and extraordinary, that in this place it may be allowed to merit attention. Having murdered the centurion, who was left in the command, and also the soldiers, who, for the purpose of

5 Traces of these forts and castles are still extant in *Fyeshire*, *Perth*, and *Strathearn*.

6 This battle, Gordon the antiquarian thinks, was fought in the county of *Fife*; and he draws his conclusion from the appearance of a Roman camp still to be seen at a place called *Loch-Ore*, about two miles from *Loch-Leven*. The form of this camp, Gordon says, is nearest to a square, but in many parts so levelled and defaced, that he could not make a perfect draught of it. To the south of this camp there is a large morass, in which are daily dug up the roots of different trees, in such abundance as serves to show that it was formerly a great wood; which renders it highly probable that the ninth legion was attacked in that very camp, since Tacitus tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not covered the flight of the Caledonians, the victory obtained by the Romans would have ended the war. We are further told, that near this place there is a small village, called the *Blair*; a word, in the old language, signifying *locus pugnæ*, the spot where a battle was fought. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 36.

7 There were four gates to a Roman camp; one on each side of the circumference, accessible for the use of the baggage-horses, and wide in case of a sally. The gates had their distinct names; *Prætoria*, *Decumana*, *Dextra*, and *Sinistra*.

8 The marshes and forests that protected the Caledonians were, most probably, *Loch-Leven*, and the woods that grew around it, as mentioned in this section, note.

9 All public resolutions were formed, among barbarians, at their carousing festivals in religious groves. It was in this manner that CIVILIS drew the Batavians and the Germans into a league against the Romans. See Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. s. 14.

10 The Usipians inhabited the Duchy of Cleves, and other parts of Germany. See the *Manners of the Germans*, s. 32. note.

introducing military discipline, had been incorporated with the several companies,[1] they seized three light galleys, and forcing the masters on board, determined to sail from the island. One of the pilots made his escape, and suspicion falling on the other two, they were both killed on the spot. Before their design transpired, the deserters put to sea, to the astonishment of all who beheld their vessels under way.

They had not sailed far, when they became the sport of winds and waves. They made frequent descents on the cost in quest of plunder, and had various conflicts with the natives, victorious in some places, and in others beat back to their ships. Reduced at length to the extremity of famine, they fed on their companions, at first devouring the weakest, and afterwards deciding among themselves by lot. In this distress they sailed round the extremity of the island,[2] and, through want of skill in navigation, were wrecked on the continent, where they were treated as pirates, first by the Suevians, and afterwards by the Frisians. Being sold to slavery, and in the way of commerce turned over to different masters, some of them reached the Roman settlements on the banks of the Rhine, and there grew famous for their sufferings, and the bold singularity of their voyage. In the beginning of the following summer[3] Agricola met with a stroke of affliction by the loss of a son, about a year old. He did not upon this occasion affect, like many others, the character of a man superior to the feelings of nature; nor yet did he suffer his grief to sink him down into unbecoming weakness. He felt the impression, but regret was lost in the avocations of war.

XXIX. In the opening of the campaign, he despatched his fleet, with orders to annoy the coast by frequent descents in different places, and spread a general alarm. He put himself, in the meantime, at the head of his army equipped for expedition, and taking with him a select band of the bravest Britons, of known and

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1 The *Manipuli* were companies of foot, as the *Turmæ* were of the cavalry. A cohort consisted of sixty companies, ten in each, amounting in the whole to six hundred men. Each cohort was commanded by a centurion. Roman soldiers were intermixed with the Usipians, in order to instruct a body of auxiliaries in the art of war.

2 Tacitus has not mentioned the place from which these daring adventurers put to sea. Dio relates the same enterprise, but he also omits the port from which the voyage began. All we learn from that author, or from the abridgment of XIPHILIN, is, that certain soldiers, who had mutinied against their centurions, and put them to death, seized a vessel, and sailing at the mercy of winds and waves, along the western part of the island, landed, against their design, upon the coast, near one of the camps which the Romans had in the country. See Manning's Dion Cassius, v. ii. p. 62. Tacitus had an opportunity of being informed by Agricola, his father-in-law; and his account is, therefore, more circumstantial. From both historians, it may be fairly collected, that the outset of this desperate voyage was either from some port in Galloway, or from Cantire in Argyleshire, where Agricola had stationed his garrisons. The deserters, in the course of their voyage, landed at various places, and suffered by famine and other disasters, till they reached the eastern coast, where, and where only, the Romans were stationed in different encampments.

The adventurers having either sailed northward of the Orcades, or through *Pentland Firth*, which divides those islands from the extremity of Scotland, reached the German Ocean; and thence, through want of skill in navigation, or driven by tempestuous weather, arrived at length in the Baltic (*Mare Suevicum*), and landed on the coast of the Suevians. Being considered as freebooters and pirates, their story gained no friends. The boldness of their enterprise found no admirers, and their sufferings excited no compassion. They were seized first by the Suevi, between the *Vistula* and the *Elbe*. Those who escaped the Suevians, fell into the hands of the Frisians, between the Amisia (the Ems) and the Rhine. Being sold to slavery, many of them made their way to the Roman settlements on the west side of the Rhine, and there related their perils by sea and land.

It will not be altogether foreign to the purpose, and perhaps not unwelcome to the reader if we observe, that, prior to the adventure of the Usipians, there was, in a former age, another enterprise, still more extraordinary. Pliny the elder relates the fact, after Cornelius Nepos, who, in his account of a voyage to the North, says, that in the consulship of Quintus Metellus Celer, and Lucius Afranius (A. U. C. 694, before Christ 60), certain Indians, who had embarked on a commercial voyage, were cast away on the coast of Germany, and given as a present, by the king of the Suevians, to Metellus, who was at that time proconsular governor of Gaul. "Cornelius Nepos de septentrionali circuitu tradit, Quinto Metello Celeri, Lucii Afranii in consulatu collegæ, sed tum Galliæ proconsuli, Indos a rege Suevorum dono datos, qui ex India commercii causa navigantes, tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti." Pliny, lib. ii. s. 67. The work of Cornelius Nepos has not come down to us; and Pliny, as it seems, has abridged too much. The whole tract would have furnished a considerable event in the history of navigation. At present, we are left to conjecture, whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Atlantic Ocean, and thence into the Northern Seas; or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary, by passing the island of *Japan*, the coast of *Siberia*, *Kamchatska*, *Zembla* in the Frozen Ocean, and thence round *Lapland* and *Norway*, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean. In the former case, the passage from the East Indies was actually known long before the discovery of the Portuguese in the year 1497. In the second case, if they sailed along the coast of *China* and *Kamchatska*, the north-east passage, hitherto attempted in vain, was explored many centuries ago.

It may be proper to mention, that about the year 1770, a set of navigators from Japan were driven by tempestuous weather to the northern coast of Siberia, and, having landed at *Kamchatska*, were conveyed to Petersburg, and there received by the Empress of Russia with the greatest humanity.

3 This was the summer in the year of Rome 837, A. D. 84, when Agricola opened the seventh campaign.

approved fidelity, he advanced as far as the Grampian hills,[4] where the enemy was already posted in force. Undismayed by their former defeat, the Barbarians expected no other issue than a total overthrow, or a brave revenge. Experience had taught them that the common cause required a vigorous exertion of their united strength. For this purpose, by treaties of alliance, and by deputations to the several cantons, they had drawn together the strength of their nation. Upwards of thirty thousand men appeared in arms, and their force was increasing every day. The youth of the country poured in from all quarters, and even the men in years, whose vigour was still unbroken, repaired to the army, proud of their past exploits, and the ensigns of honour which they had gained by their martial spirit. Among the chieftains, distinguished by their birth and valour, the most renowned was Galgacus.[5] The multitude

4 To ascertain the spot where the *Mons Grampius* or *Grampian Hill* stands, Gordon observes in his Itinerary, has employed the antiquaries both of England and Scotland. Camden, and most of the English, in their commentaries on this passage, fix it at a place called *Grantsnaib;* but where that is, Gordon says, he could not discover. The Scotch antiquaries, he observes, are much divided: some contending for the shire of *Angus*, others for the *Blair of Athol* in *Perthshire* or *Ardoch* in *Strathallan*. After examining those different propositions, Gordon gives his opinion, that the *Mons Grampius*, mentioned by Tacitus, is in *Strathearn*, half a mile south of the Kirk of *Comerie*. His reasons, as well as they can be condensed in this note, are as follow:—In the first place, there is in Scotland a most remarkable ridge of mountains, called the GRAMPIAN HILLS, which divide the *Highlands* from the *Lowlands*, reaching from *Dumbarton* on the Frith of *Clyde* as far as *Aberdeen* on the German Ocean. The *Mons Grampius* in question is undoubtedly one of those Grampian Hills; and that it was near the *Kirk of Comerie*, Gordon thinks evident from the following facts. Near *Comerie* he found a large extended plain, about a mile in breadth, and several miles in length: and on one part of the plain, a noble square Roman encampment, divided into two partitions each surrounded with two *aggeres*, or ramparts, and between them a large *fossa*, or ditch, with four distinct entrances into the camp, analogous to those described by Josephus when the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem. Gordon adds, that he calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by Polybius for each foot-soldier, and was agreeably surprised to find it contained the precise number which Tacitus says (sect. XXXV.) Agricola had under his command at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. 8000 auxiliaries; and in the other square, exactly 3000 horse. The plain is directly at the foot of the *Grampian Hills;* and there are the *colles*, or rising grounds, on which the Caledonians were placed before the battle. Nor is it difficult, on viewing this ground, to guess at the place where the *covinarii*, or charioteers, wheeled about. Gordon adds one argument more, which he thinks decisive: the moor, on which the camp stands, is called to this day *Galdachan*, or *Galgachan Rossmoor;* not that *Galgacus* constructed the camp, but here he engaged Agricola's army; for which reason his name is left on the place. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 39 and 40.—It must not be dissembled, that Mr. Pennant, a very ingenious and entertaining traveller, has lately visited the same ground, and has given his reasons for dissenting from Mr. Gordon. What that gentleman advances, must always merit attention. The camp, he says, which Gordon has described, lies between the river *Earn*, and the little stream called the *Ruthel*, on a plain too contracted for such a number of combatants as Tacitus says there was, to form and act in, or for their charioteers or cavalry to scour the field. He admits that there are several small hills near the greater, where the Britons might have ranged themselves before the battle. But the distance from the sea is, with Mr. Pennant, an insuperable argument against this being the spot; as we are expressly informed, that, Agricola sent his fleet before, in order to distract and divide the enemy; and that he himself marched with his army, till he arrived at the Grampian mountain, where he found the Caledonians drawn up in force. Mr. Pennant says, from the whole account given by Tacitus, it should be supposed that the action was fought in an open country, at the foot of certain hills, not in a little plain amidst defiles, as the valleys about *Comerie* consist of. Pennant's *Tour*, 1772, part ii. p. 96. It is not the design of this note to decide between those two opposite opinions; but, upon due consideration, it may be found that Mr. Pennant's arguments are far from being conclusive. The place, however, for a fair investigation, will be, when Tacitus draws up both armies in order of battle. We shall then be able to form a more exact idea of the spot; and, perhaps, we shall have reason to accede to Gordon's opinion. See sect. 35, and note.

2 In the chronicle of the kings of Scotland, *Galgacus* is called *Galdus;* of which name and its etymology, Gordon gives the following account:—*Galgacus* was latinized by the Romans from two Highland appellations, viz. *Gald* and *Cachach;* the first, *Gald*, being the proper name, and the second an adjection to it, from the battles he had fought; it signifies the same as *prælionus; Gald the fighter of battles;* which kind of nickname is still in use among the Highlanders. Thus the late Viscount *Dundee* was, by the Highlanders that followed him, called *John Du-Nan-Cach, Black-haired John who fights the battles:* and in like manner John Duke of Argyle was known among the Highlanders by the name of *John Roy-Nan-Cach, Red-haired John who fights the battles*. Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 40. In the speech ascribed to this gallant chieftain, we have a striking picture of Roman oppression. The various arts of those ambitious conquerors, and the vices of their government in the several provinces of the empire, are painted forth in glaring colours. The art of compressing in pathetic language, with precision and energy, all the topics that can inspire the heart of man with a generous love of liberty, is here displayed in full perfection. It may indeed be doubted, whether *Galgacus* spoke what Tacitus has put into his mouth; but that he harangued his men is highly probable. In those days, no battle was fought without a speech from the general, to rouse and animate the valour of his army. We see the same custom among the ancient Germans, and we find it among the savages of America. In our times few or no speeches are made at the head of the line. The modern general has no occasion to be an orator: his artillery speaks for him. But since it is likely that *Galgacus* addressed his men, that probability is ground sufficient for the historian; and *Galgacus*, then upon the point of a decisive action, when all that was dear to him depended on the event, may be fairly allowed to have addressed his men in substance at least, if not in the manner, here represented. The ferocity of a savage, whose bosom glowed with the love of liberty, gives warmth and spirit to the whole

gathered round him, eager for action, and burning with uncommon ardour. He harangued them to the following effect:

XXX. "When I consider the motives that have roused us to this war; when I reflect on the necessity that now demands our firmest vigour, I expect every thing great and noble from that union of sentiment that pervades us all. From this day I date the freedom of Britain. We are the men, who never crouched in bondage. Beyond this spot there is no land, where liberty can find a refuge. Even the sea is shut against us, while the Roman fleet is hovering on the coast. To draw the sword in the cause of freedom is the true glory of the brave, and, in our condition, cowardice itself would throw away the scabbard. In the battles, which have been hitherto fought with alternate vicissitudes of fortune, our countrymen might well repose some hopes in us; they might consider us as their last resource; they knew us to be the noblest sons of Britain, placed in the last recesses of the land, in the very sanctuary of liberty. We have not so much as seen the melancholy regions, where slavery has debased mankind. We have lived in freedom, and our eyes have been unpolluted by the sight of ignoble bondage.

"The extremity of the earth is ours: defended by our situation, we have to this day preserved our honour and the rights of men. But we are no longer safe in our obscurity: our retreat is laid open: the enemy rushes on, and, as things unknown are ever magnified, he thinks a mighty conquest lies before him. But this is the end of the habitable world, and rocks and brawling waves fill all the space behind. The Romans are in the heart of our country; no submission can satisfy their pride; no concessions can appease their fury. While the land has any thing left, it is the theatre of war; when it can yield no more, they explore the seas for hidden treasure. Are the nations rich, Roman avarice is their enemy. Are they poor, Roman ambition lords it over them. The east and the west have been rifled, and the spoiler is still insatiate. The Romans, by a strange singularity of nature, are the only people who invade, with equal ardour, the wealth and the poverty of nations. To rob, to ravage, and to murder, in their imposing language, are the arts of civil policy. When they have made the world a solitude, they call it peace.

XXXI. "Our children and relatives are dear to us all. It is an affection planted in our breast by the hand of nature. And yet those tender pledges are ravished from us to serve in distant lands. Are our wives, our sisters, and our daughters, safe from brutal lust and open violation? The insidious conqueror, under the mask of hospitality and friendship, brands them with dishonour. Our money is conveyed into their treasury, and our corn into their granaries. Our limbs and bodies are worn out in clearing woods, and draining marshes: and what have been our wages? Stripes and insult. The lot of the meanest slave, born in servitude, is preferable to ours: he is sold but once, and his master maintains him; but Britain every day invites new tyrants, and every day pampers their pride. In a private family the slave, who is last bought in, provokes the mirth and ridicule of the whole domestic crew: and in this general servitude, to which Rome has reduced the world, the case is the same: we are treated at first, as objects of derision, and then marked out for destruction.

"What better lot can we expect? We have no arable lands to cultivate for a master; no mines to dig for his avarice; no harbours to improve for his commerce. To what end should the conqueror spare us? Our virtue and undaunted spirit are crimes in the eyes of the conqueror, and will render us more obnoxious. Our remote situation, hitherto the retreat of freedom, and on that account the more suspected, will only serve to inflame the jealousy of our enemies. We must expect no mercy. Let us therefore dare like men. We all are summoned by the great call of nature; not only those who know the value of liberty, but even such as think life on any terms the dearest blessing. The Trinobantes,[1] who had only a woman to lead them on, were able to carry fire and sword through a whole colony. They stormed the camps of the enemy, and if success had not intoxicated them, they had been, beyond all doubt, the deliverers of their country. And shall not we, unconquered, and undebased by slavery, a nation ever free, and struggling now, not to recover, but to ensure our liberties,[2] shall we not go forth the

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speech. Neither the Greek nor Roman page has any thing to compare with it. The critics have admired the speech of Porus to Alexander; but, excellent as it is, it shrinks and fades away before the Caledonian orator. Even the speech of Agricola, which follows immediately after it, is tame and feeble, when opposed to the ardour, the impetuosity, and the vehemence of the British chief. We see Tacitus exerting all his art to decorate the character of his father-in-law: but he had neither the same vein of sentiment, nor the same generous love of liberty, to support the cause of an ambitious conqueror. In the harangue of *Galgacus*, the pleasure of the reader springs from two principles: he admires the enthusiasm of the brave Caledonian, and at the same time applauds the noble historian, who draws up a charge against the tyranny of his own countrymen, and generously lists on the side of liberty.

1 The Trinobantes, or the people of Essex, joined the Icenians in the grand revolt under Boadicea. See this Tract, sect. xvi. and *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 31.

2 This passage has occasioned much controversy among

champions of our country? Shall we not, by one generous effort, show the Romans, that we are the men whom Caledonia has reserved to be assertors of the public weal?

XXXII. "We know the manners of the Romans: and are we to imagine that their valour in the field is equal to their arrogance in time of peace? By our dissensions their glory rises; the vices of their enemies are the negative virtues of the Roman army; if that may be called an army, which is no better than a motley crew of various nations, held together by success, and ready to crumble away in the first reverse of fortune. That this will be their fate, no one can doubt, unless we suppose that the Gaul, the German, and (with shame I add) the Britons, a mercenary band, who hire their blood in a foreign service, will adhere from principle to a new master, whom they have lately served, and long detested. They are now enlisted by awe and terror: break their fetters, and the man who forgets to fear, will seek revenge.

"All that can inspire the human heart, every motive that can excite us to deeds of valour, is on our side. The Romans have no wives[3] in the field to animate their drooping spirit; no parents to reproach their want of courage. They are not listed in the cause of their country: their country, if any they have,[4] lies at a distance. They are a band of mercenaries, a wretched handful of devoted men, who tremble and look aghast as they roll their eyes around, and see on every side objects unknown before. The sky over their heads, the sea, the woods, all things conspire to fill them with doubt and terror. They come like victims, delivered into our hands by the gods, to fall this day a sacrifice to freedom.

"In the ensuing battle be not deceived by false appearances; the glitter of gold and silver[5] may dazzle the eye; but to us it is harmless, to the Romans no protection. In their own ranks we shall find a number of generous warriors ready to assist our cause. The Britons know that for our common liberties we draw the avenging sword. The Gauls will remember that they once were a free people; and the Germans, as the Usipians[6] lately did, will desert their colours. The Romans have left nothing in their rear to oppose us in the pursuit; their forts are ungarrisoned; the veterans in their colonies droop with age; in their municipal towns, nothing but anarchy, despotic government, and disaffected subjects. In me behold your general; behold an army of freeborn men. Your enemy is before you, and, in his train, heavy tributes, drudgery in the mines, and all the horrors of slavery. Are those calamities to be entailed upon us? Or shall this day relieve us by a brave revenge? There is the field of battle, and let that determine. Let us seek the enemy, and, as we rush upon him, remember the glory delivered down to us by our ancestors; and let each man think that upon his sword depends the fate of all posterity."

XXXIII. This speech was received, according to the custom of Barbarians, with war songs, with savage howlings, and a wild uproar of military applause. Their battalions began to form a line of battle; the brave and warlike rushed forward to the front, and the field glittered with the blaze of arms. The Romans on their side burned with equal ardour. Agricola saw the impatient spirit of his men, but did not think proper to begin the engagement, till he confirmed their courage by the following speech: "It is now, my fellow-soldiers, the eighth year[7]

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the commentators; but those gentlemen are often ingenious to no end but to perplex themselves. The text is susceptible of an easy and obvious construction; and it is this: We have been hitherto unsubdued, and therefore we are not now to taste of liberty for the first time: we have always enjoyed our rights; let us preserve them by our valour.

3 In consequence of the military system of the Romans, the soldiers remained in a state of celibacy. Dio tells us, that the emperor Claudius, to relieve them from the strict severity of the laws, allowed them all the rights and privileges annexed to the married state. Severus owed the imperial dignity to the legions; and to mark his gratitude, gave them leave to marry, and, by that and other indulgences, relaxed, and well nigh ruined, the discipline of the army. Before that time, a Roman camp had no place of accommodation for women. See, in Duncan's Cæsar, a dissertation on the Roman art of war. That the Germans and other barbarians were inflamed with uncommon ardour by their women in the field of battle, has appeared in various instances throughout the Annals and History of Tacitus.

4 The conquered provinces furnished auxiliaries, and the legions were often recruited by levies raised in distant parts of the empire. Those soldiers were not interested in the cause of Rome: their native country was in different and remote places.

5 The good sense, no less than the spirit, of the Caledonian warrior is seen in this remark. Livy has a similar passage. The plume and crest of the enemy can inflict no wound; the Roman javelin can pierce the painted shield; and the ranks of war, that display their glittering mantles, when attacked sword in hand, are soon discoloured with blood. "Non cristas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi res ferro geratur, cruentari." Livy, lib. x. s. 39.

6 The Usipians were auxiliaries from Germany, engaged in the quarrels of Rome: but not feeling themselves interested in the cause, they determined to return to their own country, and with that design, committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves. See this Tract, s. 28.

7 There is here a small mistake, the error perhaps of the copyist; as this, in fact, was Agricola's seventh campaign. In the speech that follows, the reader will see the colours of rhetoric employed, to flatter the sol-

of our service in Britain. During that time, the genius and good auspices of the Roman empire, with your assistance and unwearied labour, have made the island our own. In all our expeditions, in every battle, the enemy has felt your valour, and by your toil and perseverance the very nature of the country has been conquered. I have been proud of my soldiers, and you have had no reason to blush for your general. We have carried the terror of our arms beyond the limits of any other soldiers, or any former general;[1] we have penetrated to the extremity of the land. This was formerly the boast of vainglory, the mere report of fame; it is now historical truth. We have gained possession sword in hand; we are encamped on the utmost limits of the island. Britain is discovered, and by the discovery conquered.

"In our long and laborious marches, when you were obliged to traverse moors, and fens, and rivers, and to climb steep and craggy mountains, it was still the cry of the bravest amongst you, When shall we be led to battle? When shall we see the enemy? Behold them now before you. They are hunted out of their dens and caverns; your wish is granted, and the field of glory lies open to your swords. One victory more makes this new world our own; but remember that a defeat involves us all in the last distress. If we consider the progress of our arms, to look back is glorious; the tract of country that lies behind us, the forests which you have explored, and the æstuaries which you have passed, are monuments of eternal fame. But our fame can only last, while we press forward on the enemy. If we give ground, if we think of a retreat, we have the same difficulties to surmount again. The success, which is now our pride, will in that case be our worst misfortune. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the course of the country; the enemy knows the defiles and marshes, and will be supplied with provisions in abundance. We have not those advantages, but we have hands that can grasp the sword, and we have valour,[2] that gives us every thing. With me it has long been a settled principle, that the back of a general or his army is never safe. Which of you would not rather die with honour, than live in infamy? But life and honour are this day inseparable; they are fixed to one spot. Should fortune declare against us, we die on the utmost limits of the world; and to die where nature ends, cannot be deemed inglorious.

XXXIV. "If our present struggle were with nations wholly unknown; if we had to do with an enemy new to our swords, I should call to mind the example of other armies. At present what can I propose so bright and animating as your own exploits? I appeal to your own eyes: behold the men drawn up against you: are they not the same, who last year, under covert of the night, assaulted the ninth legion,[3] and, upon the first shout of our army, fled before you? A band of dastards! who have subsisted hitherto, because of all the Britons they are the most expeditious runaways.

"In woods and forests the fierce and noble animals attack the huntsmen and rush on certain destruction; but the timorous herd is soon dispersed, scared by the sound and clamour of the chase. In like manner, the brave and warlike Britons have long since perished by the sword. The refuse of the nation still remains. They have not staid to make head against you; they are hunted down; they are caught in the toils. Benumbed with fear, they stand motionless on yonder spot, which you will render for ever memorable by a glorious victory. Here you may end your labours, and close a scene of fifty years[4] by one great, one glorious day. Let your country see, and let the commonwealth bear witness, if the conquest of Britain has been a lingering work, if the seeds of rebellion have not been crushed, that we at least have done our duty."

XXXV. During this harangue, whilst Agricola was still addressing the men, a more than common ardour glowed on every countenance. As soon as the general ended, the field rang with shouts of applause. Impatient for the onset, the soldiers grasped their arms. Agricola restrained their violence, till he formed his order of battle. The auxiliary infantry,[5] in

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dier's pride, and decorate the lust of dominion with specious and seducing appearances.

1 Under all former commanders, the scene of action was in that part of Britain called England. Statius, indeed, using his poetical license, carries Bolanus as far as *Thule*, and crowns his hero with laurels in the Highlands of Scotland. See sect. viii. note, and xvi. note. But Agricola was the first Roman general that carried his victorious arms into Caledonia, and reduced that whole country as far as the Frith of *Tay*.

2 Livy has a similar sentiment. The soldiers, he says, fixed their eyes on their arms and the swords in their hands, which they considered as their only hope. "Arma tantum ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suæ, intuentes." Lib. v. s. 42.

3 An account of this attack, in which the legion, if Agricola had not arrived in time, would probably have been cut to pieces, is given in this Tract, sect. xxvi.

4 Aulus Plautius undertook his expedition into Britain, A. U. C. 796. From that time to the battle now impending, one or two and forty years had elapsed: Agricola did not think an exact statement necessary; he was speaking to the passions, and, therefore, used an oratorical amplification.

5 We are now on the point of a great and decisive action. The motives that incite both armies have been displayed with energy. On one side, the liberty of a people is depending; on the other, the fate of the Ro-

number about eight thousand, occupied the centre. The wings consisted of three thousand horse. The legions were stationed in the rear, at the head of the intrenchments as a body of reserve to support the ranks, if necessary, but otherwise to remain inactive, that a victory, obtained without the effusion of Roman blood might be of higher value.

The Caledonians kept possession of the rising grounds, extending their ranks as wide as possible, to present a formidable show of battle. Their first line was ranged on the plain, the rest in a gradual ascent on the acclivity of the hill. The intermediate space between both armies was filled with the charioteers[5] and cavalry of the Britons, rushing to and fro in wild career, and traversing the plain with noise and tumult. The enemy being greatly superior in number, there was reason to apprehend that the Romans might be attacked both in front and flank at the same time. To prevent that mischief, Agricola ordered his ranks to form a wider range. Some of the officers saw that the lines were weakened into length, and therefore advised that the legions should be brought forward into the field of action. But the general was not of a temper to be easily dissuaded from his purpose. Flushed with hope, and firm in the hour of danger, he immediately dismounted, and, dismissing his horse, took his stand at the head of the colours.

XXXVI. The battle began, and at first was maintained at a distance. The Britons neither wanted skill nor resolution. With their long swords, and targets[7] of small dimension, they had the address to elude the missive weapons of

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man army. The order, in which the combatants were drawn up, is now presented to us, but with the usual brevity of Tacitus. All this preparation keeps the reader in suspense, and fills the mind with expectation. As Britons we feel for our ancestors, and as scholars we are dazzled by the glory of the Roman name. We have now before us the preparation for the *swelling scene*. The main body of the Caledonians took post on the acclivity of the Grampian mount; their advanced lines stood at the foot of the hill, and the ranks rose one above another, in regular order, to the summit. The charioteers and horsemen advanced on the open plain, and rushed to and fro with wild velocity. On the side of the Romans, the order of battle was as follows:—Eight thousand auxiliaries formed the centre; the cavalry, amounting to three thousand, took post in the wings; the legions were stationed in the rear, near the intrenchments, to act as occasion required, as a body of reserve; and, that the enemy might not be able to make an impression on the flank, the front lines of the army were extended to a considerable length. Brotier, in his note on this passage, adds, that the spot where the battle was fought was in *Strathearn*, near the *Kirk of Comeris*: for this he relies on the authority of Gordon. The camp, described in two divisions, one for the auxiliaries, and the other for the cavalry (see sect. xxix. note,) appears to him to be a circumstance of great weight, as indeed it must to every one who considers that the Romans seldom or never came to action till they had, in some convenient place, formed a camp, and thrown up their intrenchments, to secure their retreat. There were besides, as appears in Gordon's Itinerary, other camps in the adjacent country, from which Agricola drew together the main strength of the army. Mr. Pennant observes, that, according to Tacitus, the Caledonians were above thirty thousand strong, and could not act with effect in close and narrow defiles. See sect. xxix. note. But, as it should seem, the spot was chosen by Galgacus, with a view to draw the Romans into a contracted plain, and then pour down upon them from the high grounds, and the Grampian hill. On the other hand, Agricola, who is celebrated for skill in choosing his ground, might also prefer a place where thirty thousand men could not at once attack an inferior army. In this it appears that he succeeded. We are told, that the enormous swords of the Caledonians were unfit for an engagement in a confined space; *in arcto pugnam non tolerabant*: and afterwards, when the charioteers rushed into the heat of the action, they were soon entangled among the inequalities of the ground; *inæqualibus locis hærebant*. The objection, therefore, to the narrowness of the field of battle, on which Mr. Pennant lays so much stress, seems to lose its force, when we find that the battle was actually fought in a place of no great extent, surrounded by a number of hills, beside the Grampian mountain, where the main body of the Caledonians lay in wait for an opportunity to rush down upon the Romans. As to the distance from the sea, which Mr. Pennant calls an insuperable argument, as Agricola sent forward his fleet to distract the enemy, it is by no means a decisive circumstance. In Agricola's sixth campaign (see sect. xxv.) Tacitus tells us, that the fleet and land forces proceeded in sight of each other. In the present expedition, that is not said to have been the case. The Roman general might order his fleet to sail across the friths both of the *Tay* and the *Forth*, while he himself, at the head of his army, marched in quest of the enemy, then actually assembled at the Grampian hill. In case of a defeat, the ships were, perhaps, in the Frith of *Tay* to receive the flying army. Upon the whole, it appears, from all the circumstances of the battle, that the Caledonians, far from wishing to act in a wide-extended plain, chose a spot, where they were posted to advantage, on the hills. When at last they quitted their fastnesses, it is evident that they could not exert themselves with effect amidst the narrow defiles. Upon the whole, the controversy will not easily be decided: antiquarians are seldom willing to agree, and the Grampian hill is likely to continue a subject of contention. The reader, who promises himself either pleasure or instruction from the inquiry, will do well to peruse the arguments of Gordon and Mr. Pennant, as stated by themselves. He will then be able to draw his own conclusion.

6 From this passage, it is evident, that while the Caledonians kept their post on the Grampian hill, and the adjacent heights, the plain was wide enough for the charioteers and cavalry; but, in the heat of the engagement, they were drawn into narrow passes, where they could no longer act with vigour.

7 These targets, in Latin *cetræ*, were made of osiers, or boards, covered over with leather. The Caledonians, who fought on this occasion, left the fashion of their armour, as well as an example of courage, to late posterity. The broad sword and target are well known to have been, in modern times, the peculiar arms of the Highlanders.

the Romans, and at the same time to discharge a thick volley of their own. To bring the conflict to a speedy decision, Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts[1] to charge the enemy sword in hand. To this mode of attack those troops had been long accustomed, but to the Britons it was every way disadvantageous. Their small targets afforded no protection, and their unwieldy swords, not sharpened to a point,[2] could do but little execution in a close engagement. The Batavians rushed to the attack with impetuous fury; they redoubled their blows, and with the bosses of their shields bruised the enemy in the face, and having overpowered all resistance on the plain, began to force their way up the ascent of the hill in regular order of battle. Incited by their example, the other cohorts advanced with a spirit of emulation, and cut their way with terrible slaughter. Eager in pursuit of victory, they pressed forward with determined fury, leaving behind them numbers wounded, but not slain, and others not so much as hurt.

The Roman cavalry, in the mean time, was forced to give ground.[3] The Caledonians, in their armed chariots, rushed at full speed into the thick of the battle, where the infantry were engaged. Their first impression struck a general terror, but their career was soon checked by the inequalities of the ground, and the close-embodied ranks of the Romans. Nothing could less resemble an engagement of the cavalry. Pent up in narrow places, the Barbarians crowded upon each other, and were driven or dragged along by their own horses. A scene of confusion followed. Chariots without a guide, and horses without a rider, broke from the ranks in wild disorder, and flying every way, as fear and consternation urged, they overwhelmed their own files, and trampled down all who came in their way.

XXXVII. Meanwhile the Britons, who had hitherto kept their post on the hills, looking down with contempt on the scanty numbers of the Roman army, began to quit their station. Descending slowly, they hoped, by wheeling round the field of battle, to attack the victors in the rear. To counteract their design, Agricola ordered four squadrons of horse, which he had kept as a body of reserve, to advance to the charge. The Britons poured down with impetuosity, and retired with equal precipitation. At the same time, the cavalry, by the directions of the general, wheeled round from the wings, and fell with great slaughter on the rear of the enemy, who now perceived that their own stratagem was turned against themselves.

The field presented a dreadful spectacle of carnage and destruction. The Britons fled; the Romans pursued; they wounded, gashed, and mangled the runaways; they seized their prisoners, and, to be ready for others, butchered them on the spot.[4] Despair and horror appeared in various shapes: in one part of the field the Caledonians, sword in hand, fled in crowds from a handful of Romans; in other places,

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1 The Batavians, after their revolt under Civilis, which ended A. U. C. 823, A. D. 70. (see *Hist.* b. v. s. 26), renewed their ancient friendship with the Romans. Several inscriptions on altars, having *Cohors prima Batavorum* engraved on them, having been dug up in the north of England. Several others, commemorating the Tungrian cohorts, have been found, as may be seen in Gordon's Itinerary.

2 Brotier observes, from Vegetius, b. i. s. 12, that the Britons fought with the edge of their sword, and cut and hewed the enemy. The Romans, on the contrary, made use of the point, and, in close engagement, had greatly the advantage.

3 The British warrior in his chariot is here called *Covinarius*, the driver of a *covinus*. It has been already mentioned, that the chieftain contrary to the practice of the Greeks, thought it a point of honour to guide the car, while other combatants from the same vehicle annoyed the enemy. See this Tract, s. xii. note. Some of the critics will have it, that the word *covinus* must have been coined by Tacitus, since it is not to be found in any other Latin writer: but they forget that Lucan has used it, and he wrote his Pharsalia before Tacitus was grown up to man's estate:

> Et doctis rector monstrati Belga *Covini*.
>
> *Phars.* lib. i. ver. 428.

The name used by Cæsar for the Britons' warlike chariot is REDHEDA. Their way of fighting in those vehicles, he tells us, is as follows:—They first drive round all parts of the lines, throwing their darts, and, by the very terror of their horses, and the rattling of their wheels, disordering the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced their way into the thick of the cavalry, they leap from their chariots, and fight on foot. Meanwhile the drivers retire a little way from the combat, and place themselves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their comrades, should they be overpowered by the enemy. Thus they perform the part of nimble horsemen, and stable infantry. By continual exercise they have arrived at such expertness, that in the most steep and difficult places, they can stop their horses at full stretch, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and with incredible agility recover their seat in the chariot. *Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 33. Duncan's *Cæsar*, b. iv. s. 29.

4 Longinus has observed, that banishing copulatives is a great help to the grandeur of a sentence; when conjunctions are artfully discarded, the periods are poured along in such a manner that they seem to outstrip the thought of the speaker. He cites a passage in Xenophon as an example: Closing their shields together, they were pushed, they fought, they slew, they were slain. In describing the route of Catiline's army, Sallust says, They fled, they were followed, they were killed, they were taken—*Sequi, fugere, occidi, capi.* Tacitus saw the hurry, the force, the rapidity of the disjointed words in Sallust, and thought the passage worthy of imitation. Voltaire has endeavoured to show the wild disorder of a battle in the same manner:

> Francais, Anglais, Lorrains, que la fureur assemble,
> Avancaient, combattaient, frappaient, mouraient ensemble.
>
> *Henriade*, Chant 6.

without a weapon left, they faced every danger and rushed on certain death. Swords and bucklers, mangled limbs and dead bodies, covered the plain. The field was red with blood. The vanquished Britons had their moments of returning courage, and gave proofs of virtue and of brave despair. They fled to the woods, and, rallying their scattered numbers, surrounded such of the Romans as pursued with too much eagerness.

Agricola was every where present. He saw the danger, and, if he had not in the instant taken due precaution, the victorious army would have had reason to repent of too much confidence in success. The light-armed cohorts had orders to invest the woods. Where the thickets were too close for the horse to enter, the men dismounted to explore the passes, and where the woods gave an opening, the rest of the cavalry rushed in, and scoured the country. The Britons, seeing that the pursuit was conducted in compact and regular order, dispersed a second time, not in collected bodies, but in consternation, flying in different ways to remote lurking places, solicitous only for their personal safety, and no longer willing to wait for their fellow-soldiers. Night coming on, the Romans, weary of slaughter, desisted from the pursuit. Ten thousand of the Caledonians fell in this engagement: on the part of the Romans, the number of slain did not exceed three hundred and forty, among whom was Aulus Atticus,[5] the prefect of a cohort. His own youthful ardour, and the spirit of a high-mettled horse, carried him with too much impetuosity into the thickest of the enemy's ranks.

XXXVIII. The Roman army, elated with success, and enriched with plunder, passed the night in exultation. The Britons, on the other hand, wandered about, uncertain which way to turn, helpless and disconsolate. The mingled cries of men and women filled the air with lamentations. Some assisted to carry off the wounded; others called for the assistance of such as escaped unhurt; numbers abandoned their habitations, or, in their phrensy, set them on fire. They fled to obscure retreats, and, in the moment of choice, deserted them; they held consultations, and having inflamed their hopes, changed their minds in despair; they beheld the pledges of tender affection, and burst into tears; they viewed them again, and grew fierce with resentment. It is a fact well authenticated, that some laid violent hands upon their wives and children,[6] determined with savage compassion to end their misery.

The following day displayed to view the nature and importance of the victory. A deep and melancholy silence all around; the hills deserted; houses at a distance involved in smoke and fire, and not a mortal discovered by the scouts; the whole a vast and dreary solitude. Agricola was at length informed by those who were sent out to explore the country, that no trace of the enemy was any where to be seen, and no attempt made in any quarter to muster their forces. Upon this intelligence, as the summer was far advanced, and to continue the war, or extend its operations in that season of the year, was impracticable, he resolved to close the campaign, and march his army into the country of the Horestians.[7] That people submitted to the conqueror, and delivered hostages for their fidelity. Orders were now issued to the commander of the fleet to make a coasting voyage round the island.[8] For this expedition a sufficient equip-

5 Aulus Atticus was probably the prefect of a Tungrian cohort. An altar dedicated to the god *Mars*, by Quintus Florius Maternus, prefect of a Tungrian cohort, has been dug up in Scotland. See Gordon's *Itinerary*, p. 76.

6 This picture of rage and despair, of tenderness, fury, and the tumult of contending passions, has all the fine touches of a master who had studied human nature. It often happens, that in the last extremity of despair, the mind is fired with sudden courage. Rather than fall with tame resignation, it rouses all its force, and by one vigorous effort, endeavours to signalize itself even in ruin. Tacitus has said in another place, *Desperationes in audaciam accinguntur*. The Cimbrian women, when they saw their husbands defeated by Marius, acted with the most savage ferocity, and in their fury destroyed their own children. See the *Manners of the Germans*, sect. xxxvii.

7 The Horestians are said, by some of the commentators, to have inhabited the country now called *Angus*, on the north side of the *Tay*. Gordon, in his Itinerary, says that Agricola, after his victory, led back his army into the country of the *Horestii*, or *Angus*; for, as it is certain that Agricola, in the third year of his expedition, had been there before, so it is natural to think he led his army to the place where his fleet was, which most probably was in the Firth of *Tay*. *Itinerary*, p. 40. But in this there seems to be some mistake. We are expressly told by Tacitus, that Agricola, in his third campaign, penetrated as far as the Firth of *Tay*: "Vastatis usque ad Taum (æstuario nomen est) nationibus." Not a word is said of his proceeding farther. He erected forts and castles to bridle the natives during the winter, and the business of his fourth campaign was to secure what he had overrun in the preceding summer. In the sixth summer, when all the northern Caledonians were in motion, it was the opinion of the principal officers that the most advisable measure would be to repass the Forth. Hence it is clear that Agricola was then in *Fyfeshire*, and not in *Angus*; otherwise, to repass the *Tay* would have been the advice. After the victory at the *Grampian Hill*, Agricola led back his army, and that was most probably into *Fyfeshire*, where camps and forts had been erected. For these reasons it may be assumed, that the *Horestii* were the people of *Fyfeshire*.

8 This circumnavigation is not related with sufficient accuracy. Agricola heard of the bold adventure of the Usipians (see sect. xxviii.), and resolved to gain farther

ment was made, and the terror of the Roman name had already gone before them. Agricola, in the mean time led his army into winter-quarters, proceeding at the head of the cavalry and infantry by slow marches with intent that, by seeming to linger in the enemy's country, he might impress with terror a people who had but lately submitted to his arms. The fleet, after a prosperous voyage, arrived at the Trutulensian harbour,[1] and sailing thence along the eastern coast, returned with glory to its former station.

XXXIX. The account of these transactions, sent to Rome by Agricola, was plain and simple, without any decoration of language to heighten the narrative. Domitian received it in the true spirit of his character, with a smile on his countenance, and malignity at his heart. The mock-parade of his own German triumph,[2] in which the slaves, whom he had purchased, walked with dishevelled hair, in the dress and manner of captives taken in war, came fresh into his mind. He felt the reproach and ridicule which that frolic occasioned, and the transition was painful to a real victory, attended with a total overthrow of the enemy, and the applause of all ranks of men. He now began to fear that the name of a private citizen might overshadow the imperial title. The reflection planted thorns in his breast. The eloquence of the forum was in vain suppressed; in vain the talents of men and every liberal art were put under an absolute prohibition, if a subject was to rob the prince of all military glory. Superior excellence in every other kind might be endured; but renown in arms belonged to the emperor, as a branch of his prerogative.

By these and such like reflections that restless spirit was distracted. He retired to brood in private over his discontent. His solitude was known to be dangerous. To be alone and innocent was no part of his character. Weary of his retreat[3] and his own wounded spirit, he at last resolved to nourish resentment in sullen silence, till the tide of popularity, which attended the general, should ebb away, and the affection of the army had time to cool. Agricola was still in Britain, and had the command of the army and the province.

XL. Domitian, in the mean time, caused a decree to pass the senate, by which triumphal ornaments,[4] the honour of a statue crowned

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information; but the place, from which his fleet set out on the voyage, is not mentioned. It was, beyond all doubt, from the *Forth* or the *Tay*. Being with his army in *Fyfeshire*, he could there, with all convenience, issue his orders. The expedition being begun, he proceeded by slow marches towards the southern parts of Caledonia, and led his army into winter-quarters.

1 The fleet, in the mean time, sailed round the extremity of the island, and, having pursued the voyage along the western coast, and through the British Channel, arrived at *Sandwich*, called in the text *Portus Trutulensis*, probably by an error of the copyist, as the real name is *Rutupensis* or *Rutupinus*. So it is called by Ptolemy. Juvenal has

——————Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea—————— Sat. iv. ver. 141.

This voyage, which ascertained that Britain is an island, was in a contrary direction to that of the Usipian deserters. The fleet set out from the *Forth* or *Tay* on the eastern coast, and, sailing thence round the northern, western, and southern coasts, arrived at the port of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, and, proceeding along the eastern side of the island, returned without loss to its former station.

2 While Agricola was thus employed in extending the limits of the empire, and securing his conquests, as far as the neck of land between the *Forth* and the *Clyde*, by a chain of forts and garrisons, Domitian (A. U. C. 837, A. D. 84) went on his mock expedition into Germany, and returned without seeing the face of an enemy. Caligula had left him the precedent of a victory without a foe to conquer. In imitation of that brilliant example, Domitian purchased a number of slaves, whom he ordered to let their hair grow, and tinge it with yellow, that they might pass for German prisoners of war. See the account of Caligula in Suetonius, s. 47. See this Tract, sect. xiii. and note.

3 Pliny, in the Panegyric on Trajan, has given a striking picture of Domitian in his dark retreat. That savage beast was shut up as it were in a den, where he quaffed the blood of his relations; and when he came forth, it was to riot in the destruction of the best and most illustrious citizens. Dismay and terror obstructed his door; and they, who were excluded, were as much in danger as those that gained admittance. The tyrant was horrible to the sight, and his approach was dreadful: pride in his aspect; anger in his eye; a feminine whiteness over his whole body; and in his countenance an air of arrogance, flushed with the deepest red. No man dared to approach him; none could speak to him; he remained in darkness brooding mischief, and never came forth from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude by the destruction of eminent men. "Illa immanissima bellua, velut quodam specu inclusa, nunc propinquorum sanguinem lamberet; nunc se ad clarissimorum civium strages cædesque proferret. Obversabantur foribus horror et minæ, et par metus admissis et exclusis. Ad hoc ipse occursu quoque visuque terribilis: superbia in fronte, ira in oculis, fœmineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa. Non adire quisquam, non alloqui audebat, tenebras semper secretumque captantem: nec unquam ex solitudine sua prodeuntem, nisi ut solitudinem faceret." *Panegyr. Traj.* sect. 48. In the beginning of his reign his love of solitude was rather more innocent; but still it was a prelude to future cruelty. He passed an hour every day in private, wholly employed in catching flies, and fixing them on the sharp point of a bodkin. Hence, when somebody enquired, *whether any one was with the emperor*, Vibius Crispus aptly and pleasantly answered, *Not so much as a fly. Ut cuidam interroganti*, ESSETNE QUISQUAM INTUS CUM CÆSARE, *non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo*, NE MUSCA QUIDEM. Suetonius, *in Domitiano*, sect. 3.

4 A real triumph, after the downfal of the republic, was reserved for the emperor only. The title of IMPERATOR was assumed by the prince. At first it meant no more than GENERAL IN CHIEF; but, as all power was centred in him, the word, in process of time, implied

with laurel, and all other marks of distinction, usually substituted in the place of a real triumph, were granted to Agricola. The language of compliment was freely lavished on this occasion. The emperor had also the art to circulate a report, that the province of Syria, at that time vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus, an officer of consular rank, was intended for Agricola, in order to do him honour by an appointment always given to men of the highest eminence. It is added as a fact, at that time currently believed, that a commission was actually made out, and sent by a favourite freedman, who was much in the emperor's confidence, to be delivered to Agricola, in case the messenger found him still possessed of his authority in Britain. But the freedman, we are told, met him on his passage in the narrow straits,[5] and without so much as an interview returned to Rome. For the truth of this anecdote I do not pretend to vouch: it was imagined perhaps as a stroke of character, that marked the genius of Domitian. However that may be, Agricola resigned the command, and delivered to his successor[6] a quiet and well-ordered government.

Lest his arrival at Rome should draw together too great a concourse, he concealed his approach from his friends, and entered the city privately in the dead of night. With the same secrecy, and in the night also, he went, as commanded, to present himself to the emperor. Domitian received him with a cold salute, and, without uttering a word, left the conqueror of Britain, to mix with the servile creatures of the court.

The fame of a great military character is always sure to give umbrage to the lazy and inactive. But to soften prejudices, Agricola resolved to shade the lustre of his name in the mild retreat of humble virtues. With this view, he resigned himself to the calm enjoyments of a domestic life. Plain in his apparel,[7] easy of access, and never attended by more than one or two friends, he was remarkable for nothing but the simplicity of his appearance; insomuch that they, who knew no criterion of merit but external show and grandeur, as often as they saw Agricola, were still to seek for the great and illustrious character. His modesty was art, which a few only could understand.

XLI. After his recall from Britain, he was frequently accused before Domitian, and as often acquitted, unheard, and without his knowledge. The ground of those clandestine proceedings was neither a crime against the state, nor even an injury done to any individual. His danger rose from a different source; from the heart of a prince, who felt an inward antipathy to every virtue; from the real glory of the man, and from the praises bestowed upon him by those worst of enemies, the dealers in panegyrics.[8]

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what is now understood by the appellation of EMPEROR. Augustus Cæsar was not in haste to arrogate to himself the sole right of enjoying the honour of a triumph: with the address of an able politician, he resolved to make it of little value, and, for that purpose, he granted a triumph to no less than thirty different persons. At length, in the year of Rome 740, that military reward was abolished altogether. Augustus was indebted for the opportunity to the art of Agrippa, who, by a complete victory over the people of Bosphorus, had reinstated Polemon on his throne, and refused the triumph which was decreed by the senate. This was a stroke of courtly compliance with the wishes of his master. From that time, Dio says, the commanders of armies followed the example of Agrippa; and no Roman, however eminent for his military talents, enjoyed any higher distinction than that of triumphal ornaments, which were, the general's splendid garment, a statue in the forum crowned with laurels, and other *insignia* formerly allowed in a real triumph. The commanders of armies, after gaining a victory, ceased to address their letters to the senate. Like Agrippa, they were willing to pay their court to Augustus. They renounced their claim, and, in this manner, the pomp of a triumph became annexed to the imperial prerogative. See *Annals*, b. iv. s. 23; b. xv. s. 72; *Hist.* b. i. s. 79.

5 The straits of *Dover*.

6 Agricola resigned the command A. U. C. 838, A. D. 85. The officer who succeeded him is supposed to be Sallustius Luculius, of whom history has recorded nothing more than that he invented lances of a new form, and gave them the name of *Lucullean*. This gave umbrage to Domitian, and, for that reason, the tyrant ordered him to be put to death. Sueton. *Life of Domitian*, sect. 10.

7 La Bletterie observes that the modest deportment of Agricola calls to mind the character of Marshal Turenne, and this, he says, is not the only prominent feature in which the two heroes resemble each other. In the funeral orations, commemorating the French general, many of those analogies are pointed out.

8 Among artful and insidious courtiers, those who are lavish of praise, are often the most inveterate enemies. Tacitus, in another part of his work, gives the reason: under a bad prince, a great name is as dangerous as a bad one. "Nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala." Praise a man, in the presence of a tyrant, for his popular virtues, and his ruin is sure to follow. Virgil knew that praise, under a specious disguise, is an envenomed enemy.

> Et si ultra placitum laudarit, baccharе frontem
> Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.
>
> *Past.* vii. 27, 28.

> Or if he blast my muse with envious praise,
> Then fence my brows with amulets of bays;
> Lest his ill arts, or his malicious tongue,
> Should poison, or bewitch, my growing song
>
> *Dryden's Virgil.*

The malignity with which this praise is bestowed, in order to render an eminent character obnoxious to the prince, who lives in dread of superior virtue, has been the stratagem of ill-designing men in all ages. The emperor Julian, in a letter to his friend, says, that the insidious art of undermining by counterfeit praise is

The fact was, in the distress of public affairs, which soon after followed, the name of Agricola could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. By the rashness or inactivity of the commanders in chief, the armies of the empire were lost[1] in Mæsia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia. Every day brought an account of some new misfortune; forts besieged and taken; garrisons stormed, and whole cohorts with their commanding officers made prisoners of war. Amidst these disasters the struggle was not to secure the banks of a river,[2] nor to defend the frontier: the very possession of the provinces, and the winter-quarters of the legions, were fiercely disputed. In times like those, when calamity followed calamity, and every successive year was marked by the defeat and slaughter of armies, the voice of the people called aloud for Agricola to be employed in the public service. The vigour of his conduct, his firmness in danger, and his known experience, were the general topics, in opposition to the cowardice and insufficiency of other commanders. By remonstrances of the same tendency, it is certain, that the ears of Domitian were often wounded. Amongst his freedmen, those who had the interest of their master at heart, made a fair representation, while others urged the same arguments, not with honest motives, but with an insidious design to exasperate the mind of a tyrant fatally bent on mischief. In this manner Agricola, by his own talents, and the treacherous arts of pernicious men, was every day in danger of rising to the precipice of glory.

XLII. The year was now at hand, in which Agricola was to have by lot the proconsulship[3] of Asia or of Africa; but the death of Civica,[4] who had been lately murdered in his government, gave at once a warning to Agricola, and a precedent to Domitian. At this point of time, the spies of the court thought proper to pay their visits to Agricola. The design of those pretended friends was to discover, whether the government of a province would be acceptable. They contented themselves, in their first approaches, with suggesting to him the value of tranquillity in a private station, and then obligingly undertook, by their interest at court, to obtain permission for him to decline the office. At length the mask fell off: by adding menaces to their insidious advice, they gained their point, and hurried him away to the presence of the emperor. Domitian knew the part he had to act; with a concerted countenance, and an air of distant pride, he heard Agricola's apology, and complied with his request, conscious of his own treachery, yet receiving thanks for it without a blush.[5] The proconsular salary,[6] which

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chiefly known in the palace of princes, where the politic courtier hates, while he commends; and stabs you with his panegyric beyond the malice of your most bitter enemies. "Conscii sumus invicem ambo, non uti nos ea aulica dissimulatione, quam arbitror te hactenus expertem esse solum in dominantium regia; juxta quam LAUDANTES tali odio prosequuntur eos, quos celebrant, quale neque exercent infensissimi hostes." See the Emperor Julian's 12th Ep. to Basilius.

1 These various disasters happened in the years of Rome 840 and 841. Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank, was defeated by the Dacians in Mæsia; the legions under him were put to the sword; the general's head was cut off, and exhibited on a pole, a public spectacle for the barbarians. In another engagement with the same enemy, Cornelius Fuscus met with a total defeat. In Germany and Pannonia various battles were fought with doubtful success, and great effusion of Roman blood. Suetonius has recorded these events, but in his usual style, content with a dry statement of facts. See the Life of Domitian, sect. vi.

2 The Rhine and the Danube were, at this time, the boundaries that divided Germany from the Roman empire.

3 In the several provinces which were left by Augustus under the management of the senate, the governors, according to ancient usage, were changed at the end of the year. The senators, who had five years before discharged the office either of consul or prætor, had a right to be candidates for the employment. The senate named a competent number, and the persons so elected drew lots for their provinces; and, whether consuls or prætors, they were, without distinction, called by the general title of proconsular governors.

4 We know nothing of Civica but what is here mentioned by Tacitus, and also by Suetonius, who informs us, that his name was Civica Cerealis, a man of consular rank, and governor of Asia. Domitian charged him with a conspiracy against the state, and under that pretence put him to death. Suetonius, *Life of Domitian*, sect. 10.

5 Under the worst of the emperors, men were obliged, by a refinement in tyranny, to receive injuries, and to be grateful for them. Tacitus mentions several persons, who were injured in their rights, and yet, being inured to slavery, they returned thanks to Vitellius. "Actæque insuper Vitellio gratiæ, consuetudine servitii." Hist. lib. ii. s. 71. Otway has made *Chamont* express himself on this subject with a spirit of indignation.

> I have not slavish temperance enough,
> To wait a great man's heels, and watch his smiles;
> Bear an ill office done me to my face,
> And thank the lord that wrong'd me, for his favour.

The abject spirit, with which men submitted to the tyranny of Caligula, is emphatically described by Seneca. That emperor, he says, received thanks from those whose children he put to death, or whose property he confiscated. "Agebant gratias et quorum liberi occisi, et quorum bona ablata erant." *De Tranquill. Animi*, sect. 14. The same author relates the answer of an old courtier, when he was asked how he arrived at a thing so uncommon among the attendants of princes as a sound old age? It was, replied the veteran, by receiving injuries, and returning thanks. "Notissima vox est ejus, qui in cultu regum consenuerat, cum illum quidam interrogaret, quomodo rarissimam rem in aula consecutus esset, senectutem? Injurias, inquit, accipiendo, et gratias agendo." *De Ira*, lib. ii. sect. 3. In opposition to this servile spirit, Lipsius, in a strain of rapture, offers up his adoration to Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, for the magnanimity with which they

had been usually granted, in like cases, was withheld upon this occasion; perhaps, in resentment because it was not solicited, or the better reason might be, that the prince might not seem to gain by compromise, what he had a right to command.

To hate whom we have injured[7] is a propensity of the human mind: in Domitian it was a rooted principle. Prone by nature to sudden acts of rage, if at any time he had the policy to disguise his anger, it was only smothered,[8] to break out with fiercer rage. And yet that implacable temper was disarmed by the moderation and wisdom of Agricola, who was not in that class of patriots who conceive that by a contumacious spirit they showed their zeal for liberty, and think they gained immortal glory, when by rashness they have provoked their fate. By his example the man of heroic fortitude may be informed, that even in the worst of times, and under the most despotic prince, it is possible to be great and good with moderation. He may further learn, that a well managed submission, supported by talents and industry, may rise as high in the public esteem, as many of those who have courted danger, and, without any real advantage to their country, died the victims of pride and vain ambition.

XLIII. The death of Agricola was felt by his family with the deepest sorrow, by his friends with tender concern, and even by foreigners,[9] and such as had no knowledge of his person, with universal regret. During his illness, the common people, and that class of men who care little about public events, were constantly at his door, with anxiety making their inquiries. In the forum, and all circular meetings, he was the subject of conversation. When he breathed his last, no man was so hardened as to rejoice at the news. He died lamented, and not soon forgotten. What added to the public affliction, was a report[10] that so valuable a life was ended by a

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braved the tyrant's cruelty. "Sed vos magnæ animæ mihi salvete! quos jure miramur, collimus, factis dictisque sapientes, et legitimos robustæ porticus alumnos."

6 In the time of the old republic, the governors of provinces served their country without any salary annexed to their office. It was seen, however, by Augustus, that, by an unprofitable and gratuitous service, men were exposed to various temptations; and accordingly, that emperor, to leave avarice and rapacity without an excuse, established a regular allowance for each different province. The governors appointed by the senate were paid out of the *ærarium*, or public treasury; and the emperor defrayed the charge of the administration in the imperial provinces, out of the *fiscus*, or his own private coffers. If for good and sufficient reason, a citizen of eminence chose to decline the fatigue of a proconsular government, it was usual, on accepting his resignation, to allow him the income of his office. The etymology of the word salary is ingeniously explained by the elder Pliny. Human nature, he says, cannot exist without salt, which is so much an element of life, that, passing from bodily sensation, it is now become a metaphorical term for the pleasures of the mind. Salt is agreeable to the palate, and is, therefore, transferred to the mental taste. By that name we call whatever is pleasing to our intellectual faculties; whatever is poignant, gay, lively, or agreeable. The word is still more extensive; it is used to signify civil honours; and the pay of officers, and the governors of provinces, is called their SALARY. "Ita hercule vita humanior sine sale nequit degere; adeoque necessarium elementum est, ut transierit ad voluptates animi quoque. Nam ita sales appellantur; omnisque vitæ lepos, et summa hilaritas, laborumque requies non alio magis vocabulo constat. Honoribus etiam militiæque interponitur, SALARIUS inde dictis." Plin. lib. xxxi. s. 7.

7 Seneca has the same sentiment, and Tacitus seems to have adopted the very words. "Hoc habent pessimum animi magna fortuna insolentes; quos læserunt, et oderunt. *De Ira*, lib. ii. s. 33.

8 Hatred is always a dark, a covered, and a lurking passion; the more concealed, the more implacable: so it was with Domitian, and we have seen the same feature of character in Tiberius. In a sudden transport of passion he broke out against Haterius; but harbouring deep resentment against Scaurus, he let him pass in sullen silence. *Annals*, b. i. s. 3. And again, he laid up the seeds of resentment, which were to grow to maturity and shoot forth with large increase at a future day. "Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret." *Annals*, b. i. s. 69.

9 A Greek epigram, written by Antiphilus of Byzantium, to the memory of a person of the name of Agricola, is still extant. The learned refer it to the great man who is the subject of the present work. The poet addresses himself to the fountains, and desires to know, what has dried up their waters. The answer is, We have wept for Agricola; and the stream, which before was limpid, is now absorbed by his ashes.

Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τι πεφεύγατε; ποῦ τόσον ὕδωρ;
Τίς φλὸξ ἀενάους ἔσβεσεν ἀελίου;
Δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλα τετρίμεθα· πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
Ἦν ποτὲ, ἡ κείνου δίψας ἔχει σποδιή.

ANTHOLOGIA, lib. i. tit. 37.

Grotius and La Bletterie have given their versions of this little poem. It may be some amusement to compare them, and therefore, without apology, both shall have their place.

Quo, fontis latices, quo copia vestra recessit
Perpetuus solis quis calor hausit aquas?
Agricolæ luctu consumitur: illius, ante
Humida, nunc fiunt pulverulenta, siti.

Grotius.

Fontani latices, quo pristina copia cessit?
Dicite, quis liquidas sol populavit opes?
Agricolam flendo defecimus, et quod aquarum
Hic erat, extincti nunc habet omne cinis.

La Bletterie.

10 From the manner in which Tacitus states this charge, it may be inferred that he gave no credit to it; and yet Dio does not hesitate to confirm the story. Suetonius is silent on the subject. But the Greek historian is often bold in assertion, and frequently deficient in point of truth, or historical evidence. If we believe him, Agricola, after his return from the conquest of Britain, passed the remainder of his days in distress and poverty: but Tacitus, on the contrary, assures us, that, though he did not possess immoderate wealth, he enjoyed a decent affluence. The Roman historian had the best means of information.

dose of poison. No proof of the fact appearing, I leave the story to shift for itself. Thus much is certain: during his illness, instead of formal messages, according to the usual practice of courts, the freedmen most in favour, and the principal physicians of the emperor, were assiduous in their visits. Was this the solicitude of friendship, or were these men the spies of state?

On the day that closed his life, while he was yet in the agony of death, the quickest intelligence of every symptom was conveyed to Domitian by messengers in waiting for the purpose. That so much industry was exerted to hasten news, which the emperor did not wish to hear, no man believed. As soon as the event was known, Domitian put on an air of sorrow, and even affected to be touched with real regret. The object of his hatred was now no more, and joy was a passion which he could more easily disguise than the fears that distracted him. The will of the deceased gave him entire satisfaction; he was named joint heir with Agricola's excellent wife, and his most dutiful daughter, and this the tyrant considered as a voluntary mark of the testator's love and esteem. A mind like his, debauched and blinded by continued flattery, could not perceive, that by a good father none but an evil prince is ever called to a share in the succession.

XLIV. Agricola was born on the ides of June, in the third consulship of Caligula; he died on the tenth before the calends of September, during the consulship of Collega and Priscus, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.[1] As to his person, about which in future times there may be some curiosity, he was of that make and stature, which may be said to be graceful, not majestic. His countenance had not that commanding air which strikes with awe; a sweetness of expression was the prevailing character. You would have been easily convinced that he was a good man, and you would have been willing to believe him a great one.

Though he was snatched away in the vigour of life, yet if we consider the space his glory filled in the eyes of mankind, he may be said to have died full of years. Possessing all the best enjoyments, that spring from virtue, and from virtue only; adorned with every dignity, which either the consular rank or triumphal honours could bestow; what further advantage could he derive from fortune? Immoderate riches he never desired, content with an honourable independence. His wife and daughter left in a state of security, his honours blooming round him, his fame unblemished, his relations flourishing, and every tie of friendship preserved to the last, he may be considered as supremely happy, that he did not live to see the tempestuous times that soon after followed. It is indeed true, that to have reached the present auspicious era, and to have seen Trajan[2] in possession of the imperial dignity, would have been the happy consummation of his wishes. To that effect we have often heard him, with a kind of prophetic spirit, express his sentiments; but to counterbalance his untimely end, it is at least some consolation, that he escaped that black and horrible period, in which Domitian no longer broke out in sudden fits and starts of cruelty, but, throwing off all restraint, proceeded in one continued course of unrelenting fury, as if determined to crush the commonwealth at a blow.[3]

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1 There seems, in this place, to be some mistake, not, however, imputable to Tacitus, but, more probably, to the transcribers, who, in their manuscript, might easily write LVI. instead of LIV. Caligula's third consulship was A. U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Agricola was born on the thirteenth of June in that year: he died on the 10th of the calends of September, that is the 23d of August, in the consulship of Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priscus, A. U. C. 846, A. D. 93. According to this account, Agricola, on the 13th of June, A. U. 846, entered on the fifty-fourth year of his age, and died in the month of August following. It is, therefore, probable, that the copyists, as already observed, inserted in their manuscript FIFTY-SIX for FIFTY-FOUR. This supposition admitted, Tacitus, who, in a matter of near concern, was not likely to be guilty of an error in his calculation, may be rightly understood, and the commentators will be freed from all their difficulties. The character that follows is a miniature picture by a masterly hand. Cornelius Nepos has a passage not unlike what is said of Agricola: When strangers beheld Agesilaus, they were tempted to despise him; but those, who were acquainted with his virtues, thought they could never admire him enough. "Ignoti faciem ejus cum intuerentur, contemnebant. Qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari satis." The difference is, Agricola was not despised by strangers; he had all the exteriors of a good man: but they who expected to find a form and stature adequate to his fame in arms, were disappointed, though willing to believe him a great, as well as a good man. The same thing happened to Alexander: Thalestris surveyed him with an undaunted countenance, thinking his figure by no means proportioned to his wide-extended fame. "Interrito vultu regem Thalestris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perlustrans." The historian gives the reason: Barbarians judge of men by their outward appearance, and think none capable of great exploits, but those whom nature has distinguished by the graces and the dignity of their figure. "Quippe hominibus barbaris ex corporum majestate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximia specie natura dignata est." Quintus Curtius, lib. vi. s. 13.

2 From the passage before us there is reason to conclude, that this tract was published when Trajan was in possession of the imperial dignity. See the introduction of those Notes.

3 Seneca gives the same account of Caligula; a man who meditated the destruction of the whole senate; who wished that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might glut his love of blood at a single stroke.

XLV. Agricola did not live to see the senate-house[4] invested by an armed force; the members of that august assembly surrounded by the prætorian bands; men of consular rank destroyed in one promiscuous carnage, and a number of illustrious women condemned to exile, or obliged to fly their country. Carus Metius, that detested informer, had as yet gained but a single victory.[5] The sanguinary voice of Messal-

"Homo qui de toto senatu trucidando cogitabat: qui optabat, ut populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet, ut scelera sua tot locis ac temporibus diducta, in unum ictum et unam diem cogeret." *De Ira*, lib. iii. s. 19. On the subject of Domitian's cruelty, Juvenal breaks out with his usual indignation. He represents the emperor at a cabinet council in his Alban villa, debating with his courtiers how an immense turbot was to be dressed. The poet concludes with wishing that the emperor had passed his days in that despicable manner, not in the slaughter of the best men in Rome.

> Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
> Tempora sævitiæ, clarus quibus abstulit urbi
> Illustresque animas impune, et vindice nullo:
> Sed perit, postquam cardonibus esse timendus
> Coperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.
> *Sat.* iv. ver. 153.

> What folly this! but, oh that all the rest
> Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest;
> And all that time such trifles had employ'd,
> In which so many nobles he destroy'd!
> He safe, they unrevenged, to the disgrace
> Of the surviving, tame, patrician race.
> But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
> Rise, who so many lords had slain, they slew.
> *Dryden's Juvenal.*

4 In a short time after the death of Agricola, towards the end of the year of Rome 846, the rage of Domitian broke out with collected violence, and like a tempest swept away numbers of both sexes, all distinguished by their virtues no less than by their illustrious rank. The senate-house was surrounded by the prætorian guards, the fathers sat amidst swords and javelins, and the will of the tyrant was a law. See this Tract, sect. ii. note. Suetonius, in the Life of Domitian, sect. x. says, that many of the senate fell a sacrifice, and among them several of consular rank. We find in the list Sallustius Lucullus, who has been mentioned in a note, sect. xl.; and Cerealis Civica, for whom see sect. xlii. and note. Salvidienus Orsitus was sent into exile, and there put to death by order of Domitian. Acilius Glabrio suffered for an extraordinary reason. In the year of his consulship, the emperor, without any respect for the dignity of a man then actually exercising the functions of the first office in the state, ordered him to enter the list in the public spectacles, and fight a lion for the diversion of the populace. The consul had the address to kill the ferocious beast; but, as he, who could conquer a lion, might slay a tyrant, he was banished, and put to death. Ælius Lamia, a man descended from an illustrious family, perished, as Suetonius informs us, on account of some innocent strokes of wit and pleasantry, that fell from him before Domitian obtained the sovereignty; *ob suspiciosos quidem, verum veteres et innocua jocos.* Salvinus Cocceianus was nephew to Otho. When that emperor saw his affairs ruined, and was resolved to end his days, his advice to his nephew was, Remember that Otho was your uncle; but do not remember it too much. "Ne patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut obliviscereturunquam, aut nimium meminisset." *Hist.* lib. ii. s. 48. Under a tyrant like Domitian, to seem to forget would have been true policy; but the nephew celebrated the birth-day of his uncle, and that was a state crime. Metius Pomposianus had procured geographical charts of all the nations then known, and carried about him the speeches of kings and generals, extracted from Livy. For this conduct he was banished to an island, and there destroyed. Herennius Senecio, for the praise of Helvidius Priscus, and Arulenus Rusticus, for that of Pætus Thrasea, were victims to the insatiate cruelty of the tyrant. See this Tract, s. 2. and notes. Besides others of inferior note, Flavius Clemens, a near relation of the emperor, and jointly consul with him, A. U. C. 848, A. D. 95, was condemned, though a man, as Suetonius has it, contemptible for his sluggish indolence: *contemptissimæ inertiæ.* Dio assigns the reason: he was accused of atheism, like many others who had embraced the Jewish religion. In the Pagan style of that age, the double charge of atheism and Judaism implied that Clemens renounced the gods of Rome for the Christian religion. In this general massacre the female sex did not escape. Arria, the widow of Pætus Thrasea; Fannia, the widow of Helvidius Priscus; and Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Flavius Clemens; were driven into banishment. That Agricola did not live to see the calamities of his country, was some consolation to Tacitus, who, it should seem, had his eye on a fine passage, in which Cicero makes a similar reflection on the death of Crassus, the celebrated orator. His death, he says, was a sore affliction to his family, a wound to the commonwealth, and matter of grief to all good men. But the times that followed were such, that his death may be called a blessing sent down by the special favour of the gods. He did not live to see Italy involved in a general war; the senate rent and torn by factions; the first men in the state perpetrating the worst of crimes; his daughter left disconsolate; her husband driven into exile; the flight of Marius, his return to Rome, and the slaughter that followed. "Fuit hoc luctuosum suis, acerbum patriæ, grave bonis omnibus. Sed ii tamen rempublicam casus secuti sunt, ut mihi non erepta Lucio Crasso a diis immortalibus vita, sed donata mors esse videatur. Non vidit flagrantem bello Italiam, non ardentem invidia senatum, non sceleris nefarii principes civitatis reos, non luctum filiæ, non exilium generi, non acerbissimam Caii Marii fugam, non illam post reditum ejus cædem omnium crudelissimam." Cicero *De Oratore*, lib. iii. s. 8.

5 Metius Carus was one of the tribe of informers; it was he that conducted the prosecution against Senecio; see this Tract, sect. 2. note. Pliny the consul has preserved this man for the execration of posterity. He tells us, that when Regulus, another notorious prosecutor, inveighed in open court against the memory of Senecio, this fellow had the impudence to stand up, and demand of Regulus, "What have you to do with my dead men? Do I disturb the ashes of Crassus or Camerinus, whom you accused in Nero's reign? Lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam intemperanter, ut dixerit ei Metius Carus, Quid tibi cum meis mortuis? Numquid ego aut Crasso aut Camerino molestus sum?" Plin. lib. i. epist. 5. Carus has not escaped the indignation of Juvenal.

> Considei nova cum veniat lectica *Matho*nis,
> Plena ipso; et post hunc magni delator amici,
> Et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
> Quod superest: quem *Mosca* timet, quem mensa palpat
> *Carus.* *Juv. Sat.* i. ver. 33.

> When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
> With his fat paunch fills his new-fashion'd chair;

inus was heard in the Albanian citadel only;[1] and even Massa Bebius[2] was at that time labouring under a prosecution. In a short time after, with our own hands[3] we dragged Helvi-

And after him the wretch, in pomp convey'd,
Whose evidence his noble friend betray'd;
Whom Massa calls the terror of the age,
And even *Carus* bribes away his rage.

During the life of Agricola, we are told by Tacitus that METIUS CARUS had gained but one victory. It seems, however, that he continued to flourish in his iniquity till the reign of Nerva, when the virtue of that emperor reformed all abuses, and, by a just and wise administration, established the peace and good order of society.

1 The exact name of this man was Catullus Messalinus. Pliny the younger has given his portrait. He says, that Nerva, the emperor, gave a supper to a select number of friends, and that VEIENTO (an informer in Domitian's time) was admitted to be one of the party. The discourse turned upon CATULLUS MESSALINUS, who, being blind, added to that misfortune a cruel disposition. He was void of fear, of shame, and pity, and therefore Domitian made use of him as one of his instruments against every man of worth. All who were at table talked of the sanguinary counsels of this abandoned wretch. Nerva asked, "What think you would be his case, were he now alive?" Mauricus (looking at Veiento) replied, "He would sup with us." "Cœnabat Nerva cum paucis: Veiento proximus, atque etiam in sinu recumbebat. Dixi omnia, cum hominem nominavi. Incidit sermo de CATULLO MESSALINO, qui luminibus orbatus, ingenio sævo mala cæcitatis addiderat. Non verebatur, non erubescebat, non miserabatur. Sæpius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quæ et ipsa cæca et improvida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. De hujus nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cœnam loquebantur. Tum ipse imperator, QUID PUTAMUS PASSURUM FUISSE, SI VIVERET? Et Mauricus, NONDUM CŒNARET." Lib. iv. ep. 22. Juvenal has embalmed this man for posterity. He describes him as one of Domitian's council, sitting in deep debate on the important subject of the prodigious turbot which had been presented to the emperor. Though blind, his admiration of the fish rose to ecstasy: he turned to the left, when it lay on his right, and gave his advice with the solemn wisdom of a privy councellor.

Et cum mortifero veniens Veiento *Catullo*,
Qui nunquam visus flagrabat amore puellæ,
Grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
Cæcus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
Dignus Arictino qui mendicaret ad asses,
Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.
Juven. Sat. iv.

Cunning Veiento next, and by his side
Bloody *Catullus* leaning on his guide;
Decrepit, yet a furious lover he,
And deeply smit with charms he could not see:
A monster, that even this worst age outvies,
Conspicuous, and above the common size;
A blind, base flatterer, from some bridge or gate
Raised to a murdering minister of state;
Deserving still to beg upon the road,
And bless each passing wagon, and its load.
Dryden's Juvenal.

The place where CATULLUS MESSALINUS attended Domitian in council, was a castle near the ancient Alba (now *Albano*,) about twelve miles from Rome. Juvenal says,

——Albanam dux magnus in arcem
Traxerat attonitos.——

It was in that retreat that Messalinus, at first, gave his advice: he was afterwards heard in the senate.

2 Bebius Massa took up the trade of an informer, and rose to eminence in guilt; but, at the time of Agricola's death, he was under a prosecution for rapine and extortion in the province of Bætica in Spain. Pliny the younger and his friend Herennius Senecio were appointed by the senate to conduct the cause in behalf of the province. Massa was found guilty, and his goods were ordered to be secured. It appeared soon after that the consuls were willing to listen to petitions on the part of Massa. Senecio was alarmed. He suspected an intended embezzlement of the culprit's effects, and, to prevent it, desired Pliny to join him in an application to the consuls. Pliny complied: they both attended the consuls. When they had urged all that was proper on the occasion, Massa thought himself aggrieved by the supererogatory zeal of Senecio; and to revenge himself, joined in the clamour against Senecio for writing the panegyric of Helvidius Priscus. Pliny relates the transaction to his friend Tacitus in the following manner: "Dederat me senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciæ Baeticæ contra Baebium Massam; damnatoque Massa, censuerat ut bona ejus publice custodirentur. Senecio, cum explorasset consules postulationibus vacaturos, convenit me, et Quæ concordia, inquit, injunctam nobis accusationem excuti sumus, hac adeamus consules, petamusque, ne bona dissipari sinant, quorum esse in custodia debent. Tum ego, Si fixum tibi istud ac deliberatum, sequar te, ut si quæ ex hoc invidia, non tua tantum sit. Venimus ad consules: dicit Senecio, Quæ res ferebat: aliqua subjungo. Vixdum conticueramus, et Massa, questus Senecionem non advocati fidem sed inimici amaritudinem implesse, impietatis reum postulat." Pliny, lib. vii. epist. 33. It was the wish of Pliny to have the facts inserted in the History of Domitian, which Tacitus was probably writing; but the work is lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of history. See in this Tract, sect. 2, note. Tacitus says that Massa was a pernicious enemy to all good men, and the cause of many calamities with which the public was sorely grieved. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 50. Martial says of Hermogenes, a fellow that pilfered wherever he was admitted, that he did not steal more napkins, than Massa did pieces of gold.

Hermogenes tantas mappparum, Pontica, fur est
Quantas nummorum vix, puto, Massa fuit.
Lib. xii. epig. 29.

3 The reader is not to imagine that this relates to Helvidius Priscus, who was banished, and murdered in exile, under the emperor Vespasian. See this Tract, sect. 2, note. If the apology which Suetonius (in Vespas. s. 15) makes for the conduct of Vespasian, be founded in truth, it is happy for the memory of the emperor: if otherwise, Vespasian, by his dissimulation, paid a compliment to virtue. Elizabeth played the same card in the execution of Queen Mary. The Helvidius mentioned in this place by Tacitus, was the son of the great and good man, so often celebrated by Tacitus. See his character, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 5. See also this Tract, sect. 2, note. Suetonius says, Domitian destroyed Helvidius the son, because, in a dramatic piece, called PARIS and ŒNONE, he threw out a sarcastic reflection on the divorce of the emperor. Sueton. *in Domit.* s. 10. Publicius Certus was the person who undertook the accusation of Helvidius the son, in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 847, A. D. 94. Pliny the younger relates the proceeding with indignation. He says, a great friendship subsisted between him and Helvidius the son; as great as he could cultivate with a person who, in dread

dius to a dungeon: our eyes beheld the distress and melancholy separation of Mauricus[3] and Rusticus;[4] we were stained with the innocent blood of Senecio.[5] Even Nero had the grace to turn away his eyes from the horrors of his reign. He commanded deeds of cruelty, but never was a spectator of the scene. Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be seen by him; while he kept a register of our sighs and groans. With that fiery visage,[6] of a dye so red, that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale languid countenance of the unhappy victims, who shuddered at his frown.

With you, Agricola, we may now congratulate: you are blessed, not only because your life was a career of glory, but because you were released, when it was happiness to die. From those, who attended your last moments, it is well known, that you met your fate with calm serenity; willing, as far as it depended on the last act of your life, that the prince should appear to be innocent. To your daughter and myself you left a load of affliction. We have lost a parent, and, in our distress, it is now an addition to our heartfelt sorrows, that we had it not in our power to watch the bed of sickness, to soothe the languor of declining nature, to gaze upon you with earnest affection, to see the expiring glance, and receive your last embrace. Your dying words would have been ever dear to us; your commands we should have treasured up, and graved them on our hearts. This sad comfort we have lost, and the wound, for that reason, pierces deeper. Divided from you by a long absence, we had lost you[7] four years before. Every tender office,

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of those dangerous times, endeavoured, by living in obscurity and retirement, to conceal his excellent character, and no less remarkable virtues. And, besides, among the many flagitious acts of those deplorable times nothing appeared to him more atrocious, than that a senator, in the senate, should lay hands upon a senator; a prætor, upon a man of consular dignity: a judge, upon a person accused. "Porro inter multa scelera multorum, nullum atrocius videbatur, quam quod in senatu, senator senatori, prætorius consulari, reo judex manus intulisset." Lib. ix. ep. 13. This explains what Tacitus means, when he says, *our own hands brought Helvidius to prison.* As the fathers suffered this indignity, Tacitus (who was himself a senator) oratorically says the whole order did it; our hands dragged him to prison. It will be proper to add, that Pliny, as soon as Domitian was put to death, determined to revenge the cause of his injured friend. With that intent, in the very beginning of Nerva's reign, he entered the senate, and there brought forward his charge against Publicius Certus. The whole assembly was thrown into an uproar, and Pliny was, for some time, prevented from pursuing the thread of his speech. In the modern phrase, he was *called to order* by the consul. When it came regularly to his turn, he renewed the charge, and, by his eloquence, wrought such a wonderful change of sentiment in the minds of the fathers, that he carried his point, which was to hinder Certus from enjoying the honour of the consulship, to which he then stood next in succession, for the year of Rome 851, A. D. 98. Pliny's accusation was in 97. The effect was answerable to the wish of the public-spirited orator; another consul was appointed in the room of CERTUS, who, in a short time after, was seized with his last illness, and died, according to the report of the time, crying out in his delirious fits, that he saw Pliny pursuing him sword in hand. See the whole account, b. ix. ep. 13.

4 Mauricus and Aurelenus Rusticus were brothers, united not only by the ties of natural affection, but by their manners and congenial virtues. They were cruelly separated in the sight of the senate, when Rusticus was hurried away to execution, and Mauricus ordered into banishment. An account of the former has been given, sect. 2, note. The latter was restored to his country in the beginning of Nerva's reign, as appears in Pliny, b. i. ep. 5, where his character is said to be that of a man of sound sense and judgment, formed by experience, and by his deep sagacity able from past events to weigh and measure the future. See his answer to Nerva, this sect. note.

5 The senate, amidst all these tragic issues, sat without voice or sentiment; a timid and speechless assembly, as Pliny has it, *Curia timida et elinguis.* They submitted, with passive obedience, to the tyrant's will; and therefore Tacitus says that their hands were imbrued in the blood of Senecio. See sect. 2, note.

6 Domitian's complexion was of so deep a red, that nothing could add to his natural colour, and he was therefore said by Pliny to be a man of unblushing arrogance. See sect. 39, note. The critics have objected to Tacitus, that, in this place, he seems too fond of an antithesis: he places, they say, the settled crimson of a tyrant's countenance which fortified him against all shame, in opposition to the pale sickly horror of wretches who dreaded their final doom from his approach. But if (as we have seen, sect. 29, note) Pliny, who studied no contrast, thought the fact worth recording, by what law in Quintilian, or any other good judge of fine writing, was Tacitus to be precluded from an imitation of truth and nature? The fixed vermillion of the cheek was peculiar to Domitian: with other men, a sudden emotion of anger forces the blood into the face, and nature gives that unerring signal. Seneca has observed, that men are then chiefly terrible, when the face reddens, and shame has thrown out all its symptoms. Sylla was then most to be dreaded, when his blood rushed into his countenance. "Quidam, nunquam magis quam cum erubuerint, timendi sunt; quasi omnem verecundiam effuderint. Sylla tunc erat violentissimus, cum faciem ejus sanguis invaserat." Seneca, ep. xi. This was not the case of Domitian: a settled ferocity glowed on his cheeks, and the men, who knew themselves marked out for destruction, trembled at his approach.

7 Tacitus and his wife, at the time of Agricola's death, had been four years absent from Rome; on what account we are no where told. Some critics suppose, that he was banished by Domitian; but this seems to be without foundation. Lipsius is of opinion, that his retreat was voluntary; being a man incapable of beholding, with a passive spirit, the sufferings of his fellow-citizens, under a bloody and destructive tyrant. The whole of this passage, in which the author addresses himself to

we are well convinced, thou best of parents, was duly performed by a most affectionate wife; but fewer tears bedewed your cold remains, and, in the parting moment, your eyes looked up for other objects, but they looked in vain, and closed for ever.

XLVI. If in another world there is a pious mansion for the blessed;[1] if, as the wisest men have thought, the soul is not extinguished with the body; may you enjoy a state of eternal felicity! From that station behold your disconsolate family; exalt our minds from fond regret and unavailing grief to the contemplation of your virtues. Those we must not lament; it were impiety to sully them with a tear. To cherish their memory, to embalm them with our praises, and, if our frail condition will permit, to emulate your bright example,[2] will be the truest mark of our respect, the best tribute your family can offer. Your wife will thus preserve the memory of the best of husbands, and thus your daughter will prove her filial piety. By dwelling constantly on your words and actions, they will have an illustrious character before their eyes, and, not content with the bare image of your mortal frame, they will have, what is more valuable, the form and features of your mind. I do not mean by this to censure the custom of preserving in brass or marble the shape and stature of eminent men;

Agricola, is, perhaps, as beautiful, as pathetic, and as elegant an apostrophe, as can be found in Tully, or any of the most admired orators. When the author says, *In the last glimpse of light, you looked round with an asking eye for something that was absent*, NOVISSIMA IN LUCE DESIDERAVERE ALIQUID OCULI TUI, we feel the stroke of tenderness; we are transported in fancy to the bedside, and we love to gaze on the expiring hero. If Warburton, in the conclusion of the Essay on Man, could find the five sources of the sublime, we may with better reason say, this apostrophe contains them all. Brotier quotes a passage from the late King of Prussia's funeral oration on prince Henry of Prussia, in which he finds either a fine imitation of Tacitus, or the sympathy of congenial minds. "O prince! qui saviez combien vous m'etiez cher; combien votre personne m'etoit precieuse; si la voix des vivans peut se faire entendre des morts, pretez attention a une voix, qui ne vous fut pas inconnue; souffrez que ce fragile monument, le seul, helas! que je puis eriger a votre memoire, vous soit eleve." See *Eloge du Prince Henri, par S. M. le Roi du Prusse.*

1 Tacitus, in this place, speaks hypothetically, but with an apparent disposition to embrace the system of the best and wisest men, and, it may be added, the persuasion of mankind in every age and nation. That the soul of man is not extinguished with his animal life, but passes, in that awful moment, into some new region of existence, or transmigrates into some other being, has been, at all times, the opinion, or the conjecture, or the wish, of the rudest and most savage tribes; and this universal consent, Cicero observes in the first Tusculan, is the law of nature speaking in the human heart. "Omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est." Men of study and deep speculation adopted what they saw rooted in the mass of the people: and, having no better guide than the dim light of nature, they established their schools of philosophy, and taught their different systems. The Socratic and Platonic professors declared for the immortality of the soul, and some of their proofs are short of nothing but revelation. The Stoic sect did not embrace the doctrine in its full extent: according to their hypothesis, certain chosen spirits might have their existence prolonged in a future world, but not to eternity. They allowed us, says Cicero, the duration of a crow, admitting that the soul may exist hereafter, but not for ever. "Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur tamquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos: semper, negant." *First Tusculan*, s. 32. It was reserved for Epicurus to deny the attributes of the Supreme Being, and to teach the gloomy doctrine of annihilation. That philosopher, however, did not long make head against the general sense of mankind. He gained some apostates; but their writings have long since disappeared, and their tenets are now supported by the poetry of Lucretius only. Macrobius, in his remarks on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS of Cicero, has mentioned the triumph of a better and more moral doctrine. The immateriality, he says, as well as the immortality, of the soul, has gained the general assent. "Obtinuit non minus de incorporalitate animæ, quam de immortalitate sententia." Cicero, in various parts of his works, maintained the same doctrine, and in one admirable sentence seems to have compressed the whole force of the argument. That, he says, which feels, which thinks, which deliberates, and wills, is of heavenly origin, and, for that reason, must be immortal. "Quidquid est illud, quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cœleste et divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est." But this doctrine, amidst the contentions of dogmatical sects, was far from being established. Wise men embraced it. *Ut sapientibus placet*, says Tacitus; and he may be allowed to have embraced the most orthodox opinion. If the immortality of the soul was not a settled article of his creed, at a time when the light of revelation was not yet diffused over the Christian world, it is however probable, that he, who possessed a comprehensive and sublime understanding, was not content with the grovelling notion of falling into nothing, but aspired, and wished, and hoped, to enjoy a future state of immortality. He was conscious of the dignity of human nature, and thence proceeded the fine address to the departed spirit of his father-in-law.

2 The text is left by the copyists in a mangled condition. The words, as they stand, cannot be reduced to any kind of sense. *Admirationes te potius, temporabilibus laudibus, et si natura suppediteť*, MILITUM *decoremus*. Lipsius and Grotius have contributed their assistance. The former reads, *Admirationes te potius, te temporabilibus laudibus;* and (instead of *militum*, which is totally unintelligible), Grotius adds, *similitudine decoremus*. Out of the word *similitudine* a bad transcriber might make *militum*. La Bletterie thinks it might be *æmulatu*, and that conjecture has been adopted in the translation.

3 Cicero has a sentiment analogous to what is here said by Tacitus. Servius Sulpicius could leave no monument equal to the portrait of his manners, his virtue, his constancy, and his talents, which still survived in his son. "Nullum monumentum clarius Servius Sulpicius relinquere potuerat, quam effigiem morum suorum, virtutis, constantiæ, ingenii, filium." See the *Tenth Philippic*. Martial, in an elegant epigram, wishes that the painter's art could delineate the manners and

but busts and statues, like their originals, are frail and perishable. The soul is formed of finer elements, and its inward form is not to be expressed by the hand of an artist with unconscious matter: our manners and our morals may in some degree trace the resemblance. All of Agricola, that gained our love, and raised our admiration, still subsists, and will ever subsist, preserved in the minds of men, the register of ages, and the records of fame. Others, who figured on the stage of life, and were the worthies of a former day, will sink, for want of a faithful historian,[4] into the common lot of oblivion, inglorious, and unremembered; whereas Agricola delineated with truth, and fairly consigned to posterity,[5] will survive himself, and triumph over the injuries of time.

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the mind of his friend: that would make the best picture in the world.

> Ars utinam mores animumque effingere posset;
> Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.
>
> Lib. x. epig. 32.

4 So we read in Horace:

> Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
> Multi sed omnes illacrymabiles
> Urgentur, ignotique longa
> Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
>
> Lib. iv. ode 9.

> Vain was the chief's, the sage's pride;
> They had no post, and they died:
> In vain they schemed, in vain they bled;
> They had no post, and are dead. *Pope.*

5 Pliny, the consul, returned thanks to Tacitus for desiring an account of the elder Pliny's death, that he might transmit it with truth to posterity. His uncle, he says, if celebrated by such a writer, will be immortal. Pliny, b. vi. epist. 16. That part, however, of our author's works has not come down to us, and the prophecy has so far failed. The prediction of Tacitus is completely verified: Agricola is rendered immortal; he lives in the historian's page, and will continue to do so, as long as men retain a taste for the best and truest model of biography.

DIALOGUE CONCERNING ORATORY,

OR THE CAUSES OF

CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.

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10. *Maternus acknowledges that he was disgusted by the shameful practices that prevailed at the bar, and therefore resolved to devote the rest of his time to poetry and the muses.* 11. *An apology for the rhetoricians. The praise of Quintilian. True eloquence died with Cicero.* 13. *The loss of liberty was the ruin of genuine oratory. Demosthenes flourished under a free government*—The original goes on from this place, to the end of the Dialogue.—XXXVI. *Eloquence flourishes most in times of public tumult—The crimes of turbulent citizens supply the orator with his best materials.*—XXXVII. *In the time of the republic, oratorical talents were necessary qualifications, and without them no man was deemed worthy of being advanced to the magistracy.*—XXXVIII. *The Roman orators were not confined in point of time; they might extend their speeches to what length they thought proper, and could even adjourn—Pompey abridged the liberty of speech, and limited the time.*—XXXIX. *The very dress of the advocates under the emperors was prejudicial to eloquence.*—XL. *True eloquence springs from the vices of men, and never was known to exist under a calm and settled government.*—XLI. *Eloquence changes with the times—Every age has its own peculiar advantages, and invidious comparisons are unnecessary.*—XLII. *Conclusion of the dialogue.*

The time of this dialogue was the sixth of Vespasian's reign.

Year of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
828	75	Vespasian, 6th time; Titus his son, 4th time.

A

DIALOGUE CONCERNING ORATORY,

OR THE CAUSES OF

CORRUPT ELOQUENCE.*

I. You have often inquired of me, my good friend Justus Fabius,[1] how and from what causes it has proceeded, that while ancient times display a race of great and splendid orators, the

* The scene of the following Dialogue is laid in the sixth year of Vespasian, A. U. C. 828. A. D. 75. The commentators are much divided in their opinions about the real author; his work they all agree is a masterpiece in the kind; written with taste and judgment; entertaining, profound, and elegant. But whether it is to be ascribed to Tacitus, Quintilian, or any other person whom they cannot name, is a question upon which they have exhausted a store of learning. They have given us, according to their custom, much controversy, and little decision. In this field of conjecture Lipsius led the way. He published, in 1574, the first good edition of Tacitus, with judicious emendations of the text, and notes to illustrate every passage which he thought wanted explanation. He was, beyond all question, a man of genius and great erudition. He, and Casaubon, and Scaliger, were called the triumvirate of literature. Lipsius, however, stands distinguished by his taste and his politeness. Commentators in general seem to think, as Doctor Bentley expressed it, that *they are riding to posterity upon the back of an ancient;* and being well mounted, they imagine that to prance, and show all their paces, and dash through thick and thin, and bespatter all who come in their way, is the true dignity of a critic. Lipsius was not of this class: to great learning he united a fine taste, and polished manners. He thought for himself, and he decided with candour; never dogmatical, or presuming to dictate to others. He says expressly, *Dico me; nam aliis nihil præco quod sequantur.* With regard to the present dialogue, had it not come down to us in a mutilated state, he pronounces it in point of style, beauty of invention, and sound judgment, equal to the best models of antiquity. But who was the real author, seems to him a problem not easy to be solved. He sees nothing of the manner peculiar to Tacitus: in the place of brevity, he finds diffusive periods, and the rich, the florid, and the amplified sentence, instead of the concise, the close, and nervous. An author he admits, may, by continual practice, acquire a cast of thought and expression not to be found in his early productions; but still he must retain some traces of his original manner. The age of Tacitus does not seem to him to correspond with the time, when the speakers in the Dialogue met to discuss the question. Tacitus, he says, was promoted by Vespasian, and from that circumstance he infers that he was not so young, as the writer of the Dialogue represents himself in the first section. He once thought that Quintilian had the best claim, since that writer, in the introduction to the sixth book of his Institutes, says expressly that he published a treatise on the subject: "Librum, quem de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ emisi:" but upon due reflection, Lipsius fairly owns, that Quintilian, in the sixth of Vespasian, was far from being a young man. He adds, whether it be ascribed to Tacitus or Quintilian, no inconvenience can arise, since the tract itself is beautiful: but, as to himself, his doubts are not removed: he still remains in suspense. "Cum multa dixerim, claudo tamen omnia hoc responso; MIHI NON LIQUERE." Gronovius Pichena, Ryckius, Rhenanus, and others, have entered warmly into the dispute. An elegant modern writer has hazarded a new conjecture. The last of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne's Letters is a kind of preface to Mr. Melmoth's Translation of the Dialogue before us. He says, of all the conversation pieces, whether ancient or modern, either of the moral or polite kind, he knows not one more elegantly written than the little anonymous Dialogue concerning the rise and decline of eloquence among the Romans. He calls it anonymous, though he is aware, that it has been ascribed not only to Tacitus and Quintilian, but even to Suetonius. The reasons, however, are so inconclusive, that he is inclined to give it to the younger Pliny. He thinks it perfectly coincides with Pliny's age; it is addressed to one of his particular friends, and is marked with similar expressions and sentiments. But, with all due submission to Mr. Melmoth, his new candidate cannot long hold us in suspense. It appears in the account of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in which Pliny's uncle lost his life, A. U. C. 832. A. D. 79, that Pliny was then eighteen years old, and, as the Dialogue was in 828, he could then be no more than fourteen; a time of life, when he was neither fit to be admitted to a learned debate, nor capable of understanding it. Besides this, two letters to his friend FABIUS are still extant; one in the first book, epist. 11; the other, book vii. epist. 2. No mention of the Dialogue occurs in either of those letters, nor in any other part of his works; a circumstance, which could scarce have happened to a writer so

present age, dispirited, and without any claim to the praise of eloquence, has scarcely retained the name of an orator. By that appellation we now distinguish none but those who flourished in a former period. To the eminent of the present day, we give the title of speakers, pleaders, advocates, patrons, in short, every thing but orators.

The inquiry is in its nature delicate; tending, if we are not able to contend with antiquity, to impeach our genius, and if we are not willing, to arraign our judgment. An answer to so nice a question is more than I should venture to undertake, were I to rely altogether upon myself: but it happens, that I am able to state the sentiments of men distinguished by their eloquence, such as it is in modern times; having, in the early part of my life, been present at their conversation on the very subject now before us. What I have to offer, will not be the result of my own thinking: it is the work of memory only; a mere recital of what fell from the most celebrated orators of their time: a set of men, who thought with subtility, and expressed themselves with energy and precision; each, in his turn, assigning different but probable causes, at times insisting on the same, and, in the course of the debate, maintaining his own proper character, and the peculiar cast of his mind. What they said upon the occasion, I shall relate, as nearly as may be, in the style and manner of the several speakers, observing always the regular course and order of the controversy. For a controversy it certainly was, where the speakers of the present age did not want an advocate, who supported their cause with zeal, and, after treating antiquity with sufficient freedom, and even derision, assigned the palm of eloquence to the practisers of modern times.

II. Curiatius Maternus[2] gave a public reading of his tragedy of Cato. On the following day a report prevailed, that the piece had given umbrage to the men in power. The author, it was said, had laboured to display his favourite character in the brightest colours; anxious for the fame of his hero, but regardless of himself. This soon became the topic of public conversation. Maternus received a visit from Marcus Aper[3] and Julius Secundus,[4]

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tenderly anxious about his literary character, if the work in question had been the production of his pen. Brotier, the last, and, it may be said, the best of all the editors of Tacitus, is of opinion that a tract, so beautiful and judicious, ought not, without better reasons than have been as yet assigned, to be adjudged from Tacitus to any other writer. He relies much on the first edition, which was published at Venice (1468), containing the last six books of the Annals (the first six not being then found), the five books of the History, and the Dialogue, entitled, *Cornelii Tacitii Equitis Romani Dialogus de Oratoribus claris.* There were also in the Vatican, manuscript copies of the Dialogue *de Oratoribus.* In 1515, when the first six Annals were found in Germany, a new edition, under the patronage of Leo X. was published by Beroaldus, carefully collated with the manuscript, which was afterwards placed in the Florentine Library. Those early authorities preponderate with Brotier against all modern conjecture; more especially, since the age of Tacitus agrees with the time of the Dialogue. He was four years older than his friend Pliny, and, at eighteen, might properly be allowed by his friends to be of their party. In two years afterwards (A. U. 830), he married Agricola's daughter, and he expressly says, (Life of Agricola, sect. ix.) that he was then a very young man. The arguments drawn by the several commentators from the difference of style, Brotier thinks are of no weight. The style of a young author will naturally differ from what he has settled by practice at an advanced period of life. This has been observed in many eminent writers, and in none more than Lipsius himself. His language, in the outset, was easy, flowing, and elegant; but, as he advanced in years, it became stiff, abrupt, and harsh. Tacitus relates a conversation on a literary subject; and in such a piece, who can expect to find the style of an historian or an annalist? for these reasons Brotier thinks that this Dialogue may, with good reason, be ascribed to Tacitus. The translator enters no farther into the controversy, than to say, that in a case where certainty cannot be obtained, we must rest satisfied with the best evidence the nature of the thing will admit. The dispute is of no importance; for, as Lipsius says, whether we give the Dialogue to Quintilian or to Tacitus, no inconvenience can arise. Whoever was the author, it is a performance of uncommon beauty.

Before we close this introduction, it will not be improper to say a word or two about Brotier's supplement. In the wreck of ancient literature a considerable part of this Dialogue has perished, and, by consequence, a chasm is left, much to be lamented by every reader of taste. To avoid the inconvenience of a broken context, Brotier has endeavoured to compensate for the loss. What he has added, will be found in the progress of the work; and as it is executed by the learned editor with great elegance, and equal probability, it is hoped that the insertion of it will be more agreeable to the reader, than a dull pause of melancholy regret.

1 Justus Fabius was consul A. U. C. 864, A. D. 111. But as he did not begin the year, his name does not appear in the Fasti Consulares. There are two letters to him from his friend Pliny; the first, lib. i. epist. 11; the other, lib. vii. ep. 2. It is remarkable, that in the last, the author talks of sending some of his writings for his friend's perusal; *quæram quid potissimum ex nugis meis tibi exhibeam;* but not a word is said about the decline of eloquence.

2 Concerning Maternus nothing is known with any kind of certainty. Dio relates that a sophist of that name, was put to death by Domitian, for a school declamation against tyrants: but not one of the commentators ventures to assert that he was the *Curiatius Maternus,* who makes so conspicuous a figure in the Dialogue before us.

3 No mention is made of Marcus Aper, either by Quintilian or Pliny. It is supposed that he was father of Marcus Flavius Aper, who was substituted consul A. U. C. 863, A. D. 120. His oratorical character, and that of Secundus, as we find them drawn in this section, are not unlike what we are told by Cicero of Crassus and Antonius. Crassus, he says, was not willing to be

both men of genius, and the first ornaments of the forum. I was, at that time, a constant attendant on those eminent men. I heard them, not only in their scenes of public business, but, feeling an inclination to the same studies, I followed them with all the ardour of youthful emulation. I was admitted to their private parties; I heard their debates, and the amusement of their social hours: I treasured up their wit, and their sentiments on the various topics which they had discussed in conversation. Respected as they were, it must, however, be acknowledged that they did not escape the malignity of criticism. It was objected to Secundus, that he had no command of words, no flow of language; and to Aper that he was indebted for his fame, not to art or literature, but to the natural powers of a vigorous understanding. The truth is, the style of the former was remarkable for its purity; concise, yet free and copious: and the latter was sufficiently versed in all branches of general erudition. It might be said of him, that he despised literature, not that he wanted it. He thought, perhaps, that by scorning the aid of letters, and by drawing altogether from his own fund, his fame would stand on a more solid foundation.

III. We went together to pay our visit to Maternus. Upon entering his study, we found him with the tragedy, which he had read on the preceding day, lying before him. Secundus began: And are you then so little affected by the censure of malignant critics, as to persist in cherishing a tragedy which has given so much offence? Perhaps you are revising the piece, and, after retrenching certain passages, intend to send your Cato into the world, I will not say improved, but certainly less obnoxious. There lies the poem, said Maternus; you may, if you think proper, peruse it with all its imperfections on its head. If Cato has omitted any thing, Thyestes,[5] at my next reading, shall atone for all deficiencies. I have formed the fable of a tragedy on that subject: the plan is warm in my imagination, and, that I may give my whole time to it, I now am eager to despatch an edition of Cato. Marcus Aper interposed: And are you, indeed, so enamoured of your dramatic muse, as to renounce your oratorical character, and the honours of your profession, in order to sacrifice your time, I think it was lately to Media, and now to Thyestes? Your friends, in the mean time, expect your patronage; the colonies[6] invoke your aid, and the municipal cities invite you to the bar. And surely the weight of so many causes may be deemed sufficient, without this new solicitude imposed upon you by Domitius[7] or Cato. And

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thought destitute of literature, but he wished to have it said of him, that he despised it, and preferred the good sense of the Romans to the refinements of Greece. Antonius, on the other hand, was of opinion that his fame would rise to greater magnitude, if he was considered as a man wholly illiterate, and void of education. In this manner they both expected to increase their popularity; the former by despising the Greeks, and the latter by not knowing them. "Fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam illa despicere, et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Græcis anteferre. Antonius autem probabiliorem populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omnino didicisse nunquam putaretur; atque ita se uterque graviorem fore, si alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Græcos videretur." Cicero De Orat. lib. ii. cap. 1.

4 Quintilian makes honourable mention of Julius Secundus, who, if he had not been prematurely cut off, would have transmitted his name to posterity among the most celebrated orators. He would have added, and he was daily doing it, whatever was requisite to complete his oratorical genius; and all that could be desired, was more vigour in argument, and more attention to matter and sentiment, than to the choice of words. But he died too soon, and his fame was, in some degree, intercepted. He has, notwithstanding, left a considerable name. His diction was rich and copious; he explained every thing with grace and elegance; his periods flowed with a suavity that charmed his audience; his language, when metaphorical, was bold, yet accurate; and, if he hazarded an unusual phrase, he was justified by the energy with which his meaning was conveyed. "Julio Secundo, si longior contigisset ætas, clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret. Adjecisset enim, atque adjiciebat, cæteris virtutibus suis, quod desiderari potest; id est autem, ut esset multo magis pugnax, et sæpius ad curam rerum ab elocutione respiceret. Cæterum interceptus quoque magnum sibi vindicat locum. Ea est facundia, tanta in explicando, quod velit, gratia; tam candidum, et lene, et speciosum dicendi genus; tanta verborum, etiam quæ assumpta sunt, proprietas; tanta in quibusdam, ex periculo petitis, significantia." Quintil. lib. x. s. 1. It is remarkable, that Quintilian, in his list of Roman orators, has neither mentioned Maternus, nor Marcus Aper. The Dialogue, for that reason, seems to be improperly ascribed to him: men who figure so much in the inquiry concerning oratory, would not have been omitted by the critic who thought their conversation worth recording.

5 Thyestes was a common and popular subject of ancient tragedy.

> Indignatur item privatis, ac prope socco
> Dignis carminibus narrari cœna Thyestæ.
> *Horat. Ars Poet.* ver. 90.

6 It was the custom of the colonies and municipal towns, to pay their court to some great orator at Rome, in order to obtain his patronage, whenever they should have occasion to apply to the senate for a redress of grievances.

7 Domitius was another subject of tragedy, taken from the Roman story. Who he was, does not clearly appear. Brotier thinks it was Domitius, the avowed enemy of Julius Cæsar, who moved in the senate for a law to recall that general from the command of the army in Gaul, and, afterwards, on the breaking out of the civil war, fell bravely at the battle of Pharsalia. See Suetonius, Life of Nero, section 2. Such a character might furnish the subject of a tragedy. The Roman poets were in the habit of enriching their drama with domestic occurrences; and the practice was applauded by Horace.

must you thus waste all your time, amusing yourself for ever with scenes of fictitious distress, and still labouring to add to the fables of Greece the incidents and characters of the Roman story?

IV. The sharpness of that reproof, replied Maternus, would, perhaps, have disconcerted me. if, by frequent repetition, it had not lost its sting. To differ on this subject is grown familiar to us both. Poetry, it seems, is to expect no quarter: you wage an incessant war against the followers of that pleasing art; and I, who am charged with deserting my clients, have yet every day the cause of poetry to defend. But we have now a fair opportunity, and I embrace it with pleasure, since we have a person present, of ability to decide between us; a judge, who will either lay me under an injunction to write no more verses, or, as I rather hope, encourage me, by his authority, to renounce for ever the dry employment of forensic causes (in which I have had my share of drudgery), that I may, for the future, be at leisure to cultivate the sublime and sacred eloquence of the tragic muse.

V. Secundus desired to be heard: I am aware, he said, that Aper may refuse me as an umpire. Before he states his objections, let me follow the example of all fair and upright judges, who, in particular cases, when they feel a partiality for one of the contending parties, desire to be excused from hearing the cause. The friendship and habitual intercourse, which I have ever cultivated with Saleius Bassus,[1] that excellent man, and no less excellent poet, are well known: and let me add, if poetry is to be arraigned, I know no client that can offer such handsome bribes.

My business, replied Aper, is not with Saleius Bassus: let him, and all of his description, who, without talents for the bar, devote their time to the muses, pursue their favourite amusement without interruption. But Maternus must not think to escape in the crowd. I single him out from the rest, and since we are now before a competent judge, I call upon him to answer, how it happens, that a man of his talents, formed by nature to reach the heights of manly eloquence, can think of renouncing a profession, which not only serves to multiply friendships, but to support them with reputation: a profession, which enables us to conciliate the esteem of foreign nations, and (if we regard our own interest) lays open the road to the first honours of the state; a profession, which, besides the celebrity that it gives within the walls of Rome, spreads an illustrious name throughout the wide extent of the empire.

If it be wisdom to make the ornament and happiness of life the end and aim of our actions, what can be more advisable than to embrace an art, by which we are enabled to protect our friends; to defend the cause of strangers; and succour the distressed? Nor is this all: the eminent orator is a terror to his enemies: envy and malice tremble, while they hate him. Secure in his own strength, he knows how to ward off every danger. His own genius is his protection; a perpetual guard, that watches him; an invincible power, that shields him from his enemies.

In the calm seasons of life, the true use of oratory consists in the assistance which it affords to our fellow-citizens. We then behold the triumph of eloquence. Have we reason to be alarmed for ourselves, the sword and breastplate are not a better defence in the heat of battle. It is at once a buckler to cover yourself,[2] and a weapon to brandish against your

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Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta.
Ars Poet. ver. 286.

No path to fame our poets left untried:
Nor small their merit, when with conscious pride
They scorned to take from Greece the storied theme,
But dared to sing their own domestic fame.
Francis' Horace.

1 There were at Rome several eminent men of the name of Bassus. With regard to the person here called Saleius Bassus, the commentators have not been able to glean much information. Some have contended that it was to him Persius addressed his sixth satire:

Admovit jam bruma foco te, Basse, Sabino.

But if we may believe the old scholiast, his name was Cæsius Bassus, a much admired lyric poet: who was living on his own farm, at the time when Mount Vesuvius discharged its torrents of fire, and made the country round a scene of desolation. The poet and his house were overwhelmed by the eruption of the lava, which happened A. U. 832, in the reign of Titus. Quintilian says of him (b. x. chap. i.), that if after Horace any poet deserves to be mentioned, Cæsius Bassus was the man. "Si quem adjicere velis, is erit Cæsius Bassus." Saleius Bassus is mentioned by Juvenal as an eminent poet in distress:

——— At Serrano tenuique Saleio
Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantem est?
Sat. vii. ver. 80.

But to poor Bassus what avails a name,
To starve on compliments and empty fame?
Dryden's Juvenal.

Quintilian says, he possessed a poetic genius, but so warm and vehement, that, even in an advanced age, his spirit was not under the control of sober judgment. "Vehemens et poeticum ingenium Saleii Bassi fuit; nec ipsum senectute maturum" This passage affords an insuperable argument against Lipsius, and the rest of the critics who named Quintilian as a candidate for the honour of this elegant composition. Can it be imagined that a writer of fair integrity, would in his great work speak of Bassus as he deserved, and in the Dialogue overrate him beyond all proportion? Duplicity was not a part of Quintilian's character.

2 Tacitus, it may be presumed with good reason, was

enemy. Armed with this, you may appear with courage before the tribunals of justice, in the senate, and even in the presence of the prince. We lately saw[3] Eprius Marcellus arraigned before the fathers: in that moment, when the minds of the whole assembly were inflamed against him, what had he to oppose to the vehemence of his enemies, but that nervous eloquence which he possessed in so eminent a degree? Collected in himself, and looking terror to his enemies, he was more than a match for Helvidius Priscus; a man, no doubt, of consummate wisdom, but without that flow of eloquence, which springs from practice, and that skill in argument, which is necessary to manage a public debate. Such is the advantage of oratory: to enlarge upon it were superfluous. My friend Maternus will not dispute the point.

VI. I proceed to the pleasure arising from the exercise of eloquence; a pleasure which does not consist in the mere sensation of the moment, but is felt through life, repeated every day, and almost every hour. For let me ask, to a man of an ingenuous and liberal mind, who knows the relish of elegant enjoyments, what can yield such true delight, as a concourse of the most respectable characters crowding to his levee? How must it enhance his pleasure, when he reflects, that the visit is not paid to him because he is rich, and wants an heir,[4] or is in possession of a public office, but purely as a compliment to superior talents, a mark of respect to a great and accomplished orator! The rich who have no issue, and the men in high rank and power, are his followers. Though he is still young, and probably destitute of fortune, all concur in paying their court to solicit his patronage for themselves, or to recommend their friends to his protection. In the most splendid fortune, in all the dignity and pride of power, is there any thing that can equal the heartfelt satisfaction of the able advocate, when he sees the most illustrious citizens, men respected for their years, and flourishing in the opinion of the public, yet paying their court to a rising genius, and, in the midst of wealth and grandeur, fairly owning, that they still want something superior to all their possessions?

What shall be said of the attendants, that follow the young orator from the bar, and watch his motions to his own house? With what importance does he appear to the multitude! in the courts of judicature, with what veneration! When he rises to speak, the audience is hushed in mute attention; every eye is fixed on him alone; the crowd presses round him; he is master of their passions; they are swayed, impelled, directed, as he thinks proper. These are the fruits of eloquence, well known to all, and palpable to every common observer.

There are other pleasures more refined and secret, felt only by the initiated. When the orator, upon some great occasion, comes with a well-digested speech, conscious of his matter, and animated by his subject, his breast expands, and heaves with emotions unfelt before. In his joy there is a dignity suited to the weight and energy of the composition which he has prepared. Does he rise to hazard himself[5] in a

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a diligent reader of Cicero, Livy, Sallust, and Seneca. He has, in various parts of his works, coincidences of sentiment and diction, that plainly show the source from which they sprung. In the present case, when he calls eloquence a buckler to protect yourself, and a weapon to annoy your adversary, can any one doubt but he had his eye on the following sentence in *Cicero de Oratore*? *Quid autem tam necessarium, quam teneres semper arma, quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis, vel provocare integros, et te ulcisci lacessitus?*

3 Eprius Marcellus is often a conspicuous figure in the Annals and the History of Tacitus. To a bad heart he united the gift of eloquence. In the Annals, b. xvi. s. 28, he makes a vehement speech against Pætus Thrasea, and afterwards wrought the destruction of that excellent man. For that exploit, he was attacked, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, by Helvidius Priscus. In the History (book iv. s. 7 and 8), we see them both engaged in a violent contention. In the following year (823,) Helvidius in the senate opened an accusation in form; but Marcellus, by using his eloquence as his buckler and his offensive weapon, was able to ward off the blow. He rose from his seat, and, "I leave you," he said, "I leave you to give the law to the senate: reign, if you will, even in the presence of the prince." See Hist. iv. s. 43. See also, Life of Agricola, s. 11. notes.

4 To be rich and have no issue, gave to the person so circumstanced the highest consequence at Rome. All ranks of men paid their court to him. To discourage a life of celibacy, and promote population, Augustus passed a law, called *Papia Poppæa*, whereby bachelors were subjected to penalties. Hence the compliment paid by Horace to his patron:

> Diva prodocas sobolem, patrumque
> Prosperes decreta super jugandis
> Feminis, prolisque novæ feraci
> Legs marita.
>
> *Carmen Sæculare.*

> Bring the springing birth to light,
> And with every genial grace
> Prolific of an endless race,
> Oh! crown our vows, and bless the nuptial rite.
>
> *Francis's Horace.*

But marriage was not brought into fashion. In proportion to the rapid degeneracy of the manners under the emperors, celibacy grew into respect; insomuch, that we find (Annals xii. s. 52) a man too strong for his prosecutors, because he was rich, old, and childless. "Valutque pecuniosa orbitate et senecta."

5 The faculty of speaking on a sudden question, with unpremeditated eloquence, Quinctilian says, is the reward of study and diligent application. The speech, composed at leisure, will often want the warmth and energy, which accompany the rapid emotions of the mind. The passions, when roused and animated, and the images which present themselves in a glow of enthusiasm, are the inspirers of true eloquence. Compo-

sudden debate; he is alarmed for himself, but in that very alarm there is a mingle of pleasure, which predominates, till distress itself becomes delightful. The mind exults in the prompt exertion of its powers, and even glories in its rashness. The productions of genius, and those of the field, have this resemblance: many things are sown, and brought to maturity with toil and care; yet that, which grows from the wild vigour of nature, has the most grateful flavour.

VII. As to myself, if I may allude to my own feelings, the day on which I put on the manly gown,[1] and even the days that followed, when, as a new man at Rome, born in a city that did not favour my pretensions,[2] I rose in succession to the offices of quæstor, tribune, and prætor; those days, I say, did not awaken in my breast such exalted rapture, as when in the course of my profession, I was called forth, with such talents as have fallen to my share, to defend the accused; to argue a question of law before the centumviri,[3] or, in the presence of the prince, to plead for his freedmen, and the procurators appointed by himself. Upon those occasions I towered above all places of profit, and all preferment; I looked down on the dignities of tribune, prætor, and consul; I felt within myself, what neither the favour of the great, nor the wills and codicils[4] of the rich, can give, a

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sition has not always this happy effect; the process is slow, langour is apt to succeed; the passions subside, and the spirit of the discourse evaporates. "Maximus vero studiorum fructus est, et velut præmium quoddam amplissimum longi laboris, ex tempore dicendi facultas. Pectus est enim quod disertos facit, et vis mentis. Nam bene concepti affectus, et recentes rerum imagines, continuo impetu feruntur, quæ nonnunquam mora stili refrigescunt, et dilatæ non revertuntur." Quintilian. lib. x. cap. 7.

1 The translation is not quite accurate in this place. The original says, when I obtained the *laticlave*, and the English calls it the *manly gown*, which, it must be admitted, is not the exact sense. The *toga virilis*, or the *manly gown*, was assumed, when the youth came to man's estate, or the age of seventeen years. On that occasion, the friends of the young man conducted him to the *forum*, (or sometimes to the capitol,) and there invested him with the new gown. This was called *dies tirocinii;* the day on which he commenced a *tiro*, or a candidate for preferment in the army. The *laticlave* was an additional honour often granted at the same time. The sons of senators and patricians were entitled to that distinction, as a matter of right: but the young men, descended from such as were not patricians, did not wear the *laticlave*, till they entered into the service of the commonwealth, and undertook the functions of the civil magistracy. Augustus Cæsar changed that custom. He gave leave to the sons of senators, in general, to assume the *laticlave*, presently after the time of putting on the *toga virilis*, though they were not capable of civil honours. The emperors who succeeded, allowed the same privilege, as a favour to illustrious families. *Ovid* speaks of himself and his brother assuming the *manly gown* and the *laticlave* at the same time:

> Interea, tacito passu labentibus annis,
> Liberior fratri sumpta mihique toga;
> Induiturque humeris cum lato purpura clavo.

Pliny the younger shows, that the *laticlave* was a favour granted by the emperor on particular occasions. He says, he applied for his friend, and succeeded: "Ego Sexto latumclavum a Cæsare nostro impetravi." Lib. ii. epist. 9. The *latusclavus* was a robe worn by consuls, prætors, generals in triumph, and senators, who were called *laticlavii*. Their sons were admitted to the same honour: but the emperors had a power to bestow this garment of distinction, and all privileges belong to it, upon such as they thought worthy of that honour. This is what Marcus Aper says, in the dialogue, that he obtained; and, when the translation mentions the *manly gown*, the expression falls short of the speaker's idea. Dacier has given an account of the *laticlave*, which has been well received by the learned. He tells us, that whatever was made to be put on another thing, was called *clavus*, not because it had any resemblance to a nail, but because it was made an adjunct to another subject. In fact, the *clavi* were purple galloons, with which the Romans bordered the forepart of the tunic, on both sides, and when drawn close together, they formed an ornament in the middle of the vestment. It was, for that reason, called by the Greeks, *μονόπορφυρον*. The broad galloons made the *laticlave*, and the narrow the *angusticlave*. The *laticlave*, Dacier adds, is not to be confounded with the *prætexta*. The latter was, at first, appropriated to the magistrates, and the sacerdotal order; but, in time, was extended to the sons of eminent families, to be worn as a mark of distinction, till the age of seventeen, when it was laid aside for the *manly gown*. See Dacier's *Horace*, lib. i. sat. 5; and see Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 306.

2 Marcus Aper, Julius Secundus, and Curiatius Maternus, according to Brotier and others, were natives of Gaul. Aper (section x.) mentions the Gauls as their common countrymen: "Ne quid de Gallis nostris loquamur." If that was the fact, a *new man* at Rome would have difficulties to surmount. Ammianus Marcellinus (a Latin historian of the fourth century) says that at Rome the people despised every thing that did not grow before their eyes within the walls of the city, except the rich who had no children; and the veneration paid to such as had no heirs was altogether incredible. "Vile esse quidquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur, æstimant; nec credi potest qua obsequiorum diversitate coluntur homines sine liberis Romæ." Lib. xiv. c. 6. In such a city a young man and a stranger could not expect to be favoured.

3 All causes of a private nature were heard before the *centumviri*. Three were chosen out of every tribe, and the tribes, amounted to five and thirty, so that in fact 105 were chosen; but, for the sake of a round number, they were called CENTUMVIRI. The causes that were heard before that jurisdiction are enumerated by Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. i. c. 38.

4 The translation says, *the wills and codicils of the rich;* but it is by no means certain that those words convey the meaning of the text, which simply says, *nec codicillis datur*. After due inquiry, it appears that *codicillus* was used by the Latin authors, for what we now call *the letters patent of a prince*. Codicils, in the modern sense of the word, implying a supplement to a will, were unknown to the ancient Roman law. The Twelve Tables mention Testaments only. Codicils, in aid to wills, were first introduced in the time of Augustus; but, whatever their operation was, legacies grant-

vigour of mind, an inward energy, that springs from no external cause, but is altogether your own.

Look through the circle of the fine arts, survey the whole compass of the sciences, and tell me in what branch can the professors acquire a name to vie with the celebrity of a great and powerful orator. His fame does not depend on the opinion of thinking men, who attend to business and watch the administration of affairs; he is applauded by the youth of Rome, at least by such of them as are of a well-turned disposition, and hope to rise by honourable means. The eminent orator is the model which every parent recommends to his children. Even the common people [5] stand at gaze, as he passes by; they pronounce his name with pleasure, and point at him as the object of their admiration. The provinces resound with his praise. The strangers, who arrive from all parts, have heard of his genius; they wish to behold the man, and their curiosity is never at rest, till they have seen his person, and perused his countenance.

VIII. I have already mentioned Eprius Marcellus and Crispus Vibius.[6] I cite living examples, in preference to the names of a former day. Those two illustrious persons, I will be bold to say, are not less known in the remotest parts of the empire, than they are at Capua, or Vercellæ,[7] where, we are told, they both were born. And to what is their extensive fame to be attributed? Not surely to their immoderate riches. Three hundred thousand sesterces cannot give the fame of genius. Their eloquence may be said to have built up their fortunes; and, indeed, such is the power, I might say the inspiration, of eloquence, that in every age we have examples of men, who by their talents raised themselves to the summit of their ambition.

But I wave all former instances. The two, whom I have mentioned, are not recorded in history, nor are we to glean an imperfect knowledge of them from tradition; they are every day before our eyes. They have risen from low beginnings; but the more abject their origin, and the more sordid the poverty, in which they set out, their success rises in proportion, and affords a striking proof of what I have advanced; since it is apparent, that, without birth or fortune, neither of them recommended by his moral character, and one of them deformed in his person, they have notwithstanding all disadvantages, made themselves, for a series of years, the first men in the state. They began their career in the forum, and, as long as they chose to pursue that road of ambition, they flourished in the highest reputation; they are now at the head of the commonwealth, the ministers who direct and govern, and so high in favour with the prince, that the respect, with which he receives them, is little short of veneration.

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ed by those additional writings were for some time of no validity. To confirm this, we are told that the daughter of Lentulus discharged certain legacies, which, being given by codicil, she was not bound to pay. In time, however, codicils, as an addition made by the testator to his will, grew into use, and the legacies thereby granted were confirmed. This might be the case in the sixth year of Vespasian, when the Dialogue passed between the parties; but it is, notwithstanding, highly probable, that the word *codicilli* means, in the passage before us, the *letters patent of the prince*. It is used in that sense by Suetonius, who relates, that Tiberius, after passing a night and two days in revelling with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso, granted to the former the province of Syria, and made the latter prefect of the city; declaring them, *in the patents*, pleasant companions, and *the friends of all hours*. "Codicillis quoque jucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus." Suet. *in Tib.* s. 42.

5 The common people are called, in the original, *tunicatus populus;* that class of men, who wore the *tunic*, and not the *toga*, or the *Roman gown*. The *tunica*, or close coat, was the common garment worn within doors, and abroad, under the *toga*. Kennet says, the *proletarii*, the *capite censi*, and the rest of the dregs of the city, could not afford to wear the *toga*, and therefore went in their *tunics;* whence Horace says (lib. i. epist. 7),

Villa vendantem tunicato scruta popello.

The TOGA, however, was the peculiar dress of the Roman people. VIRGIL distinguishes his countrymen by their mode of apparel:

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

But, though this was the Roman habit, the lower citizens were obliged to appear abroad in their *tunica*, or close garment. The love of praise is so eager a passion, that the public orator is here represented as delighting in the applause of the rabble. Persius, the satirist, has said the same thing:

Pulchrum est digito monstrari, et dicier, *Hic est.*

6 The character of Eprius Marcellus has been already stated, section 5, note. Crispus Vibius is mentioned as a man of weight and influence, *Annals*, book xiv. s. 28. Quintilian has mentioned him to his advantage: he calls him, book v. chap. 13, a man of agreeable and elegant talents, *vir ingenii jucundi et elegantis;* and again, Vibius Crispus was distinguished by the elegance of his composition, and the sweetness of his manner; a man born to please, but fitter for private suits, than for the importance of public causes. *Et* VIBIUS CRISPUS, *compositus, et jucundus, et delectationi natus; privatis tamen causis, quam publicis, melior.* Lib. x. cap. 1.

7 Which of these two men was born at Capua, and which at Vercellæ, is not clearly expressed in the original. Eprius Marcellus, who has been described of a prompt and daring spirit, ready to embark in every mischief, and by his eloquence able to give colour to the worst cause, must at this time have become a new man, since we find him mentioned in this Dialogue with unbounded praise. He, it seems, and Vibius Crispus were the favourites at Vespasian's court. Vercellæ, now *Vercell*, was situated in the eastern part of Piedmont. *Capua*, rendered famous by Hannibal, was a city in Campania, always deemed the seat of pleasure.

piece. Nor can this be done without expense. A room must be hired, a stage or pulpit must be erected; benches must be arranged, and handbills distributed throughout the city. What if the reading succeeds to the height of his wishes? Pass but a day or two, and the whole harvest of praise and admiration fades away, like a flower that withers in its bloom, and never ripens into fruit. By the event, however flattering, he gains no friend, he obtains no patronage, nor does a single person go away impressed with the idea of an obligation conferred upon him. The poet has been heard with applause; he has been received with acclamations; and he has enjoyed a short-lived transport.

Bassus, it is true, has lately received from Vespasian a present of fifty thousand sesterces. Upon that occasion, we all admired the generosity of the prince. To deserve so distinguished a proof of the sovereign's esteem is, no doubt, highly honourable; but is it not still more honourable, if your circumstances require it, to serve yourself by your talents? to cultivate your genius, for your own advantage? and to owe every thing to your own industry, indebted to the bounty of no man whatever? It must not be forgotten, that the poet, who could produce any thing truly excellent in the kind, must bid farewell to the conversation of his friends; he must renounce, not only the pleasures of Rome, but also the duties of social life; he must retire from the world; as the poets say, "to groves and grottos, every muse's son." In other words, he must condemn himself to a sequestered life in the gloom of solitude.

X. The love of fame, it seems, is the passion that inspires the poet's genius: but even in this respect, is he so amply paid as to rival in any degree the professors of the persuasive arts? As to the indifferent poet, men leave him to his own[5] mediocrity: the real genius moves in a narrow circle. Let there be a reading of a poem by the ablest master of his art: will the fame of his performance reach all quarters, I will not say of the empire, but of Rome only? Among the strangers who arrive from Spain, from Asia, or

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tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandique studio hæc auditorum vel desidia, vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui: his ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum jam repetere secessum, et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus affui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor. Nam, ut in cæteris rebus, ita in audiendi officio, perit gratia si reposcatur." Pliny, lib. i. ep. 13. Such was the state of literature under the worst of the emperors. The Augustan age was over. In the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula learning drooped, but in some degree revived under the dull and stupid Claudius. Pliny, in the letter above cited, says of that emperor, that, one day hearing a noise in his palace, he inquired what was the cause, and, being informed that Nonianus was reciting in public, went immediately to the place, and became one of the audience. After that time letters met with no encouragement from the great. Lord Shaftesbury says, he cannot but wonder how the Romans, after the extinction of the *Cæsarean* and *Claudian* family, and a short interval of princes raised and destroyed with much disorder and public ruin, were able to regain their perishing dominion, and retrieve their sinking state, by an after-race of wise and able princes, successively adopted, and taken from a private state to rule the empire of the world. They were men, who not only possessed the military virtues, and supported that sort of discipline in the highest degree; but as they sought the interest of the world, they did what was in their power to restore liberty, and raise again the perishing arts, and the decayed virtue of mankind. But the season was past: *barbarity* and *gothicism* were already entered into the arts, ere the savages made an impression on the empire. See *Advice to an Author*, part ii. s. 1. The *gothicism*, hinted at by Shaftesbury, appears manifestly in the wretched situation to which the best authors were reduced. The poets who could not hope to procure an audience, haunted the baths and public walks, in order to fasten on their friends, and, at any rate, obtain a hearing for their works. Juvenal says, the plantations and marble columns of Julius Fronto resounded with the vociferation of reciting poets:

> Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
> Semper, et assidue ruptis lectore columnæ.
> Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
>
> *Sat.* i. ver. 12.

The same author observes, that the poet, who aspired to literary fame, might borrow a house for the purpose of a public reading; and the great man who accommodated the writer, might arrange his friends and freedmen on the back seats, with direction not to be sparing of their applause; but still a stage or pulpit, with convenient benches, was to be procured, and that expense the patrons of letters would not supply.

> ——— At si dulcedine famæ
> Contentus recitas, Maculonus commodat ædes.
> Scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentes
> Ordinis, et magnas comitum disponere voces.
> Nemo dabit procerum, quanti subsellia constent.
>
> *Sat.* vii. ver. 39.

Statius, in Juvenal's time, was a favourite poet. If he announced a reading, his auditors went in crowds. He delighted all degrees, all ranks of men; but, when the hour of applause was over, the author was obliged to sell a tragedy to Paris, the famous actor, in order to procure a dinner.

> Curritur ad vocem jucundam, et carmen amicæ
> Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
> Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine vulgi
> Auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia verso,
> Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.
>
> *Sat.* vii. ver. 82.

This was the hard lot of poetry, and this the state of public reading, which Aper describes to his friend Maternus.

5 Horace has the same observation:

> ——— ——— Mediocribus esse poetis
> Non Di, non homines, non concessere columnæ.
>
> *Art of Poetry*, ver. 372.

> But God and man, and letter'd post denies,
> That poets ever are of middling size.
>
> *Francis's Horace.*

from Gaul, who inquires[1] after Saleius Bassus? Should it happen that there is one, who thinks of him; his curiosity is soon satisfied; he passes on, content with a transient view, as if he had seen a picture or a statue.

In what I have advanced, let me not be misunderstood: I do not mean to deter such as are not blessed with the gift of oratory, from the practice of their favourite art, if it serves to fill up their time, and gain a degree of reputation. I am an admirer of eloquence;[2] I hold it venerable, and even sacred, in all its shapes, and every mode of composition. The pathetic of tragedy, of which you, Maternus, are so great a master; the majesty of the epic, the gaiety of the lyric muse; the wanton elegy, the keen iambic, and the pointed epigram; all have their charms; and Eloquence, whatever may be the subject which she chooses to adorn, is with me the sublimest faculty, the queen of all the arts and sciences. But this, Maternus, is no apology for you, whose conduct is so extraordinary, that, though formed by nature to reach the summit of perfection,[3] you choose to wander into devious paths, and rest contented with an humble station in the vale beneath.

Were you a native of Greece, where to exhibit in the public games[4] is an honourable employment; and if the gods had bestowed upon you the force and sinew of the athletic Nicostratus;[5] do you imagine that I could look tamely on, and see that amazing vigour waste itself away in nothing better than the frivolous art of darting the javelin, or throwing the coit? To drop the allusion, I summon you from the theatre and public recitals to the business of the forum, to the tribunals of justice, to scenes of real contention, to a conflict worthy of your abilities. You cannot decline the challenge, for

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1 Notwithstanding all that is said, in this Dialogue, of Saleius Bassus, it does not appear, in the judgment of Quintilian, that he was a poet whose fame could extend itself to the distant provinces. Perfection in the kind is necessary. Livy, the historian, was at the head of his profession. In consequence of his vast reputation, we know from Pliny, the consul, that a native of the city of Cadiz was so struck with the character of that great writer, that he made a journey to Rome, with no other intent than to see that celebrated genius; and having gratified his curiosity, without staying to view the wonders of that magnificent city, returned home perfectly satisfied. "Nunquamne legisti Gaditanum quemdam Titi Livii nomine gloriaque commotum, ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse; statimque, ut viderat, abiisse?" Lib. ii. epist. 3.

2 In Homer and Virgil, as well as in the dramatic poets of the first order, we frequently have passages of real eloquence, with the difference which Quintilian mentions: the poet, he says, is a slave to the measure of his verse; and, not being able at all times to make use of the true and proper word, he is obliged to quit the natural and easy way of expression, and avail himself of new modes and turns of phraseology, such as tropes, and metaphors, with the liberty of transposing words, and lengthening or shortening syllables as he sees occasion. "Quod alligati ad certam pedum necessitatem non semper proprii uti possint, sed depulsi a recta via, necessario ad quædam diverticula confugiant; nec mutare quædam modo verba, sed extendere, corripere, convertere, dividere cogantur." Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. The speaker in the Dialogue is aware of this distinction, and, subject to it, the various branches of poetry are with him so many different modes of eloquence.

3 The original has, the citadel of eloquence, which calls to mind an admired passage in Lucretius:

> Sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
> Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
> Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
> Errare, atque viam palantes quærere vitæ.
>
> Lib. ii. ver. 7.

4 It is a fact well known, that in Greece the most illustrious of both sexes thought it honourable to exercise themselves in the exhibitions of the theatre, and even to appear in the athletic games. Plutarch, it is true, will have it, that all scenic arts were prohibited at Sparta by the laws of Lycurgus; and yet Cornelius Nepos assures us, that no Lacedemonian matron, however high her quality, was ashamed to act for hire on the public stage. He adds, that throughout Greece, it was deemed the highest honour to obtain the prize in the Olympic games, and no man blushed to be a performer in plays and pantomimes, and give himself a spectacle to the people. "Nulla Lacedæmoni tam est nobilis vidua quæ non in scenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Græcia victorem Olympiæ citari. In scenam vero prodire, et populo esse spectaculo nemini in iisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini." Cor. Nep. *in Præfat.* It appears, however, from a story told by Ælian (and cited by Shaftesbury, *Advice to an Author*, part ii. s. 3.), that the Greek women were by law excluded from the Olympic games. Whoever was found to transgress or even to cross the river Alpheus, during the celebration of that great spectacle, was liable to be thrown from a rock. The consequence was, that not one female was detected, except *Callipatria*, or, as others called her *Pherenice*. This woman, disguised in the habit of a teacher of gymnastic exercises, introduced her son, *Pisidorus*, to contend for the victor's prize. Her son succeeded. Transported with joy at a sight so glorious, the mother overleaped the fence, which enclosed the magistrates, and, in the violence of that exertion, let fall her garment. She was, by consequence, known to be a woman, but absolved from all criminality. For that mild and equitable sentence, she was indebted to the merit of her father, her brothers, and her son, who all obtained the victor's crown. The incident, however, gave birth to a new law, whereby it was enacted, that the masters of the gymnastic art should, for the future, come naked to the Olympic games. *Ælian*, lib. x. c. 1; and see *Pausanias*, lib. v. c. 6.

5 Nicostratus is praised by Pausanias (lib. v. cap. 20), as a great master of the athletic arts. Quintilian has also recorded his prowess. "Nicostratus, whom in our youth we saw advanced in years, would instruct his pupil in every branch of his art, and make him, what he was himself, an invincible champion. Invincible he was, since, on one and the same day, he entered the lists as a wrestler and a boxer, and was proclaimed conqueror in both." "Ac si fuerit qui docebitur, ille, quem adolescentes vidimus, Nicostratus, omnibus in eo docendi partibus similiter uteretur; efficietque illum, qualis hic fuit, luctando pugnandoque (quorum utroque in certamine iisdem diebus coronabatur) invictum.' Quint. lib. ii. cap. 8.

you are left without an excuse. You cannot say, with a number of others, that the profession of poetry is safer than that of the public orator; since you have ventured, in a tragedy written with spirit, to display the ardour of a bold and towering genius.

And for whom have you provoked so many enemies? Not for a friend; that would have had alleviating circumstances. You undertook the cause of Cato, and for him committed yourself. You cannot plead by way of apology, the duty of an advocate, or the sudden effusion of sentiment in the heat and hurry of an unpremeditated speech. Your plan was settled; a great historical personage was your hero, and you chose him, because what falls from so distinguished a character, falls from a height that gives it additional weight. I am aware of your answer: you will say, it was that very circumstance that ensured the success of your piece; the sentiments were received with sympathetic rapture: the room echoed with applause, and hence your fame throughout the city of Rome. Then let us hear no more of your love of quiet and a state of security: you have voluntarily courted danger. For myself, I am content with controversies of a private nature, and the incidents of the present day. If, hurried beyond the bounds of prudence, I should happen, on any occasion, to grate the ears of men in power, the zeal of an advocate, in the service of his client, will excuse the honest freedom of speech, and, perhaps, be deemed a proof of integrity.

XI. Aper went through his argument, according to his custom, with warmth and vehemence. He delivered the whole with a peremptory tone and an eager eye. As soon as he finished, I am prepared, said Maternus smiling, to exhibit a charge against the professors of oratory, which may, perhaps, counterbalance the praise so lavishly bestowed upon them by my friend. In the course of what he said, I was not surprised to see him going out of his way, to lay poor poetry prostrate at his feet. He has, indeed, shown some kindness to such as are not blessed with oratorical talents. He has passed an act of indulgence in their favour, and they, it seems, are allowed to pursue their favourite studies. For my part, I will not say that I think myself wholly unqualified for the eloquence of the bar. It may be true, that I have some kind of talent for that profession; but the tragic muse affords superior pleasure. My first attempt was in the reign of Nero, in opposition to the extravagant claims of the prince,[6] and in defiance of the domineering spirit of Vatinius,[7] that pernicious favourite, by whose coarse buffoonery the muses were every day disgraced, I might say, most impiously profaned. The portion of fame, whatever it be, that I have acquired since that time, is to be attributed, not to the speeches which I made in the forum, but to the power of dramatic composition. I have, therefore, resolved to take my leave of the bar for ever. The homage of visitors, the train of attendants, and the multitude of clients, which glitter so much in the eyes of my friend, have no attraction for me. I regard them as I do pictures, and busts, and statues of brass; things, which indeed are in my family, but they came unlooked for, without my stir, or so much as a wish on my part. In my humble station, I find that innocence is a better shield than oratory. For the last I shall have no occasion, unless I find it necessary, on some future occasion, to exert myself in the just defence of an injured friend.

XII. But woods, and groves,[8] and solitary

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6 Nero's ambition to excel in poetry was not only ridiculous, but, at the same time, destructive to Lucan, and almost all the good authors of the age. See *Annals*, b. xv. According to the old scholiast on the Satires of Persius, the following verses were either written by Nero, or made in imitation of that emperor's style:

> Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,
> Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
> Bassaris, et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis,
> Evion ingeminat; reparabilis adsonat echo.

The affectation of rhyme, which many ages afterwards was the essential part of monkish verse, the tumour of the words, and the wretched penury of thought, may be imputed to a frivolous prince, who studied his art of poetry in the manner described by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 16. And yet it may be a question, whether the satirist would have the hardiness to insert the very words of an imperial poet, armed with despotic power. A burlesque imitation would answer the purpose; and it may be inferred from another passage in the same poem, that Persius was content to ridicule the mode of versification then in vogue at court.

> Claudere sic versum didicit; Berecynthius Attis,
> Et qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea Delphin.
> Sic costam longo subdu ximus Apennino.

7 Vatinius was a favourite at the court of Nero. Tacitus calls him the spawn of a cook's-shop, and a tippling-house; *sutrinæ et tabernæ alumnus*. He recommended himself to the favour of the prince by his scurrility and vulgar humour. Being, by those arts, raised above himself, he became the declared enemy of all good men, and acted a distinguished part among the vilest instruments of that pernicious court. See his character, *Annals*, xv. s. 34. When an illiberal and low buffoon basks in the sunshine of a court, and enjoys exorbitant power, the cause of liberty can have nothing to expect. The liberal arts must, by consequence, be degraded by a corrupt taste, and learning will be left to run wild and grow to seed.

8 That poetry requires a retreat from the bustle of the world, has been so often repeated, that it is now considered as a truth, from which there can be no appeal. Milton, it is true, wrote his Paradise Lost in a small house near *Bunhill Fields*; and Dryden courted

places, have not escaped the satirical vein of my friend. To me they afford sensations of a pure delight. It is there I enjoy the pleasures of a poetic imagination; and among those pleasures it is not the least, that they are pursued far from the noise and bustle of the world, without a client to besiege my doors, and not a criminal to distress me with the tears of affliction. Free from those distractions, the poet retires to scenes of solitude, where peace and innocence reside. In those haunts of contemplation, he has his pleasing visions. He treads on consecrated ground. It was there that Eloquence first grew up, and there she reared her temple. In those retreats she first adorned herself with those graces, which have made mankind enamoured of her charms; and there she filled the hearts of the wise and good with joy and inspiration. Oracles first spoke in woods and sacred groves. As to the species of oratory, which practises for lucre, or with views of ambition; that sanguinary eloquence [1] now so much in vogue; it is of modern growth, the offspring of corrupt manners, and degenerate times; or rather, as my friend APER expressed it, it is a WEAPON in the hands of ill-designing men.

The early and more happy period of the world, or, as we poets call it, the golden age, was the era of true eloquence. Crimes and orators were then unknown. Poetry spoke in harmonious numbers, not to varnish evil deeds but to praise the virtuous, and celebrate the friends of human kind. This was the poet's office. The inspired train enjoyed the highest honours; they held commerce with the gods; they partook of the ambrosial feast: they were at once the messengers and interpreters of the supreme command. They ranked on earth with legislators, heroes, and demigods. In that bright assembly we find no orator, no pleader of causes. We read of Orpheus,[2] of Linus, and,

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the muse in the hurry and dissipation of a town life. But neither of them fixed his residence by choice. Pope grew immortal on the banks of the Thames. But though the country seems to be the seat of contemplation, two great writers have been in opposite opinions. Cicero says, woods and groves, and rivers winding through the meadows, and the refreshing breeze, with the melody of birds, may have their attraction; but they rather relax the mind into indolence, than rouse our attention, or give vigour to our faculties. "Sylvarum amœnitas, et præterlabentia flumina, et inspirantes ramis arborum aurse, volucrumque cantus, et ipsa late circumspiciendi libertas ad se trahunt; at mihi remittere potius voluptas ista videtur cogitationem, quam intendere." *De Orat.* lib. ii. This, perhaps, may be true as applied to the public orator, whose scene of action lay in the forum or the senate. Pliny, on the other hand, says to his friend Tacitus, there is something in the solemnity of venerable woods, and the awful silence which prevails in those places, that strongly disposes us to study and contemplation. For the future, therefore, whenever you hunt, take along with you your pen and paper, as well as your basket and bottle; for you will find the mountains not more inhabited by DIANA, than by MINERVA. "Jam undique sylvæ, et solitudo, ipsumque illud silentium, quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. Proinde, cum venabere, licebit, auctore me, ut panarium et lagunculam, sic etiam pugillares feras. Experiaris non DIANAM magis montibus quam MINERVAM inerrare." Lib. i. epist. 6. Between these two different opinions, a true poet may be allowed to decide. Horace describes the noise and tumult of a city life, and then says,

> Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbem.
>
> *Epist.* lib. ii. ep. ii. ver. 77.

> Alas! to grottos and to groves we run,
> To ease and silence, every muse's son.
>
> *Pope.*

1 The expression in the original is full and expressive, *lucrosæ hujus et sanguinantis eloquentiæ;* that gainful and bloody-thirsty eloquence. The immoderate wealth acquired by Eprius Marcellus has been mentioned in this Dialogue, section 8. Pliny gives us an idea of the vast acquisitions gained by Regulus, the notorious informer. From a state of indigence, he rose, by a train of villanous actions, to such immense riches, that he once consulted the omens, to know how soon he should be worth sixty millions of sesterces, and found them so favourable, that he had no doubt of being worth double that sum. "Aspice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia processit, ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret, quam cito sestertium sexcennies impleturus esset, invenisse se exta duplicata, quibus portendi millies et ducenties habiturum." Lib. ii. ep. 20. In another epistle the same author relates, that Regulus, having lost his son, was visited upon that occasion by multitudes of people, who all in secret detested him, yet paid their court with as much assiduity as if they esteemed and loved him. They retaliated upon this man his own insidious arts: to gain the friendship of Regulus, they played the game of Regulus himself. He, in the meantime, dwells in his villa on the other side of the Tiber, where he has covered a large tract of ground with magnificent porticos, and lined the banks of the river with elegant statues; profuse, with all his avarice, and, in the depth of infamy, proud and vain-glorious. "Conveniunt ad eum mira celebritate: cuncti detestantur, oderunt; et, quasi probent, quasi diligant, currant, frequentant, utque breviter, quod sentio, enunciem, in Regulo demerendo, Regulum imitantur. Tenet se trans Tyberim in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam statuis suis occupavit; ut est, in summo avaritia sumptuosus, in summa infamia gloriosus." Lib. iv. ep. 2. All this splendour in which Regulus lived, was the fruit of a gainful and blood-thirsty eloquence; if that may be called eloquence, which Pliny says was nothing more than a crazed imagination; *nihil præter ingenium insanum.* Lib. iv. ep. 7.

2 Orpheus, in poetic story, was the son of Calliope, and Linus boasted of Apollo for his father.

> ————Nec Thracius Orpheus,
> Nec Linus; huic mater quamvis, atque huic pater adsit,
> Orphei Calliope, Lino formosus Apollo.
>
> *Virg. Ecl.* iv. ver. 58.

> Not Orpheus self, nor Linus, should exceed
> My lofty lays, or gain the poet's meed,
> Though Phœbus, though Calliope inspire,
> And one the mother aid, and one the sire.
>
> *Wharton's Virgil.*

if we choose to mount still higher, we can add the name of Apollo himself. This may seem a flight of fancy. Aper will treat it as mere romance, and fabulous history: but he will not deny, that the veneration paid to Homer, with the consent of posterity, is at least equal to the honours obtained by Demosthenes. He must likewise admit, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides is not confined within narrower limits than than of Lysias[3] or Hyperides. To come home to our own country, there are at this day more who dispute the excellence of Cicero than of Virgil. Among the orations of Asinius or Messala,[4] is there one that can vie with the Media of Ovid, or the Thyestes of Varius?

Orpheus embarked in the Argonautic expedition. His history of it, together with his hymns, is still extant; but whether genuine, is much doubted.

3 Lysias, the celebrated orator, was a native of Syracuse, the chief town in Sicily. He lived about four hundred years before the Christian era. Cicero says, that he did not addict himself to the practice of the bar; but his compositions were so judicious, so pure and elegant, that you might venture to pronounce him a perfect orator. "Tum fuit Lysias, ipse quidem in causis forensibus non versatus, sed egregiè subtilis scriptor, atque elegans, quem jam prope audeas oratorem perfectum dicere." Cicero *De Claris Orat.* s. 35. Quintilian gives the same opinion. Lysias, he says, preceded Demosthenes: he is acute and elegant, and if to teach the art of speaking were the only business of an orator, nothing more perfect can be found. He has no redundancy, nothing superfluous, nothing too refined, or foreign to his purpose: his style is flowing, but more like a pure fountain, than a noble river. "His ætate Lysias major, subtilis atque elegans, et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quæras perfectius. Nihil enim est inane, nihil arcessitum; puro tamen fonti, quam magno flumini propior." Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. A considerable number of his orations is still extant, all written with exquisite taste and inexpressible sweetness. See a very pleasing translation by Dr. Gillies.

Hyperides flourished at Athens in the time of Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, and other famous orators. That age, says Cicero, poured forth a torrent of eloquence, of the best and purest kind, without the false glitter of affected ornament, in a style of noble simplicity, which lasted to the end of that period. "Huic Hyperides proximus, et Æschines fuit, et Lycurgus, aliique plures. Hæc enim ætas effudit hanc copiam; et, ut opinio mea fert, succus ille et sanguis incorruptus usque ad hanc ætatem oratorum fuit, in qua naturalis inesset, non fucatus nitor." *De Claris Orat.* s. 36. Quintilian allows to Hyperides a keen discernment, and great sweetness of style; but he pronounces him an orator designed by nature to shine in causes of no great moment. "Dulcis in primis et acutus Hyperides; sed minoribus causis, ut non dixerim utilior, magis par." Lib. x. cap. 1. Whatever might be the case when this dialogue happened, it is certain, at present, that the fame of Sophocles and Euripides has eclipsed the two Greek orators.

4 For an account of Asinius Pollio and Corvinus Messala, see *Annals*, b. xi. s. 6. Quintilian (b. xii. chap. 10) commends the diligence of Pollio, and the dignity of Messala. In another part of his Institutes, he praises the invention, the judgment, and spirit of Pollio, but at the same time says, he fell so short of the suavity and splendour of Cicero, that he might well pass for an orator of a former age. He adds, that Messala was natural and elegant: the grandeur of his style seemed to announce the nobility of his birth; but still he wanted force and energy. "Multa in Asinio Pollione inventio, summa diligentia, adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur: et consilii et animi satis; a nitore et jucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest, ut videri possit sæculo prior. At Messala nitidus et candidus, et quodammodo præ se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor." Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. The two great poets of the Augustan age have transmitted the name of Asinius Pollio to the latest posterity. Virgil has celebrated him as a poet, and a commander of armies, in the Illyrican and Dalmatic wars.

> Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam saxa Timavi,
> Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam
> Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
> En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
> Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno?
>
> *Eclog.* viii. ver. 6.

> O Pollio! leading thy victorious bands
> O'er deep Timavus, or Illyria's sands;
> O when thy glorious deeds shall I rehearse?
> When tell the world how matchless is thy verse,
> Worthy the lofty stage of laurell'd Greece,
> Great rival of majestic Sophocles!
>
> *Wharton's Virgil.*

Horace has added the orator and the statesman.

> Paulum severæ musa tragœdiæ
> Desit theatris; mox, ubi publicas
> Res ordinaris, grande munus
> Cecropio repetes cothurno,
> Insigne mœstis præsidium reis
> Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
> Cui laurus æternos honores
> Dalmatico peperit triumpho.
>
> Lib. ii. ode i.

> Retard awhile thy glowing vein,
> Nor swell the solemn tragic scene;
> And when thy sage, thy patriot cares
> Have form'd the train of Rome's affairs,
> With lofty rapture reinflam'd diffuse
> Heroic thoughts, and wake the buskin'd muse.
>
> *Francis's Horace.*

But after all, the question put by Maternus, is, can any of their orations be compared to the *Media* of Ovid, or the *Thyestes* of Varius? Those two tragedies are so often praised by the critics of antiquity, that the republic of letters has reason to lament the loss. Quintilian says that the *Media* of Ovid was a specimen of genius, that showed to what heights the poet could have risen, had he thought fit rather to curb, than give the rein to his imagination. "Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum vir ille præstare potuisset, si ingenio suo temperare, quam indulgere maluisset." Lib. x. cap. 1.

The works of Varius, if we except a few fragments, are wholly lost. Horace, in his journey to Brundusium, met him and Virgil, and he mentions the incident with the rapture of a friend who loved them both:

> Plotius, et *Varius* Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque
> Occurrunt; animæ quales neque candidiores
> Terra tulit, neque quas me sit devinctior alter.
>
> Lib. i. sat. 5.

Horace also celebrates Varius as a poet of sublime genius. He begins his ode to Agrippa with the following lines:

> Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium
> Victor, Mœonii carminis alite,
> Quam rem cunque ferox, navibus aut equis,
> Miles te duce gesserit.
>
> Lib. i. ode 6.

XIII. If we now consider the happy condition of the true poet, and that easy commerce in which he passes his time, need we fear to compare his situation with that of the boasted orator, who leads a life of anxiety, oppressed by business, and overwhelmed with care? But it is said, his contention, his toil and danger, are steps to the consulship. How much more eligible was the soft retreat in which Virgil[1] passed his days, loved by the prince, and honoured by the people! To prove this the letters of Augustus are still extant; and the people, we know, hearing in the theatre some verses of that divine poet,[2] when he himself was present, rose in a body, and paid him every mark of homage, with a degree of veneration nothing short of what they usually offered to the emperor.

Even in our own times, will any man say, that Secundus Pomponius,[3] in point of dignity or extent of fame, is inferior to Domitius Afer?[4] But Vibius and Marcellus have been cited as bright examples: and yet, in their elevation what is there to be coveted? Is it to be deemed an advantage to those ministers, that they are feared by numbers, and live in fear themselves? They are courted for their favours, and the men, who obtain their suit, retire with ingratitude, pleased with their success, yet hating to be obliged. Can we suppose that the

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Varius, who soars on epic wing,
Agrippa, shall thy conquests sing,
Whate'er, inspired by thy command,
The soldier dared on sea or land.

Francis' Horace.

A few fragments only of his works have reached posterity. His tragedy of THYESTES is highly praised by Quintilian. That judicious critic does not hesitate to say, that it may be opposed to the best productions of the Greek stage. "Jam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Græcorum comparari potest." Varius lived in high favour at the court of Augustus. After the death of Virgil, he was joined with *Plotius* and *Tucca* to revise the works of that admirable poet. The *Varius* of Virgil, so often celebrated in the Pastorals, was, notwithstanding what some of the commentators have said, a different person from Varius, the author of Thyestes.

1 The rural delight of Virgil is described by himself:

Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
Flumina amem, silvasque inglorius. O ubi campi,
Sperchiusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta! O quis me gelidis sub montibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra?

Georgics, lib. ii. ver. 485.

Me may the lovely vales and woodland please,
And winding rivers, and inglorious ease;
O that I wander'd by Sperchius' flood,
Or on Taygetus' sacred top I stood!
Who in cool Hæmus' vales my limbs will lay,
And in the darkest thicket hide from day?

Wharton's Virg.

Besides this poetical retreat, which his imagination could command at any time, Virgil had a real and delightful villa near Naples where he composed his Georgics, and wrote great part of the Æneid.

2 When Augustus, or any eminent citizen, distinguished by his public merit, appeared in the theatre, the people testified their joy by acclamations, and unbounded applause. It is recorded by Horace, that Mæcenas received that public honour.

——————Datus in theatro
Cum tibi plaesus,
Care Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosæ
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago. Lib. i. ode 20.

When Virgil appeared, the audience paid the same compliment to a man whose poetry adorned the Roman story. The letters from Augustus, which are mentioned in this passage, have perished in the ruins of ancient literature.

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3 Pomponius Secundus was of consular rank, and an eminent writer of tragedy. See *Annals*, b. ii. s. 12. His life was written by Pliny the elder, whose nephew mentions the fact (book iii. epist. 5,) and says it was a tribute to friendship. Quintilian pronounces him the best of all the dramatic poets whom he had seen; though the critics, whose judgment was matured by years, did not think him sufficiently tragical. They admitted, however, that his erudition was considerable, and the beauty of his composition surpassed all his contemporaries. "Eorum, quos viderim, longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore præstare confitebantur." Lib. x. cap. 1.

4 Quintilian makes honourable mention of Domitius Afer. He says, when he was a boy, the speeches of that orator for Volusenus Catulus were held in high estimation. "Et nobis pueris insignes pro Volusseno Catulo Domitii Afri orationes ferebantur." Lib. x. cap. 1. He adds, in another part of the same chapter, that Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus were, of all the orators who flourished in his time, without comparison the best. But Afer stands distinguished by the splendour of his diction, and the rhetorical art which he has displayed in all his compositions. You would not scruple to rank him among the ancient orators. "Eorum quos viderim, Domitius Afer et Julius Secundus longe præstantissimi. Verborum arte ille, et toto genere dicendi præferendus, et quem in numero veterum locare non timeas." Lib. x. cap. 1. Quintilian relates, that in a conversation which he had when a young man, he asked Domitius Afer what poet was, in his opinion, the next to Homer? The answer was, *Virgil is undoubtedly the second epic poet, but he is nearer to the first than to the third.* "Utar enim verbis, quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi; qui mihi interroganti, quem Homero crederet maxime accedere: Secundus, inquit, est Virgilius, proprior tamen primo quam tertio." Lib. x. cap. 1. We may believe that Quintilian thought highly of the man whose judgment he cites as an authority. Quintilian, however, had in view nothing but the talents of this celebrated orator. Tacitus, as a moral historian, looked at the character of the man. He introduces him on the stage of public business in the reign of Tiberius, and there represents him in haste to advance himself by any kind of crime. "Quoquo facinore properus clarescere." He tells us, in the same passage (*Annals*, b. iv. s. 52,) that Tiberius pronounced him an orator in his own right, *suo jure disertum.* Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59. In relating his death, Tacitus observes, that he raised himself by his eloquence to the first civil honours; but he does not dismiss him without condemning his morals. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 19.

man is happy, who by his artifices has wriggled himself into favour, and yet is never thought by his master sufficiently pliant, nor by the people sufficiently free? And after all, what is the amount of all his boasted power? The emperor's freedmen have enjoyed the same. But as Virgil sweetly sings, Me let the sacred muses lead to their soft retreats, their living fountains, and melodious groves, where I may dwell remote from care, master of myself, and under no necessity of doing every day what my heart condemns. Let me no more be seen at the wrangling bar, a pale and anxious candidate for precarious fame; and let neither the tumult of visitors crowding to my levee, nor the eager haste of officious freedmen, disturb my morning rest. Let me live free from solicitude, a stranger to the art of promising legacies,[5] in order to buy the friendship of the great; and when nature shall give the signal to retire, may I possess no more than may be safely bequeathed to such friends as I shall think proper. At my funeral let no token of sorrow be seen, no pompous mockery of woe. Crown[6] me with chaplets; strew flowers on my grave, and let my friends erect no vain memorial, to tell where my remains are lodged.

XIV. Maternus finished with an air of enthusiasm, that seemed to lift him above himself. In that moment,[7] Vipstanius Messala entered the room. From the attention that appeared in every countenance, he concluded that some important business was the subject of debate. I am afraid, said he, that I break in upon you at an unseasonable time. You have some secret to discuss, or, perhaps, a consultation upon your hands. Far from it, replied Secundus; I wish you had come sooner. You would have had the pleasure of hearing an eloquent discourse from our friend Aper, who has been endeavouring to persuade Maternus to dedicate all his time to the business of the bar, and to give the whole man to his profession. The answer of Maternus would have entertained you: he has been defending his art, and but this moment closed an animated speech, that held more of the poetical than the oratorical character.

I should have been happy, replied Messala, to have heard both my friends. It is, however, some compensation for the loss, that I find men of their talents, instead of giving all their time to the little subtleties and knotty points of the forum, extending their views to liberal science, and those questions of taste, which enlarge the mind, and furnish it with ideas drawn from the treasures of polite erudition. Inquiries of this kind afford improvement not only to those who enter into the discussion, but to all who have the happiness of being present at the debate. It is in consequence of this refined and elegant way of thinking, that you, Secundus, have gained so much applause, by the life of Julius Asiaticus,[8] with which you have lately obliged the world. From that specimen, we are taught to expect other productions of equal beauty from the same hand. In like manner, I see with pleasure, that our

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5 We find in the Annals and the History of Tacitus, a number of instances to justify the sentiments of Maternus. The rich found it necessary to bequeath part of their substance to the prince, in order to secure the remainder for their families. For the same reason, Agricola made Domitian joint heir with his wife and daughter. *Life of Agricola*, section 43.

6 By a law of the Twelve Tables, a crown, when fairly earned by virtue, was placed on the head of the deceased, and another was ordered to be given to his father. The spirit of the law, Cicero says, plainly intimated, that commendation was a tribute due to departed virtue. A crown was given not only to him who earned it, but also to the father, who gave birth to distinguished merit. "Illa jam significatio est, laudis ornamenta ad mortuos pertinere, quod coronam virtute partem, et ei qui peperisset, et ejus parenti, sine fraude lex impositam esse jubet." *De Legibus*, lib. ii. s. 24. This is the reward to which Maternus aspires; and, that being granted, he desires, as Horace did before him, to wave the pomp of funeral ceremonies.

> Abeant nænæ funere nænæ,
> Lectusque turpes et querimonia;
> Compesce clamorem, ac sepulchri
> Mitte supervacuos honores.
>
> Lib. ii. ode 20.

> My friends, the funeral sorrow spare,
> The plaintive song, and tender tear;
> Nor let the voice of grief profane,
> With loud laments, the solemn scene;
> Nor o'er your poet's empty urn
> With useless idle sorrow mourn.
>
> *Francis' Horace.*

7 Vipstanius Messala commanded a legion, and at the head of it, went over to Vespasian's party in the contention with Vitellius. He was a man of illustrious birth, and equal merit; the only one, says Tacitus, who entered into that war from motives of virtue. "Legioni Vipstanius Messala præerat, claris majoribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset." *Hist.* lib. iii. s. 9. He was brother to Regulus, the vile informer, who has been mentioned. See Life of Agricola, section 2, note, and this tract, s. 12, note. Messala, we are told by Tacitus, before he had attained the senatorian age, acquired great fame by pleading the cause of his profligate brother with extraordinary eloquence, and family affection. "Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiæque famam Vipstanius Messala adeptus est; nondum senatoria ætate, ausus pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari." *Hist.* lib. iv. s. 42. Since Messala has now joined the company, the Dialogue takes a new turn, and, by an easy and natural transition, slides into the question concerning the causes of the decline of eloquence.

8 This is probably the same Asiaticus, who, in the revolt of the provinces of Gaul, fought on the side of VINDEX. See *Hist.* b. ii. s. 94. Biography was, in that evil period, a tribute paid by the friends of departed merit, and the only kind of writing, in which men could dare faintly to utter a sentiment in favour of virtue and public liberty.

friend Aper loves to enliven his imagination with topics of controversy, and still lays out his leisure in questions of the schools,[1] not, indeed, in imitation of the ancient orators, but in the true taste of our modern rhetoricians.

XV. I am not surprised, returned Aper, at that stroke of raillery. It is not enough for Messala, that the oratory of ancient times engrosses all his admiration; he must have his fling at the moderns. Our talents and our studies are sure to feel the sallies of his pleasantry.[2] I have often heard you, my friend Messala, in the same humour. According to you, the present age has not a single orator to boast of, though your own eloquence, and that of your brother, are sufficient to refute the charge. But you assert roundly, and maintain your proposition with an air of confidence. You know how high you stand, and while in your general censure of the age you include yourself, the smallest tincture of malignity cannot be supposed to mingle in a decision, which denies to your own genius, what, by common consent, is allowed to be your undoubted right.

I have as yet, replied Messala, seen no reason to make me retract my opinion; nor do I believe, that my two friends here, or even you yourself (though you sometimes affect a different tone), can seriously maintain the opposite doctrine. The decline of eloquence is too apparent. The causes which have contributed to it, merit a serious inquiry. I shall be obliged to you, my friends, for a fair solution of the question. I have often reflected upon the subject; but what seems to others a full answer, with me serves only to increase the difficulty. What has happened at Rome, I perceive to have been the case in Greece. The modern orators of that country, such as the priest[3] Nicetes, and others who, like him, stun the schools of Mitylene and Ephesus,[4] are fallen to a greater distance from Æschines and Demosthenes, than Afer and Africanus,[5] or you, my friends, from Tully or Asinius Pollio.

XVI. You have started an important question, said Secundus, and who so able to discuss it as yourself? Your talents are equal to the difficulty; your acquisitions in literature are known to be extensive, and you have considered the subject. I have no objection, replied Messala: my ideas are at your service, upon condition that, as I go on, you will assist me with the lights of your understanding. For two of us I can venture to answer, said Maternus: whatever you omit, or rather, what you leave for us to glean after you, we shall be ready to add to your observations. As to our friend Aper, you have told us, that he is apt to differ from you upon this point, and even now I see him preparing to give battle. He will not tamely bear to see us joined in a league in favour of antiquity.

Certainly not, replied Aper, nor shall the present age, unheard and undefended, be degraded by a conspiracy. But before you sound to arms, I wish to know, who are to be reckoned among the ancients? At what point of time[6] do you fix your favourite era? When you talk to me of antiquity, I carry my view to the first ages of the world, and see before me Ulysses and

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1 In the declamations of Seneca and Quintilian, we have abundant examples of these scholastic exercises, which Juvenal has placed in a ridiculous light.

> *Et nos ergo manum ferulæ subduximus, et nos*
> *Consilium dedimus Syllæ, privatus et altum*
> *Dormiret.* Sat. i. ver. 15.

> Provoked by these incorrigible fools,
> I left declaiming in pedantic schools;
> Where, with men-boys, I strove to get renown,
> Advising Sylla to a private gown. *Dryden's Juvenal.*

2 The eloquence of Cicero, and the eminent orators of that age, was preferred by all men of sound judgment to the unnatural and affected style that prevailed under the emperors. Quintilian gives a decided opinion. Cicero, he says, was allowed to be the reigning orator of his time, and his name, with posterity, is not so much that of a man, as of eloquence itself. "Quare non immerito ab hominibus ætatis suæ regnare in judiciis dictus est: apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur." Lib. x. cap. 1. Pliny the younger professed that Cicero was the orator with whom he aspired to enter into competition. Not content with the eloquence of his own times, he held it absurd not to follow the best examples of a former age. "Est enim mihi cum Cicerone æmulatio, nec sum contentus eloquentia sæculi nostri. Nam stultissimum credo, ad imitandum non optima quæque præponere." Lib. i. epist. 5.

3 Nicetes was a native of Smyrna, and a rhetorician in great celebrity. Seneca says (*Controversiarum*, lib. iv. cap. 25,) that his scholars, content with hearing their master, had no ambition to be heard themselves. Pliny the younger, among the commendations which he bestows on a friend, mentions, as a praiseworthy part of his character, that he attended the lectures of Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos, of whom Pliny himself was at that time a constant follower. "Erat non studiorum tantum, verum etiam studiosorum amantissimus, ac prope quotidie ad audiendos, quos tunc ego frequentabam, Quintilianum et Niceten Sacerdotem, ventitabat." Lib. 6. epist. 6.

4 Mitylene was the chief city of the isle of Lesbos, in the Ægean Sea, near the coast of Asia. The place at this day is called *Metelin*, subject to the Turkish dominion. *Ephesus* was a city of *Ionia*, in the Lesser Asia, now called *Ajalous* by the Turks, who are masters of the place.

5 Domitius Afer and Julius Africanus have been already mentioned, section 13, note. Both are highly praised by Quintilian. For Asinius Pollio, see s. 12, note.

6 Quintilian puts the same question; and, according to him, Demosthenes is the last of the ancients among the Greeks, as Cicero is among the Romans. See *Quintilian*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

Nestor, who flourished little less than [7] thirteen hundred years ago. Your retrospect, it seems, goes no farther back than to Demosthenes and Hyperides; men who lived in the times of Philip and Alexander, and indeed survived them both. The interval, between Demosthenes and the present age, is little more than [8] four hundred years; a space of time, which, with a view to the duration of human life, may be called long; but, as a portion of that immense tract of time which includes the different ages of the world, it shrinks into nothing, and seems to be but yesterday. For if it be true, as Cicero says in his treatise called Hortensius, that the great and genuine year is that period in which the heavenly bodies revolve to the station from which their source began; and if this grand rotation of the whole planetary system requires no less than twelve thousand nine hundred and fifty-four years [9] of our computation, it follows that Demosthenes, your boasted ancient, becomes a modern, and even our contemporary; nay, that he lived in the same year with ourselves; I had almost said, in the same month.[10]

XVII. But I am in haste to pass to our Roman orators. Menenius Agrippa [11] may fairly

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7 The siege of Troy is supposed to have been brought to a conclusion eleven hundred and ninety-three years before the Christian era. From that time to the sixth year of Vespasian (A. U. C. 828), when this Dialogue was had, the number of years that intervened was about 1268; a period which, with propriety, may be said to be little less than 1300 years.

8 Demosthenes died, before Christ 322 years, A. U. C. 432. From that time to the sixth of Vespasian, A. U. C. 828, the intervening space was about 396 years. Aper calls it little more than 400 years: but in a conversation-piece strict accuracy is not to be expected.

9 In the rude state of astronomy, which prevailed during many ages of the world, it was natural that mankind should differ in their computation of time. The ancient Egyptians, according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. and Pliny the elder, lib. vii. s. 48, measured time by the new moons. Some called the summer one year, and the winter another. At first thirty days were a lunar year; three, four, and six months were afterwards added, and hence in the Egyptian chronology the vast number of years from the beginning of the world. Herodotus informs us, that the Egyptians, in process of time, formed the idea of the solar or solstitial year, subdivided into twelve months. The Roman year at first was lunar, consisting, in the time of Romulus, of ten months. Numa Pompilius added two. Men saw a diversity in the seasons, and wishing to know the cause, began at length to perceive that the distance or proximity of the sun occasioned the various operations of nature; but it was long before the space of time, wherein that luminary performs his course through the zodiac, and returns to the point from which he set out, was called a year. The great year (*annus magnus*), or the PLATONIC YEAR, is the space of time, wherein the seven planets complete their revolutions, and all set out again from the same point of the heavens where their course began before. Mathematicians have been much divided in their calculations. Brotier observes, that Riccioli makes the great year 25,920 solar years; Tycho Brahe, 25,816; and Cassini, 24,800. Cicero expressly calls it a period of 12,954 years. "Horum annorum, quos in fastis habemus, MAGNUS annos duodecim millia nongentos quinquaginta quatuor amplectitur solstitiales scilicet." For a full and accurate dissertation on the ANNUS MAGNUS, see the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, tom. xxii. 4to edit. p. 82. Brotier, in his note on this passage, relates a fact not universally known. He mentions a letter from one of the Jesuits on the mission dated *Peking*, 25th October 1725, in which it is stated, that in the month of March preceding, when Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury were in conjunction, the Chinese mathematicians fancied that an approximation of Saturn was near at hand, and, in that persuasion, congratulated the emperor YONG-TCHING on the renovation of the world, which was shortly to take place. The emperor received the addresses of the nobility, and gave credit to the opinion of the philosophers in all his public edicts. Meanwhile, *Father Kegler* endeavoured to undeceive the emperor, and to convince him that the whole was a mistake of the Chinese mathematicians: but he tried in vain; flattery succeeded at court, and triumphed over truth.

10 The argument is this: If the great year is the measure of time; then, as it consists, according to Cicero, of 12,954 solar years, the whole being divided by twelve, every month of the great year would be clearly 1080 years. According to that calculation, Demosthenes not only lived in the same year with the persons engaged in the Dialogue, but, it may be said, in the same month. These are the months to which Virgil alludes in the fourth eclogue:

Incipient magni procedere menses.

11 Menenius Agrippa was consul A. U. C. 251. In less than ten years afterwards, violent dissensions broke out between the patrician order and the common people, who complained that they were harassed and oppressed by their affluent creditors. One Sicinius was their factious demagogue. He told them, that it was in vain they fought the battles of their country, since they were no better than slaves and prisoners at Rome. He added, that men are born equal; that the fruits of the earth were the common birth-right of all, and an agrarian law was necessary; that they groaned under a load of debts and taxes; and that a lazy and corrupt aristocracy battened at ease on the spoils of their labour and industry. By the advice of this incendiary, the discontented citizens made a secession to the MONS SACER; about three miles out of the city. The fathers, in the meantime, were covered with consternation. In order, however, to appease the fury of the multitude, they despatched Menenius Agrippa to their camp. In the rude unpolished style of the times (*prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo*, says Livy,) that orator told them: "At the time when the powers of man did not, as at present, co-operate to one useful end, and the members of the human body had their separate interest, their factions, and cabals; it was agreed among them, that the belly maintained itself by their toil and labour, enjoying, in the middle of all, a state of calm repose, pampered with luxuries, and gratified with every kind of pleasure. A conspiracy followed, and the several members of the body took the covenant. The hand would no longer administer food; the mouth would not accept it, and the drudgery of mastication was too much for the teeth. They continued in their resolution, determined to starve the TREASURY of the body, till they began to feel the consequences of their ill-advised revolt. The several members lost their former vigour, and the

be deemed an ancient. I take it, however, that he is not the person, whom you mean to oppose to the professors of modern eloquence. The era, which you have in view, is that of[1] Cicero and Cæsar; of Cælius[2] and Calvus; of Brutus,[3] Asinius, and Messala. Those are the

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whole body was falling into a rapid decline. It was then seen that the belly was formed for the good of the whole; that it was by no means lazy, idle, and inactive; but, while it was properly supported, took care to distribute nourishment to every part, and having digested the supplies, filled the veins with pure and wholesome blood." The analogy, which this fable bore to the sedition of the Roman people, was understood and felt. The discontented multitude saw that the state of man described by Menenius, was *like to an insurrection*. They returned to Rome, and submitted to legal government. "Tempore, quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat, indignatas reliquas partes, sua cura, suo labore, ac ministerio, ventri omnia quæri; ventrem in medio quietum, nihil aliud, quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde, ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra, totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse; nec magis ali quam alere eum; reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum, pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem." Livy, lib. ii. s. 32. St. Paul has made use of a similar argument; "The body is not one member, but many: if the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it, therefore, not of the body? and if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it, therefore, not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body: and the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chap. xii. This reasoning of St. Paul merits the attention of those friends of innovation, who are not content with the station in which God has placed them, and, therefore, object to all subordination, all ranks in society.

1 Cæsar the dictator was, as the poet expresses it, *graced* with both Minervas. Quintilian is of opinion, that if he had devoted his whole time to the profession of eloquence, he would have been the great rival of Cicero. The energy of his language, his strength of conception, and his power over the passions, were so striking, that he may be said to have harangued with the same spirit that he fought. "Caius vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit apparet." Lib. x. cap. 1. To speak of Cicero in this place, were to hold a candle to the sun. It will be sufficient to refer to Quintilian, who in the chapter above cited has drawn a beautiful parallel between him and Demosthenes. The Roman orator, he admits, improved himself by a diligent study of the best models of Greece. He attained the warmth and the sublime of Demosthenes, the harmony of Plato, and the sweet flexibility of Isocrates. His own native genius supplied the rest. He was not content, as Pindar expresses it, to collect the drops that rained down from heaven, but had in himself the living fountain of that copious flow, and that sublime, that pathetic energy, which were bestowed upon him by the bounty of Providence, that in one man eloquence might exert all her powers. "Nam mihi videtur Marcus Tullius, cum se totum ad imitationem Græcorum contulisset, effinxisse vim Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, jucunditatem Isocratis. Nec vero quod in quoque optimum fuit studio consecutus est tantum, sed plurimas vel potius omnes ex se ipso virtutes extulit immortalis ingenii beatissima ubertate. Non enim pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat, dono quodam providentiæ genitus, in quo vires suas eloquentia experiretur." Lib. x. cap. 1.

2 Marcus Cælius Rufus, in the judgment of Quintilian, was an orator of considerable genius. In the conduct of a prosecution, he was remarkable for a certain urbanity, that gave a secret charm to his whole speech. It is to be regretted that he was not a man of better conduct and longer life. "Multum ingenii in Cælio, et præcipue in accusando multa urbanitas; dignusque vir, cui et mens melior, et vita longior contigisset." Quint. lib. x. cap. 1. His letters to Cicero make the eighth book of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares*. Velleius Paterculus says of him, that his style of eloquence and his cast of mind bore a resemblance to Curio, but raised him above that factious orator. His genius for mischief and evil deeds was not inferior to Curio, and his motives were strong and urgent, since his fortune was worse than even his frame of mind. "Marcus Cælius, vir eloquio animoque Curioni simillimus, sed in utroque perfectior; nec minus ingeniose nequam, cum ne in modica quidem servari posset, quippe pejor illi res familiaris, quam mens." Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 68.

Licinius Macer Calvus, we are told by Seneca, maintained a long but unjust contention with Cicero himself for the palm of eloquence. He was a warm and vehement accuser, insomuch that Vatinius, though defended by Cicero, interrupted Calvus in the middle of his speech, and said to the judges, "Though this man has a torrent of words, does it follow that I must be condemned?" "Calvus diu cum Cicerone inquissimam litem de principatu eloquentiæ habuit; et usque eo violentus accusator et concitatus fuit, ut in media actione ejus surgeret Vatinius reus, et exclamaret, Rogo vos, judices, si iste disertus est, ideo me damnari oportet?" Seneca, *Controv.* lib. iii. cap. 19. Cicero could not dread him as a rival, and it may therefore be presumed, that he has drawn his character with an impartial hand. Calvus was an orator more improved by literature than Curio. He spoke with accuracy, and in his composition showed great taste and delicacy; but, labouring to refine his language, he was too attentive to little niceties. He wished to make no bad blood, and he lost the good. His style was polished with timid caution; but while it pleased the ear of the learned, the spirit evaporated, and of course made no impression in the forum, which is the theatre of eloquence. "Ad Calvum revertamur; qui orator fuisset cum literis eruditior quam Curio, tum etiam accuratius quoddam dicendi, et exquisitius afferebat genus; quod quamquam sciente eleganterque tractabat, nimium tamen inquirens in se, atque ipse sese observans, metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Ruque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris, a multitudine autem, et a foro

men, whom you place in the front of your line; but for what reason they are to be classed with the ancients, and not, as I think they ought to be, with the moderns, I am still to learn. To begin with Cicero; he, according to the account of Tiro, his freedman, was put to death on the seventh of the ides of December, during the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa,[4] who, we know, were both cut off in the course of the year, and left their office vacant for Augustus and Quintus Pedius. Count from that time six and fifty years to complete the reign of Augustus; three and twenty for that of Tiberius, four for Caligula, eight and twenty for Claudius and Nero, one for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and finally six from the accession of Vespasian to the present year of our felicity, we shall have from the death of Cicero, a period of about[5] one hundred and twenty years, which

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cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur," De Claris Orat. s. 263. Quintilian says, there were, who preferred him to all the orators of his time. Others were of opinion, that, by being too severe a critic on himself, he polished too much, and grew weak by refinement. But his manner was grave and solid; his style was chaste, and often animated. To be thought a man of Attic eloquence was the height of his ambition. If he had lived to see his error, and to give to his eloquence a true and perfect form, not by retrenching (for there was nothing to be taken away,) but by adding certain qualities that were wanted, he would have reached the summit of his art. By a premature death, his fame was nipped in the bud. "Inveni qui Calvum præferrent omnibus; inveni qui contra crederent eum, nimia contra se calumnia, verum sanguinem perdidisse. Sed est et sancta et gravis oratio, et castigata, et frequenter vehemens quoque. Imitator est autem Atticorum; fecitque illi properata mors injuriam, si quid adjecturus, si quid detracturus fuit." Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

3 This was the famous Marcus Junius Brutus, who stood forth in the cause of liberty, and delivered his country from the usurpation of Julius Cæsar. Cicero describes him in that great tragic scene, brandishing his bloody dagger, and calling on Cicero by name, to tell him that his country was free. "Cæsare interfecto, statim cruentum alte extollens Marcus Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus." Philippic. ii. s. 28. The late Doctor Akenside has retouched this passage with all the colours of a sublime imagination.

> Look then abroad through nature, through the range
> Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,
> Wheeling unshaken through the void immense,
> And speak, O man! does this capacious scene
> With half that kindling majesty dilate
> Thy strong conception, as when Brutus rose
> Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar's fate,
> Amid the crowd of patriots, and his arm
> Aloft extending, like eternal Jove
> When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud
> On Tully's name, and shook his crimson steel,
> And bade the Father of his Country hail;
> For, lo! the tyrant prostrate in the dust,
> And Rome again is free. *Pleasures of Imag.* b. i. v. 487.

According to Quintilian, Brutus was fitter for philosophical speculations, and books of moral theory, than for the career of public oratory. In the former he was equal to the weight and dignity of his subject: you clearly saw that he believed what he said. "Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus præstantior Brutus, suffecit ponderi rerum; scias eum sentire quæ dicit." Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1.

For Asinius Pollio and Messala, see section xii. note.

4 Hirtius and Pansa were consuls A. U. C. 711: before the Christian era 43. In this year, the famous *triple league*, called the TRIUMVIRATE, was formed between Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony. The *proscription*, or the list of those who were doomed to die for the crime of adhering to the cause of liberty, was also settled, and Cicero was one of the number. A band of assassins went in quest of him to his villa, called *Astura*, near the sea-shore. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a military tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended with success in a capital cause. They overtook Cicero in his litter. He commanded his servants to set him down, and make no resistance; then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck as forward as he could out of the litter, he bade them *do their work, and take what they wanted.* The murderers cut off his head, and both his hands. Popilius undertook to convey them to Rome, as the most agreeable present to Antony; without reflecting on the *infamy of carrying that head, which had saved his own.* He found Antony in the forum, and upon showing the spoils which he brought, was rewarded on the spot with the *honour of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling.* Antony ordered the head to be *fixed upon the rostra, between the two hands;* a sad spectacle to the people, who beheld those mangled members, which used to exert themselves, from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of Rome. Cicero was killed on the seventh of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *sixty-three years eleven months and five days.* See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 495 to 498. Velleius Paterculus, after mentioning Cicero's death, breaks out in a strain of indignation, that almost redeems the character of that time-serving writer. He says to Antony, in a spirited apostrophe, you have no reason to exult; you have gained no point by paying the assassin, who stopped that eloquent mouth, and cut off that illustrious head. You have paid the wages of murder, and you have destroyed a consul who was the conservator of the commonwealth. By that act you delivered Cicero from a distracted world, from the infirmities of old age, and from a life which, under your usurpation, would have been worse than death. His fame was not to be crushed: the glory of his actions and his eloquence still remains, and you have raised it higher than ever. He lives, and still continues to live in every age and nation. Posterity will admire and venerate the torrent of eloquence, which he poured out against yourself, and will for ever execrate the horrible murder which you committed. "Nihil tamen egisti, Marce Antoni (cogit enim excedere propositi formam operis erumpens animo ac pectore indignatio): nihil, inquam, egisti; mercedem cælestis simi oris, et clarissimi capitis abscissi numerando; auctoramentoque funebri ad conservatoris quondam reipublicæ tantique consulis irritando necem. Rapuisti tu Marco Ciceroni lucem sollicitam, et ætatem senilem, et vitam miseriorem te principe, quam sub te triumviro mortem. Famam vero, gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit, vivetque per omnium sæculorum memoriam; omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mirabitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur." Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. s. 66.

5 Between the consulship of Augustus, which be-

may be considered as the term allotted to the life of man. I myself remember to have seen in Britain a soldier far advanced in years, who averred that he carried arms in that very battle[1] in which his countrymen sought to drive Julius Cæsar back from their coast. If this veteran, who served in the defence of his country against Cæsar's invasion, had been brought a prisoner to Rome; or, if his own inclination, or any other accident in the course of things, had conducted him thither, he might have heard, not only Cæsar and Cicero, but even ourselves in some of our public speeches.

In the late public largess[2] you will acknowledge that you saw several old men, who assured us that they had received more than once, the like distribution from Augustus himself. If that be so, might not those persons have heard Corvinus[3] and Asinius? Corvinus, we all know, lived through half the reign of Augustus, and Asinius almost to the end. How then are we to ascertain the just boundaries of a century? They are not to be varied at pleasure, so as to place some orators in a remote, and others in a recent period, while people are still living, who heard them all, and may, therefore, with good reason rank them as contemporaries.

XVIII. From what I have said, I assume it as a clear position, that the glory, whatever it be, that accrued to the age in which those orators lived, is not confined to that particular period, but reaches down to the present time, and may more properly be said to belong to us, than to Servius Galba[4] or to Carbo,[5] and others of the same or more ancient date. Of that whole race of orators, I may freely say, that their manner cannot now be relished. Their language is coarse, and their composition rough, uncouth, and harsh; and yet your Calvus,[6] your Cælius, and even your favourite Cicero, condescend to follow that inelegant style. It were to be wished that they had not thought such models worthy of imitation. I mean to speak my mind with freedom; but before I proceed, it will be necessary to make a preliminary

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gan immediately after the destruction of Hirtius and Pansa, A. U. C. 711, and the death of that emperor, which was A. U. C. 767, fifty-six years intervened, and to the sixth of Vespasian, (A. U. C. 828), about 118 years. For the sake of a round number, it is called in the Dialogue a space of 120 years.

1 Julius Cæsar landed in Britain in the years of Rome 699 and 700. See *Life of Agricola*, s. xiii. note. It does not appear when Aper was in Britain; it could not be till the year of Rome 796, when Aulus Plautius, by order of the emperor Claudius, undertook the conquest of the island. See *Life of Agricola*, s. xiv. note. At that time, the Briton who fought against Cæsar, must have been far advanced in years.

2 A largess was given to the people, in the fourth year of Vespasian, when Domitian entered on his second consulship. This, Brotier says, appears on a medal, with this inscription: CONG. II. COS. II. "Congiarium alterum, Domitiano consule secundum." The custom of giving large distributions to the people was for many ages established at Rome. Brotier traces it from Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, when the poverty of the people called for relief. The like bounty was distributed by the generals, who returned in triumph. Lucullus and Julius Cæsar displayed, on those occasions, great pomp and magnificence. Corn, wine, and oil, were plentifully distributed, and the popularity, acquired by those means, was, perhaps, the ruin of the commonwealth. Cæsar lavished money, Augustus followed the example, and Tiberius did the same; but prodigality was not his practice. His politic genius taught him all the arts of governing. The bounties thus distributed, were called, when given to the people, CONGIARIA, and, to the soldiers, DONATIVA. Whoever desires to form an idea of the number of Roman citizens who, at different times, received largesses, and the prodigious expense attending them, may see an account drawn up with diligent attention by Brotier, in an elaborate note on this passage. He begins with Julius Cæsar; and pursues the inquiry through the several successive emperors, fixing the date and expense at every period, as low down as the consulship of Constantius and Galerius Maximianus; when, the empire being divided into the eastern and western, its former magnificence was, by consequence, much diminished.

3 The person here called Corvinus was the same as Corvinus Messala, who flourished in the reign of Augustus, at the same time with Asinius Pollio. See s. xii. note.

4 Servius Sulpicius Galba was consul A. U. C. 610, before the Christian era 144. Cicero says of him, that he was, in his day, an orator of eminence. When he spoke in public, the natural energy of his mind supported him, and the warmth of his imagination made him vehement and pathetic; his language was animated, bold, and rapid; but when he, afterwards, took his pen in hand to correct and polish, the fit of enthusiasm was over; his passions ebbed away, and the composition was cold and languid. "Galbam fortasse vis non ingenii solum, sed etiam animi, et naturalis quidam dolor, dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut et incitata, et gravis, et vehemens esset oratio; dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderat, motusque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem defecerat flaccescebat oratio. Ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum consedit, omnis illa vis, et quasi flamma oratoris extinguitur." *De Claris Orat.* s. 93. Suetonius says, that the person here intended was of consular dignity, and, by his eloquence, gave weight and lustre to his family. *Life of Galba*, s. iii.

5 Caius Papirius Carbo was consul A. U. C. 634. Cicero wishes that he had proved himself as good a citizen, as he was an orator. Being impeached for his turbulent and seditious conduct, he did not choose to stand the event of a trial, but escaped the judgment of the senate by a voluntary death. His life was spent in forensic causes. Men of sense, who heard him, have reported, that he was a fluent, animated, and harmonious speaker; at times pathetic, always pleasing, and abounding with wit. "Carbo, quoad vita suppeditavit, est in multis judiciis causisque cognitus. Hunc qui audierant prudentes homines, canorum oratorum, et volubilem, et satis acrem, atque eundem et vehementem, et valde dulcem, et perfacetum fuisse dicebant." *De Claris Orat.* s. 105.

6 Calvus and Cælius have been mentioned already. See s. xvii. note.

observation, and it is this: eloquence has no settled form: at different times it puts on a new garb, and changes with the manners and the taste of the age. Thus we find, that Gracchus,[7] compared with the elder Cato,[8] is full and copious; but, in his turn, yields to Crassus,[9] an orator more polished, more correct, and florid.

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7 Caius Gracchus was tribune of the people A. U. C. 633. In that character he took the popular side against the patricians; and, pursuing the plan of the agrarian law laid down by his brother Tiberius Gracchus, he was able by his eloquence to keep the city of Rome in violent agitation. Amidst the tumult, the senate, by a decree, ordered the consul, Lucius Opimius, *to take care that the commonwealth received no injury;* and, says Cicero, not a single night intervened, before that magistrate put Gracchus to death. "Decrevit senatus, ut Lucius Opimius consul videret, ne quid detrimenti respublica caperet: nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est propter quasdam seditionum suspiciones Caius Gracchus, clarissimo patre natus, avis, majoribus." *Orat.* i. in *Catilinam.* His reputation as an orator towers above all his contemporaries. Cicero says, the commonwealth and the interests of literature suffered greatly by his untimely end. He wishes that the love of his country, and not zeal for the memory of his brother, had inspired his actions. His eloquence was such as left him without a rival: in his diction, what a noble splendour! in his sentiments, what elevation! and in the whole of his manner, what weight and dignity! His compositions, it is true, are not retouched with care; they want the polish of the last hand; what is well begun, is seldom highly finished; and yet he, if any one, deserves to be the study of the Roman youth. In him they will find what can, at once, quicken their genius, and enrich their understanding. "Damnum enim, illius immaturo interitu, res Romanæ, Latinæque literæ fecerunt. Utinam non tam fratri pietatem, quam patriæ præstare voluisset. Eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem: grandis est verbis, sapiens sententiis, genere toto gravis. Manus extrema non accessit operibus ejus; præclare inchoata multa, perfecta non plane. Legendus est hic orator, si quisquam alius, juventuti; non enim solum acuere, sed etiam alere ingenium potest." *De Claris Oat.* s. 125, 126.

8 This is the celebrated Marcus Portius Cato, commonly known by the name of Cato the censor. He was quæstor under Scipio, who commanded against the Carthaginians, A. U. C. 548. He rose through the regular gradations of the magistracy to the consulship. When prætor, he governed the province of Sardinia, and exerted himself in the reform of all abuses introduced by his predecessors. From his own person, and his manner of living, he banished every appearance of luxury. When he had occasion to visit the towns that lay within his government, he went on foot, clothed with the plainest attire, without a vehicle following him, or more than one servant, who carried the robe of office, and a vase, to make libations at the altar. He sat in judgment with the dignity of a magistrate, and punished every offence with inflexible rigour. He had the happy art of uniting in his own person two things almost incompatible; namely, strict severity and sweetness of manners. Under his administration, justice was at once terrible and amiable. Plutarch relates that he never wore a dress that cost more than thirty shillings: that his wine was no better than what was consumed by his slaves; and that by leading a laborious life, he meant to harden his constitution for the service of his country. He never ceased to condemn the luxury of the times. On this subject a remarkable apophthegm is recorded by Plutarch; *It is impossible,* said Cato, *to save a city in which a single fish sells for more money than an ox.* The account given of him by Cicero in the Cato Major, excites our veneration of the man. He was master of every liberal art, and every branch of science, known in that age. Some men rose to eminence by their skill in jurisprudence; others by their eloquence; and a great number by their military talents. Cato shone in all alike. The patricians were often leagued against him, but his virtue and his eloquence were a match for the proudest connexions. He was chosen CENSOR, in opposition to a number of powerful candidates, A. U. C. 568. He was the adviser of the third Punic war. The question occasioned several warm debates in the senate. Cato always insisted on the demolition of Carthage: DELENDA EST CARTHAGO. He preferred an accusation against Servius Sulpicius Galba on a charge of peculation in Spain, A. U. C. 603; and, though he was then ninety years old, according to Livy (Cicero says he lived to eighty-five), he conducted the business with so much vigour, that Galba, in order to excite compassion, produced his children before the senate, and by that artifice escaped a sentence of condemnation. Quintilian gives the following character of Cato the censor: His genius, like his learning, was universal: historian, orator, lawyer, he cultivated the three branches; and what he undertook, he touched with a master-hand. The science of husbandry was also his. Great as his attainments were, they were acquired in camps, amidst the din of arms; and in the city of Rome, amidst scenes of contention, and the uproar of civil discord. Though he lived in rude unpolished times, he applied himself, when far advanced in the vale of years, to the study of Greek literature, and thereby gave a signal proof that even in old age the willing mind may be enriched with new stores of knowledge. "Marcus Censorius Cato, idem orator, idem historiæ conditor, idem juris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit. Inter tot opera militiæ, tantas domi contentiones, rudi sæculo literas Græcas, ætate jam declinata didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quæ senes concupissent." Lib. xii. cap. 11.

9 Lucius Licinius Crassus is often mentioned, and always to his advantage, by Cicero DE CLARIS ORATORIBUS. He was born, as appears in that treatise (sect. 161), during the consulship of Lælius and Cæpio, A. U. C. 614: he was contemporary with Antonius, the celebrated orator, and father of Antony the triumvir. Crassus was about four and thirty years older than Cicero. When Philippus the consul showed himself disposed to encroach on the privileges of the senate, and, in the presence of that body, offered indignities to Licinius Crassus, the orator, as Cicero informs us, broke out in a blaze of eloquence against that violent outrage, concluding with that remarkable sentence: He shall not be to me A CONSUL, to whom I am not A SENATOR. "Non es mihi consul quia nec ego tibi senator sum." See *Valerius Maximus,* lib. xii. cap. 2. Cicero has given his oratorical character. He possessed a wonderful dignity of language, could enliven his discourse with wit and pleasantry, never descending to vulgar humour; refined, and polished, without a tincture of scurrility. He preserved the true Latin idiom; in his selection of words accurate, with apparent facility; no stiffness, no affectation appeared; in his train of reasoning always clear and methodical; and, when the cause hinged upon a question of law, or the moral distinction of good and evil, no man possessed such a fund of argument, and happy illustration. "Crasso nihil

Cicero rises superior to both; more animated, more harmonious and sublime. He is followed by Corvinus,[1] who has all the softer graces; a sweet flexibility in his style, and a curious felicity in the choice of his words. Which was the greatest orator, is not the question.

The use I make of these examples, is to prove that eloquence does not always wear the same dress, but, even among your celebrated ancients, has its different modes of persuasion. And be it remembered, that what differs is not always the worst. Yet such is the malignity of the human mind, that what has the sanction of antiquity is always admired; what is present, is sure to be condemned. Can we doubt that there have been critics, who were better pleased with Appius Cæcus[2] than with Cato? Cicero had his adversaries:[3] it was objected to him, that his style was redundant, turgid, never compressed, void of precision, and destitute of Attic elegance. We all have read the letters of Calvus and Brutus to your famous orator. In the course of that correspondence, we plainly see what was Cicero's opinion of those eminent men. The former[4] appeared to him cold and

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statuo fieri potuisse perfectius: erat summa gravitas; erat cum gravitate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis, lepos. Latine loquendi accurata, et, sine molestia, diligens elegantia; in disserendo mira explicatio; cum de jure civili, cum de æquo et bono disputaretur, argumentorum et similitudinum copia." *De Claris Orat.* s. 143. In Cicero's books De Oratore, Licinius Crassus supports a capital part in the dialogue; but in the opening of the third book, we have a pathetic account of his death, written, as the Italians say, *con amore*. Crassus returned from his villa, where the dialogue passed, to take part in the debate against Philippus the consul, who had declared to an assembly of the people, that he was obliged to seek new counsellors, for with such a senate he could not conduct the affairs of the commonwealth. The conduct of Crassus, upon that occasion, has been mentioned already. The vehemence, with which he exerted himself, threw him into a violent fever, and, on the seventh day following, put a period to his life. Then, says Cicero, that tuneful swan expired: we hoped once more to hear the melody of his voice, and went in that expectation, to the senate-house; but all that remained was to gaze on the spot where that eloquent orator spoke for the last time in the service of his country. "Illud immortalitate dignum ingenium, illa humanitas, illa virtus Lucii Crassi morte extincta subita est, vix diebus decem post eum diem, qui hoc et superiore libro continetur. Illa tanquam cycnea fuit divini hominis vox, et oratio, quam quasi expectantes, post ejus interitum, veniebamus in curiam, ut vestigium illud ipsum, in quo ille postremum institisset, contueremur." *De Orat.* lib. iii. s. 1. and 6. This passage will naturally call to mind the death of the great earl of Chatham. He went, in a feeble state of health, to attend a debate of the first importance. Nothing could detain him from the service of his country. The dying notes of the British Swan were heard in the House of Peers. He was conveyed to his own house, and on the eleventh of May 1778, he breathed his last. The news reached the House of Commons late in the evening, when Colonel Barre had the honour of being the first to shed a patriot tear on that melancholy occasion. In a strain of manly sorrow, and with that unprepared eloquence which the heart inspires, he moved for a funeral at the public expense, and a monument to the memory of virtue and departed genius. By performing that pious office, Colonel Barre may be said to have made his own name immortal. History will record the transaction.

1 Messala Corvinus is often, in this Dialogue, called Corvinus only. See s. 12. note.

2 Appius Claudius was censor in the year of Rome 442; dictator, 465; and having at a very advanced age lost his sight, he became better known by the name of Appius Cæcus. Afterwards, A. U. C. 472, when Pyrrhus, by his ambassador, offered terms of peace, and a treaty of alliance, Appius, whom blindness, and the infirmities of age, had for some time withheld from public business, desired to be conveyed in a litter to the senate-house. Being conducted to his place, he delivered his sentiments in so forcible a manner, that the fathers resolved to prosecute the war, and never to hear of an accommodation, till Italy was evacuated by Pyrrhus and his army. See Livy, b. xiii. s. 31. Cicero relates the same fact in his Cato Major, and further adds, that the speech made by Appius Cæcus was then extant. Ovid mentions the temple of Bellona, built and dedicated by Appius, who, when blind, saw every thing by the light of his understanding, and rejected all terms of accommodation with Pyrrhus.

> Hac sacrata die Tusco Bellona duello
> Dicitur, et Latio prospera semper adest.
> Appius est auctor, Pyrrho qui pace negata
> Multum animo vidit, lumine cæcus erat.
> *Fasterum*, lib. vi. ver. 203.

3 Quintilian acknowledges this fact, with his usual candour. The question concerning Attic and Asiatic eloquence was of long standing. The style of the former was close, pure, and elegant; the latter was said to be diffuse and ostentatious. In the Attic, nothing was idle, nothing redundant: the Asiatic swelled above all bounds, affecting to dazzle by strokes of wit, by affectation and superfluous ornament. Cicero was said by his enemies to be an orator of the last school. They did not scruple to pronounce him turgid, copious to a fault, often redundant, and too fond of repetition. His wit, they said, was the false glitter of vain conceit, frigid, and out of season; his composition was cold and languid; wire-drawn into amplification, and fuller of meretricious finery than became a man. "Et antiqua quidem illa divisio inter Asianos et Atticos fuit; cum hi pressi et integri, contra inflati illi et lanes haberentur; et in his nihil superfluereat, illis judicium maxime ac modus deesset. Ciceronem tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem, et Asianum, et redundantem, et in repetitionibus nimium, et in salibus aliquando frigidum, et in compositione fractum, exultantem, ac pene (quod procul absit) viro molliorem." Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 10. The same author adds, that, when the great orator was cut off by Marc Antony's proscription, and could no longer answer for himself, the men who either personally hated him, or envied his genius, or chose to pay their court to the triumvirate, poured forth their malignity without reserve. It is unnecessary to observe, that Quintilian, in sundry parts of his work, has vindicated Cicero from these aspersions. See s. 17. note.

4 For Calvus and Brutus, see s. 17. notes. What

languid; the latter, disjointed, loose, and negligent. On the other hand, we know what they thought in return: Calvus did not hesitate to say, that Cicero was diffuse, luxuriant to a fault, and florid without vigour. Brutus, in express terms, says, he was weakened into length, and wanted sinew. If you ask my opinion, each of them had reason on his side. I shall hereafter examine them separately. My business at present, is not in the detail: I speak of them in general terms.

XIX. The era of ancient oratory is, I think, extended by its admirers no farther back than the time of Cassius Severus.[5] He, they tell us, was the first who dared to deviate from the plain and simple style of his predecessors. I admit the fact. He departed from the established forms, not through want of genius, or of learning, but guided by his own good sense and superior judgment. He saw that the public ear was formed to a new manner; and eloquence, he knew, was to find new approaches to the heart. In the early periods of the commonwealth, a rough unpolished people might well be satisfied with the tedious length of unskilful speeches, at a time when to make an harangue that took up the whole day, was the orator's highest praise. The prolix exordium, wasting itself in feeble preparation; the circumstantial narration, the ostentatious division of the argument under different heads, and the thousand proofs and logical distinctions, with whatever else is contained in the dry precepts of Hermagoras[6] and Apollodorus, were in that rude

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Cicero thought of Calvus has been already quoted from the tract *De Claris Oratoribus*, in note, s. 17. By being too severe a critic on himself, he lost strength, while he aimed at elegance. It is, therefore, properly said in this Dialogue, that Cicero thought Calvus cold and enervated. But did he think Brutus disjointed, loose and negligent—*otiosum atque disjunctum?* That he often thought him disjointed is not improbable. Brutus was a close thinker, and he aimed at the precision and brevity of Attic eloquence. The sententious speaker is, of course, full and concise. He has no studied transitions, above the minute care of artful connections. To discard the copulatives for the sake of energy was a rule laid down by the best ancient critics. Cicero has observed that an oration may be said to be disjointed, when the copulatives are omitted, and strokes of sentiment follow one another in quick succession. "Dissolutio sive disjunctio est, quæ conjunctionibus e medio sublatis, partibus separatis effertur, hoc modo: Gere morem parenti; pare cognatis; obsequere amicis; obtempera legibus." *Ad Herennium*, lib. iv. s. 41. In this manner, Brutus might appear disjointed, and that figure, often repeated, might grow into a fault. But how is the word OTIOSUS to be understood? If it means a neglect of connectives, it may, perhaps, apply to Brutus. There is no room to think that Cicero used it in a worse sense, since we find him in a letter to Atticus declaring, that the oratorical style of Brutus was, in language as well as sentiment, elegant to a degree that nothing could surpass. "Est enim oratio ejus scripta elegantissime, sententiis et verbis, ut nihil possit ultra." A grave philosopher, like Brutus, might reject the graces of transition and regular connection, and, for that reason, might be thought negligent and abrupt. This disjointed style, which the French call *style coupe*, was the manner cultivated by Seneca, for which Caligula pronounced him, sand without lime; *arenam sine calce*. Sueton. *Life of Calig.* s. 53. We know from Quintilian, that a spirit of emulation, and even jealousy, subsisted between the eminent orators of Cicero's time; that he himself was so far from ascribing perfection to Demosthenes, that he used to say, he often found him napping; that Brutus and Calvo sat in judgment on Cicero, and did not wish to conceal their objections; and that the two Pollios were so far from being satisfied with Cicero's style and manner, that their criticisms were little short of declared hostility. "Quamquam neque ipsi Ciceroni Demosthenes videatur satis esse perfectus, quem dormitare interdum dicit; nec Cicero Bruto Calvoque, qui certe compositionem illius etiam apud ipsum reprehendunt; ne Asinio utrique, qui vitia orationis ejus etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur." Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 1.

5 Cassius Severus lived in the latter end of the reign of Augustus, and through a considerable part of that of Tiberius. He was an orator, according to Quintilian, who, if read with due caution, might serve as a model worthy of imitation. It is to be regretted, that to the many excellent qualities of his style he did not add more weight, more strength and dignity, and thereby give colour and a body to his sentiments. With those requisites, he would have ranked with the most eminent orators. To his excellent genius he united keen reflection, great energy, and a peculiar urbanity, which gave a secret charm to his speeches. But the warmth of his temper hurried him on; he listened more to his passions than to his judgment; he possessed a vein of wit, but he mingled with it too much acrimony; and wit, when it misses its aim, feels the mortification and the ridicule which usually attend disappointed malice. "Multa, si cum judicio legatur, dabit imitatione digna CASSIUS SEVERUS, qui, si cæteris virtutibus colorem et gravitatem orationis adjecisset, ponendus inter præcipuos foret. Nam et ingenii plurimum est in eo, et acerbitas mira, et urbanitas, et vis summa; sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit; præterea ut amari sales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipsa ridicula est." Lib. x. cap. 1. We read in Suetonius (*Life of Octavius*, s. 56), that Cassius had the hardiness to institute a prosecution for the crime of poisoning against Asprenas Nonius, who was, at the time, linked in the closest friendship with Augustus. Not content with accusations against the first men in Rome, he chose to vent his malevolence in lampoons and defamatory libels, against the most distinguished of both sexes. It was this that provoked Horace to declare war against Cassius, in an ode (lib. v. ode 6), which begins, *Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis.* See an account of his malevolent spirit, *Annals*, b. i. s. 72. He was at length condemned for his indiscriminate abuse, and banished by Augustus to the Isle of Crete. But his satirical rage was not to be controlled. He continued in exile to discharge his malignity, till, at last, at the end of ten years, the senate took cognizance of his guilt, and Tiberius ordered him to be removed from Crete to the Rock of Seriphos, where he languished in old age and misery. See *Annals*, b. iv. s. 21. The period of ancient oratory ended about the time when Cassius began his career. He was the first of the new school.

6 These two rhetoricians flourished in the time of Augustus. Apollodorus, we are told by Quintilian (b.

period received with universal applause. To finish the picture, if your ancient orator could glean a little from the common places of philosophy, and interweave a few shreds and patches with the thread of his discourse, he was extolled to the very skies. Nor can this be matter of wonder: the maxims of the schools had not been divulged; they came with an air of novelty. Even among the orators themselves, there were but few who had any tincture of philosophy. Nor had they learned the rules of art from the teachers of eloquence.

In the present age, the tenets of philosophy and the precepts of rhetoric are no longer a secret. The lowest of our popular assemblies are now, I will not say fully instructed, but certainly acquainted with the elements of literature. The orator, by consequence, finds himself obliged to seek new avenues to the heart, and new graces to embellish his discourse, that he may not offend fastidious ears, especially before a tribunal where the judge is no longer bound by precedent, but determines according to his will and pleasure; not, as formerly, observing the measure of time allowed to the advocate, but taking upon himself to prescribe the limits. Nor is this all: the judge, at present, will not condescend to wait till the orator, in his own way, opens his case; but, of his own authority, reminds him of the point in question, and, if he wanders, calls him back from his digression, not without a hint that the court wishes to despatch.

XX. Who, at this time, would bear to hear an advocate introducing himself with a tedious preface about the infirmities of his constitution? Yet that is the threadbare exordium of Corvinus. We have five books against Verres.[1] Who can endure that vast redundance? Who can listen to those endless arguments upon points of form, and cavilling exceptions,[2] which we find in the orations of the same celebrated advocate for Marcus Tullius[3] and Aulus Cæcina? Our modern judges are able to anticipate the argument. Their quickness goes before the speaker. If not struck with the vivacity of his manner, the elegance of his sentiments, and the glowing colours of his descriptions, they soon grow weary of the flat insipid discourse. Even in the lowest class of life, there is now a relish for rich and splendid ornament. Their taste requires the gay, the florid, and the brilliant. The unpolished style of antiquity would now succeed as ill at the bar, as the modern actor who should attempt to copy the deportment of Roscius,[4] or

iii. chap. 1), was the preceptor of Augustus. He taught in opposition to Theodorus Gadareus, who read lectures at Rhodes, and was attended by Tiberius during his retreat in that island. The two contending masters were the founders of opposite sects, called the *Apollodorean* and *Theodorian*. But true eloquence, which knows no laws but those of nature and good sense, gained nothing by party divisions. Literature was distracted by new doctrines; rhetoric became a trick in the hands of sophists, and all sound oratory disappeared. Hermagoras, Quintilian says, in the chapter already cited, was the disciple of Theodorus.

1 Doctor Middleton says, "Of the seven excellent orations, which now remain on the subject of VERRES, the first two only were spoken; the one called, *The Divination*; the other, *The first Action*, which is nothing more than a general preface to the whole cause. The other five were published afterwards, as they were prepared and intended to be spoken, if VERRES had made a regular defence: for as this was the only cause in which Cicero had yet been engaged, or ever designed to be engaged, as *an accuser*, so he was willing to leave those orations as a specimen of his abilities in that way, and the *pattern of a just and diligent impeachment of a great and corrupt magistrate*." *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 86, 4to edit.

2 The Digest enumerates a multitude of rules concerning *exceptions* to persons, things, the form of the action, the niceties of pleading, and, as the phrase is, motions in arrest of judgment. *Formula*, was the set of words necessary to be used in the pleadings. See the *Digest*, lib. xliv. tit. 1. *De Exceptionibus, Præscriptionibus, et Præjudiciis*. See also Cujacius, *observat.* xxiii.

3 The oration for Marcus Tullius is highly praised by Macrobius, but is not to be found in Cicero's works. The oration for Aulus Cæcina is still extant. The cause was about the right of succession to a private estate, which depended on a subtle point of law, arising from the interpretation of the prætor's interdict. It shows Cicero's exact knowledge and skill in the civil law, and that his public character and employment gave no interruption to his usual diligence in pleading causes. Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. p. 116. 4to edit.

4 Roscius, in the last period of the republic, was the comedian, whom all Rome admired for his talents. The great esteemed and loved him for his morals. Æsop, the tragedian, was his contemporary. Horace, in the Epistle to Augustus, has mentioned them both with their proper and distinctive qualities.

——— Et cum reprehendere coner
Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius, egit.

A certain measured gravity of elocution being requisite in tragedy, that quality is assigned to the former, and the latter is called DOCTUS, because he was a complete master of his art; so truly learned in the principles of his profession, that he possessed, in a wonderful degree, the secret charm that gave inimitable graces to his voice and action. Quintilian, in a few words, has given a commentary on the passage in Horace. Grief, he says, is expressed by slow and deliberate accents; for that reason, Æsop spoke with gravity; Roscius with quickness; the former being a tragedian, the latter a comedian. "Pius autem affectus habent lentiora; ideoque Roscius citatior, Æsopus gravior fuit, quod ille comœdias, hic tragœdias egit." Lib. xi. cap. 1. Cicero was the great friend and patron of Roscius. An elegant oration in his behalf is still extant. The cause was this: one FANNIUS had made over to Roscius a young slave, to be formed by him to the stage, on condition of a partnership in the profits which the slave should acquire by acting. The slave was afterwards killed. Roscius prosecuted the murderer for damages, and obtained, by composition, a little farm, worth about eight hundred pounds, for his particular share. FANNIUS also sued separately, and was supposed to have gained as much; but, pretending to

Ambivius Turpio. Even the young men who are preparing for the career of eloquence, and, for that purpose, attend the forum and the tribunals of justice, have now a nice discriminating taste. They expect to have their imaginations pleased. They wish to carry home some bright illustration, some splendid passage, that deserves to be remembered. What has struck their fancy, they communicate to each other: and in their letters, the glittering thought, given with sententious brevity, the poetical allusion that enlivened the discourse, and the dazzling imagery, are sure to be transmitted to their respective colonies and provinces. The ornaments of poetic diction are now required, not, indeed, copied from the rude obsolete style of Accius[5] and Pacuvius, but embellished with the graces of Horace, Virgil, and[6] Lucan. The public judgment has/

have recovered nothing, he sued Roscius for the moiety of what he had received. One cannot but observe, says Dr. Middleton, from Cicero's pleading, the wonderful esteem and reputation in which Roscius then flourished. Has Roscius, says he, defrauded his partner? Can such a stain stick upon such a man; a man who, I speak it with confidence, has more integrity than skill, more veracity than experience? a man whom the people of Rome know to be a better citizen than he is an actor; and, while he makes the first figure on the stage for his art, is worthy of a seat in the senate for his virtue. "Quem populus Romanus meliorem virum quam histrionem esse arbitratur; qui ita dignissimus est scena propter artificium, ut dignissimus sit curia propter abstinentiam." *Pro Roscio Comœdo*, s. 17. In another place, Cicero says, he was such an artist, as to seem the only one fit to appear on the stage; yet such a man, as to seem the only one who should not come upon it at all. "Cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse qui in scena spectetur; tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui eo non accedat." *Pro Publ. Quinctio*, s. 78. What Cicero has said in his pleadings might be thought oratorical, introduced merely to serve the cause, if we did not find the comedian praised with equal warmth in the dialogue De Oratore. It is there said of Roscius that every thing he did was perfect in the kind, and executed with consummate grace, with a secret charm, that touched, affected, and delighted the whole audience: insomuch, that when a man excelled in any other profession, it was grown into a proverb to call him the Roscius of his art. "Videtisne, quam nihil ab eo nisi perfecte, nihil nisi cum summa venustate fiat? nihil, nisi ita ut deceat, et ut omnes moveat, atque delectet? Itaque hoc jam diu est consecutus, ut in quo quisque artificio excelleret, is in suo genere Roscius diceretur." *De Orat.* lib. I. s. 130. After so much honourable testimony, one cannot but wonder why the Doctus Roscius of Horace is mentioned in this Dialogue with an air of disparagement. It may be, that Apra, the speaker in this passage, was determined to degrade the orators of antiquity; and the comedian was, therefore, to expect no quarter. Dacier, in his notes on the Epistle to Augustus, observes that Roscius wrote a book, in which he undertook to prove to Cicero, that in all the stores of eloquence there were not so many different expressions for one and the same thing, as in the dramatic art there were modes of action, and casts of countenance, to mark the sentiment, and convey it to the mind with its due degree of emotion. It is to be lamented that such a book has not come down to us. It would, perhaps, be more valuable than the best treatise of rhetoric.

Ambivius Turpio acted in most of Terence's plays, and seems to have been a manager of the theatre. Cicero, in the treatise *De Senectute*, says: He, who sat near him in the first rows, received the greatest pleasure; but still, those who were at the further end of the theatre, were delighted with him. Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat; delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima.

5 Accius and Pacuvius flourished at Rome about the middle of the sixth century from the foundation of the city. Accius, according to Horace, was held to be a poet of a sublime genius, and Pacuvius (who lived to be ninety years old) was respected for his age and profound learning.

> Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert
> *Pacuvius* docti famam senis, *Accius* alti.
>
> *Epist. ad Aug.* ver. 56.

Velleius Paterculus says, that Accius was thought equal to the best writers of the Greek tragedy. He had not, indeed, the diligent touches of the polishing hand, which we see in the poets of Athens, but he had more spirit and vigour. "Accius usque in Græcorum comparationem erectus. In illis limæ, in hoc pene plus videri fuisse sanguinis." He is often quoted by Cicero in his book *De Natura Deorum*. But after all, it is from the great critic, who gives the best account of the Roman poets, orators, and historians, that we are to take the genuine character of Accius and Pacuvius, since their works are lost in the general mass of ancient literature. They were both excellent tragic poets: elevation of sentiment, grandeur of expression, and dignity of character, stamped a value on their productions: and yet, we must not expect to find the grace and elegance of genuine composition. To give the finishing hand to their works was not their practice: the defect, however, is not to be imputed to them; it was the vice of the age. Force and dignity are the characteristics of Accius; while the critics, who wish to be thought deep and profound, admire Pacuvius for his extensive learning. "Tragœdiæ scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius, clarissimi sententiarum verborumque pondere, et auctoritate personarum. Cæterum nitor, et summa in excoiendis operibus manus, magis videri potest temporibus, quam ipsis defuisse. Virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti affectant, volunt." Quintil. lib. x. cap. I. It was the fashion in Horace's time to prefer the writers of the old school to the new race that gave so much lustre to the Augustan age. In opposition to such erroneous criticism, the poet pronounces a decided judgment, which seems to be confirmed by the opinion of Quintilian.

> Si quædam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
> Dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
> Et sapit, et mecum facit, et Jove judicat æquo.
>
> *Epist. ad August.* ver. 63.

> But that sometimes their style uncouth appears,
> And their harsh numbers rudely hurt our ears;
> Or that full fatly flows the languid line,
> He, who owns this, has *Jove's* assent and mine.
>
> *Francis' Horace.*

6 Lucan was nephew to Seneca, and a poet of great celebrity. He was born, in the reign of Caligula, at Corduba in Spain. His superior genius made Nero his mortal enemy. He was put to death by that inhuman emperor, A. U. C. 818, in the twenty-seventh year of

raised a demand for harmonious periods, and, in compliance with the taste of the age, our orators grow every day more polished and adorned. Let it not be said, that what we gain in refinement, we lose in strength. Are the temples, raised by our modern architects, of a weaker structure, because they are not formed with shapeless stones, but with the magnificence of polished marble, and decorations of the richest gilding?

XXI. Shall I fairly own to you the impression which I generally receive from the ancient orators? They make me laugh, or lull me to sleep. Nor is this the case only, when I read the orations of Canutius.[1] Arrius, Furnius, Toranius, and others of the same school, or rather, the same infirmary;[2] an emaciated sickly race of orators; without sinew, colour, or proportion. But what shall be said of your admired Calvus?[3] He, I think, has left no less than one and twenty volumes: in the whole collection, there is not more than one or two short orations, that can pretend to perfection in the kind. Upon this point there is no difference of opinion. Who now reads his declamations against Asitius or Drusus? His speeches against Vatinius are in the hands of the curious, particularly the second, which must be allowed to be a masterpiece. The language is elegant; the sentiments are striking, and the ear is satisfied with the roundness of the periods. In this specimen we see that he had an idea of just composition, but his genius was not equal to his judgment. The orations of Cælius, though upon the whole defective, are not without their beauties. Some passages are highly finished. In those we acknowledge the nice touches of modern elegance. In general, however, the coarse expression, the halting period, and the vulgarity of the sentiments, have too much of the leaven of antiquity.

If Cælius[4] is still admired, it is not, I believe, in any of those parts that bear the mark of a rude illiterate age. With regard to Julius Cæsar,[5] engaged as he was in projects of vast

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his age. See the *Annals*, b. xv. s. 70. As a writer, Quintilian says, that he possessed an ardent genius, impetuous, rapid, and remarkable for the vigour of his sentiments: but he chooses to class him with the orators, rather than the poets. "Lucanus ardens, et concitatus, et sententiis clarissimus; et, ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis annumerandus." Lib. x. cap. 1. Scaliger, on the other hand, contends that Lucan was a true poet, and that the critics do but trifle, when they object that he wrote history, not an epic poem. STRADA, in his Prolusions, has given, among other imitations, a narrative in Lucan's manner; and though he thinks that poet has not the skill of Virgil, he places him on the summit of Parnassus, managing his Pegasus with difficulty, often in danger of falling from the ridge of a precipice, yet delighting his reader with the pleasure of seeing him escape. This is the true character of Lucan. The love of liberty was his ruling passion. It is but justice to add, that his sentiments, when free from *antithesis* and the *Ovidian* manner, are not excelled by any poet of antiquity. From him, as well as from Virgil and Horace, the orator is required to cull such passages as will help to enrich his discourse; and the practice is recommended by Quintilian, who observes, that Cicero, Asinius Pollio, and others, frequently cited verses from Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, and Terence, in order to grace their speeches with polite literature, and enliven the imagination of their hearers. By those poetic insertions, the ear is relieved from the harsh monotony of the forum; and the poets, cited occasionally, serve by their authority to establish the proposition advanced by the speaker. "Nam præcipue quidem apud Ciceronem, frequenter tamen apud Asinium etiam, et cæteros, qui sunt proximi, vidimus ENNII, ACCII, PACUVII, TERENTII et aliorum inseri versus, summa non eruditionis modo gratia, sed etiam jucunditatis; cum poeticis voluptatibus aures a forensi asperitate respirent, quibus accedit non mediocris utilitas, cum sententiis eorum, velut quibusdam testimoniis, quæ proposuere confirmant." Quintil. lib. i. cap. 8.

1 There is in this place a blunder of the copyists, which almost makes the sentence unintelligible. The translator, without entering into minute controversies, has, upon all such occasions, adopted what appeared from the context, to be the most probable sense. It remains, therefore, to inquire, who were the several orators here enumerated. CANUTIUS may be the person mentioned by Suetonius *De Claris Rhetoribus*. Cicero says of ARRIUS, that he was a striking proof of what consequence it was at Rome to be useful to others, and always ready to be subservient to their honour, or to ward off danger. For, by that assiduity, Arrius raised himself from a low beginning to wealth and honours, and was even ranked in the number of orators, though void of learning, and without genius, or abilities. "Loco infimo natus, et honores, et pecuniam, et gratiam consecutus, etiam in patronorum, sine doctrina, sine ingenio, aliquem numerum pervenerat." De Claris Orat. s. 243. FURNIUS may be supposed, not without probability, to be the person with whom Cicero corresponded. Epist. ad Familiares, lib. x. ep. 25. 26. With regard to Terrianus we are left in the dark. The commentators offer various conjectures; but conjecture is often a specious amusement; the ingenious folly of men, who take pains to bewilder themselves, and reason only to show their useless learning.

2 The puny orators are said to be in an infirmary, like sickly men, who were nothing but skin and bone. These, says Cicero, were admirers of the Attic manner: but it were to be wished that they had the wholesome blood, not merely the bones, of their favourite declaimers. "Attico genere dicendi se gaudere dicunt; atqui utinam imitarentur nec ossa solum, sed etiam et sanguinem." Cicero *De Claris Oratoribus*.

3 What is here said of Calvus is not confirmed by the judgment of Quintilian. See s. xvii. note 1. His orations, which were extant at the time of this Dialogue, are now totally lost.

4 For Quintilian's opinion of Cælius, see s. xvii. note.

5 Here again Quintilian, that candid and able judge, has given a different opinion. See s. xvii. note. It may be proper to add the testimony of Velleius Paterculus. Cæsar, he says, had an elevation of soul, that towered above humanity, and was almost incredible; the rapid progress of his wars, his firmness in the hour of danger, and the grandeur of his vast conceptions, bore a near affinity to Alexander, but to Alexander

ambition, we may forgive him the want of that perfection which might, otherwise, be expected from so sublime a genius. Brutus, in like manner, may be excused on account of his philosophical speculations. Both he and Cæsar, in their oratorical attempts, fell short of themselves. Their warmest admirers acknowledge the fact, nor is there an instance to the contrary, unless we except Cæsar's speech for Decius the Samnite,[6] and that of Brutus for king [7] Dejotarus. But are those performances, and some others of the same lukewarm temper, to be received as works of genius? He who admires those productions, may be left to admire their verses also. For verses they both made, and sent them into the world, I will not say, with more success than Cicero, but certainly more to their advantage; for their poetry had the good fortune to be little known.

Asinius lived near our own times.[8] He seems to have studied in the old school of Menenius and Appius. He composed tragedies as well as orations, but in a style, so harsh and rugged, that one would think him the disciple of Accius and Pacuvius. He mistook the nature of eloquence, which may then be said to have attained its true beauty, when the parts unite with smoothness, strength, and proportion. As in the human body the veins should not swell too high, nor the bones and sinews appear too prominent; but its form is then most graceful, when a pure and temperate blood gives animation[9] to the whole frame; when the muscles have their proper play, and the colour of health is diffused over the several parts. I am not willing to disturb the memory of Corvinus Messala.[10] If he did not reach the graces of modern composition, the defect does not seem to have sprung from choice. The vigour of his genius was not equal to his judgment.

XXII. I now proceed to Cicero, who, we find, had often upon his hands the very controversy, that engages us at present. It was the fashion with his contemporaries to admire the ancients, while he, on the contrary, contended for the eloquence of his own time. Were I to mention the quality that placed him at the head of his rivals I should say it was the solidity of his judgment. It was he that first showed a taste for polished and graceful oratory. He was happy in his choice of words, and he had the art of giving weight and harmony to his composition. We find in many passages a warm imagination, and luminous sentences. In his later speeches, he has lively sallies of wit and fancy. Experience had then matured his judgment, and after long practice, he found the true oratorical style. In his earlier productions we see the rough cast of antiquity. The exordium is tedious; the narration is drawn into length; luxuriant passages are not retouched with care; he is not easily affected, and he rarely takes fire; his sentiments are not always happily expressed,[11] nor are the periods closed

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neither drunk, nor mad with passion. "Animo super humanam et naturam, et fidem evectus, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum, magnitudine cogitationem; magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus." Vel. Patercul. lib. ii. s. 41. Even Cicero tells us, that of all the eminent orators, he was the person who spoke the Latin language in the greatest purity, and arrived at that consummate perfection by study, by diligent application, and his thorough knowledge of all polite literature. "Illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime: ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis litteris, et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus." De Claris Orat. s. 252.

6 Cæsar's speech for Decius the Samnite, and all his other productions (except the Commentaries,) are totally lost.

7 This speech of Brutus is also lost with his other works. Cicero says, he heard him plead the cause of Dejotarus with great elegance, and a flow of harmonious periods. "Causam Dejotari, fidelissimi atque optimi regis, ornatissime et copiosissime a Bruto me audisse defensam." De Claris Orat. s. 21. He tells us in another place, that Cæsar observed of Brutus, that whatever he desired, he desired with ardour; and therefore, in the cause of Dejotarus, he exerted himself with warmth, with vehemence, and great freedom of language. "Quidquid vult, valde vult; ideoque, cum pro rege Dejotaro dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum, et libere dicere." Ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 1. The same Dejotarus was afterwards defended by Cicero before Cæsar himself. See the Oration *pro Rege Dejotaro*.

8 See what is said of Asinius Pollio, s. xii. note.

9 Pliny the younger has the same metaphorical allusions, which we here find in the dialogue. Speaking of the difference between the oratorical and historical style; the latter, he says, may be content with the bones, the muscles, and the nerves; the former must have the prominence of the flesh, the brawny vigour, and the flowing mane. "Habent quidem oratio et historia multa communia, sed plura diversa in his ipsis, quæ communia videntur. Narrat sane illa, narrat hæc sed aliter. Huic pleraque humilia, et sordida, et ex medio petita: illi omnia recondita, splendida, excelsa conveniunt. Hanc sæpius ossa, musculi, nervi; illam tori quidam, et quasi jubæ decent." Lib. v. ep. 8.

10 Messala Corvinus has been often mentioned. See for him s. xii. note.

11 The words *sententia* and *sensus* were technical terms with the critics of antiquity. Quintilian gives the distinct meaning of each, with his usual precision. According to the established usage, the word *sensus* signified our ideas or conceptions, as they rise in the mind: by *sententia* was intended, a proposition, in the close of a period, so expressed, as to dart a sudden brilliancy, for that reason called *lumen orationis*. He says, these artificial ornaments, which the ancients used but sparingly, were the constant practice of the modern orators. "Consuetudo jam tenuit, ut mente concepta, SENSUS vocaremus; lumina autem, præcipueque in clausulis posita, SENTENTIAS. Quæ minus crebra apud antiquos, nostris temporibus modo carent." Lib. viii. cap. 5. These luminous sentences, Quintilian says, may be called the eyes of an oration; but eyes are not to be placed in every part, lest the other members should lose their function. "Ego vero hæc lumina orationis

with energy. There is nothing so highly finished, as to tempt you to avail yourself of a borrowed beauty. In short, his speeches are like a rude building, which is strong and durable, but wants that grace and consonance of parts which give symmetry and perfection to the whole.

In oratory, as in architecture, I require ornament as well as use. From the man of ample fortune, who undertakes to build, we expect elegance and proportion. It is not enough that his house will keep out the wind and the rain; it must strike the eye, and present a pleasing object. Nor will it suffice that the furniture may answer all domestic purposes; it should be rich, fashionable, elegant; it should have gold and gems so curiously wrought, that they will bear examination, often viewed, and always admired. The common utensils, which are either mean or sordid, should be carefully removed out of sight. In like manner, the true orator should avoid the trite and vulgar. Let him reject the antiquated phrase, and whatever is covered with the rust of time; let his sentiments be expressed with spirit, not in careless, ill-constructed, languid periods, like a dull writer of annals; let him banish low scurrility, and, in short, let him know how to diversify his style, that he may not fatigue the ear with a monotony, ending for ever with the same unvaried cadence.[1]

XXIII. I shall say nothing of the false wit, and insipid play upon words, which we find in Cicero's orations. His pleasant conceits about the *wheel of fortune*,[2] and the arch raillery on the equivocal meaning of the word VERRES,[3] do not merit a moment's attention. I omit the perpetual recurrence of the phrase, ESSE VIDERATUR,[4] which chimes in our ears at the close of so many sentences, sounding big, but signifying nothing. These are petty blemishes; I mention them with reluctance. I say nothing of other defects equally improper: and yet those very defects are the delight of such as affect to call themselves ancient orators. I need not single them out by name: the men are sufficiently known; it is enough to allude, in general terms, to the whole class.

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velut oculos quosdam esse eloquentiæ credo: sed neque oculos esse toto corpore velim, ne cætera membra suum officium perdant." Lib. viii. cap. v. As Cowley says,

> Jewels at nose and lips but ill appear;
> Rather than all things, wit let none be there.

1 In order to form a good style, the sentence should always be closed with variety, strength, and harmony. The ancient rhetoricians held this to be so essentially requisite, that Quintilian has given it a full discussion. That, he says, which offends the ear, will not easily gain admission to the mind. Words should be fitted to their places, so that they may aptly coalesce with one another. In building, the most ill shapen stones may be conveniently fixed; and in like manner, a good style must have proper words in proper places, all arranged in order, and closing the sentence with grace and harmony. "Nihil intrare potest in affectum, quod in aure, velut quodam vestibulo, statim offendit. Non enim ad pedes verba dimensa sunt; ideoque ex loco tranferuntur in locum, ut jungantur quo congruunt maxime; sicut in structura saxorum rudium etiam ipsa enormitas invenit cui applicari, et in quo possit insistere. Felicissimus tamen sermo est, cui et rectus ordo, et apta junctura, et cum his numerus opportune cadens contingit." Quintil. lib. ix. cap. 4.

2 The remark in this place alludes to a passage in the oration against Piso, where we find a frivolous stroke of false wit. Cicero reproaches Piso for his dissolute manners, and his scandalous debauchery. Who, he says, in all that time, saw you sober? Who beheld you doing any one thing, worthy of a liberal mind? Did you once appear in public? The house of your colleagues resounded with songs and minstrels: he himself danced naked in the midst of his wanton company; and while he *wheeled* about with alacrity in the *circular motion* of the dance, he never once thought of THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE. "Quis te illis diebus sobrium, quis agentem aliquid, quod esset libero dignum? Quis denique in publico vidit? Cum collegæ tui domus cantu et cymbalis personaret: cumque ipse nudus in convivio saltaret, in quo ne tum quidem, cum illum suum SALTATORIUM VERSARET ORBEM, FORTUNÆ ROTAM pertimescebat." *Oratio in Pisonem*, prima pars, s. 22. Delph. edit. vol. iii.

3 The passage here alluded to, presents us with a double pun. The word *Verres* is the name of a man, and also signifies a *boar pig*, as we read in Horace, *Verris obliquum meditantis ictum*. Lib. iii. ode 22. The word *jus* is likewise of twofold meaning, importing *law* and *sauce*, or broth; *tepidumque liguriverit jus*. Lib i. sat. 3. The objection to Cicero is, that playing on both the words, and taking advantage of their ambiguous meaning, he says it could not be matter of wonder that the *Verrian jus* was such bad HOG-SOUP. The wit (if it deserves that name) is mean enough; but, in justice to Cicero, it should be remembered, that he himself calls it frigid, and says, that the men, who in their anger could be so very facetious, as to blame the priest who did not sacrifice such a hog (*Verres*), were idle and ridiculous. He adds, that he should not descend to repeat such sayings (for they were neither witty, nor worthy of notice in such a cause), had he not thought it material to show, that the iniquity of VERRES was, in the mouth of the vulgar, a subject of ridicule, and a proverbial joke. "Hinc illi homines erant, qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore: quorum alii, ut audistis, negabant mirandum esse, JUS tam nequam esse VERRINUM: alii etiam frigidiores erant; sed quia stomachabantur, ridiculi videbantur esse, cum SACERDOTEM execrabantur, qui VERREM tam nequam reliquisset. Quas ego non commemorarem (neque enim perfacete dicta, neque porro hac severitate digna sunt) nisi vos id vellem recordari, istius nequitiam et iniquitatem tum in ore vulgi, atque communibus proverbiis esse versatam." *In Verrem*, lib. i. pars tertia, s. 121.

4 Quintilian acknowledges that the words *esse videatur*, (*it seems to be*) occur frequently in Cicero's Orations. He adds, that he knew several, who fancied that they had performed wonders when they placed that phrase in the close of a sentence. "Noveram quosdam, qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud cælestis hujus in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent esse videatur. Quintil. lib. x. cap. 2.

We all are sensible that there is a set of critics now existing, who prefer Lucilius[5] to Horace, and Lucretius[6] to Virgil; who despise the eloquence of Aufidius Bassus[7] and Servilius Nonianus, and yet admire Varro and[8] Sisenna. By these pretenders to taste, the works of our modern rhetoricians are thrown by with neglect, and even fastidious disdain; while those of Calvus are held in the highest esteem. We see these men prosing in their ancient style before the judges; but we see them left without an audience, deserted by the people, and hardly endured by their clients. The truth is, their cold and spiritless manner has no attraction. They call it sound oratory, but it is want of vigour; like that precarious state of health which weak constitutions preserve by abstinence. What physician will pronounce that a strong habit of body, which requires constant care and anxiety of mind? To say barely, that we are not ill, is surely not enough. True health consists in vigour, a generous warmth, and a certain alacrity in the whole frame. He who is only not indisposed, is little distant from actual illness.

With you, my friends, the case is different: proceed, as you well can, and in fact, as you do, to adorn our age with all the grace and splendour of true oratory. It is with pleasure, Messala, that I see you selecting for imitation the liveliest models of the ancient school. You too, Maternus, and you, my friend, Secundus,[9] you both possess the happy art of adding to weight of sentiment all the dignity of language. To a copious invention you unite the judgment

5 The species of composition, called satire, was altogether of Roman growth. Lucilius had the honour of being the inventor; and he succeeded so well, that even in Quintilian's time, his admirers preferred him not only to the writers who followed in the same way, but to all poets of every denomination. "Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet imitatores, ut eum non ejusdem modo operis, sed omnibus poetis præferre non dubitent." Lib. x. cap. 1. The great critic, however, pronounces judgment in favour of Horace, who, he says, is more terse and pure; a more acute observer of life, and qualified by nature to touch the ridicule of the manners with the nicest hand. "Multo est tersior, ac purus magis Horatius, et ad notandos hominum mores præcipuus."

6 Lucretius is not without his partisans at this hour. Many of the French critics speak of him with rapture; and, in England, Dr. Wharton of Winchester seems to be at the head of his admirers. He does not scruple to say that Lucretius had more spirit, fire, and energy, more of the *vivida vis animi*, than any of the Roman poets. It is neither safe nor desirable to differ from so fine a genius as Dr. Wharton. The passages which he has quoted from his favourite poet, show great taste in the selection. It should be remembered, however, that Quintilian does not treat Lucretius with the same passionate fondness. He places Virgil next to Homer; and the rest, he says, of the Roman poets follow at a great distance. MACER and LUCRETIUS deserve to be read: they have handled their respective subjects with taste and elegance; but Macer has no elevation, and Lucretius is not easily understood. "Cateri omnes longe sequuntur. Nam MACER et LUCRETIUS legendi quidem; elegantes in sua quisque materia, sed alter humilis, alter difficilis." Lib. x. cap. 1. Statius, the poet, who flourished in the reign of Domitian, knew the value of Lucretius, and, in one line, seems to have given his true character: *et docti furor arduus Lucreti;* but had he been to decide between him and Virgil, it is probable, that he would say to Lucretius, as he did to himself,

——— Nec tu divinam Æneida tenta,
Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.
Thebaidos, lib. xii. ver. 816.

7 Aufidius Bassus and Servilius Nonianus were writers of history. Bassus, according to Quintilian, deserved great commendation, particularly in his History of the German war. In some of his other works he fell short of himself. Servilius Nonianus was known to Quintilian, and, in that critic's judgment, was an author of considerable merit, sententious in his manner, but more diffuse than becomes the historic character. See Quintilian, lib. x. cap. 1. The death of SERVILIUS, an eminent orator and historian, is mentioned by Tacitus in the *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 19; but the additional name of NONIANUS is omitted. The passage, however, is supposed to relate to the person commended by Quintilian. He died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812; of the Christian era 59.

8 Varro was universally allowed to be the most learned of the Romans. He wrote on several subjects with profound erudition. Quintilian says, he was completely master of the Latin language, and thoroughly conversant in the antiquities of Greece and Rome. His works will enlarge our sphere of knowledge, but can add nothing to eloquence. "Peritissimus linguæ Latinæ, et omnis antiquitatis, et rerum Græcarum, nostrarumque; plus tamen scientiæ collaturus, quam eloquentiæ." Lib. x. cap. 1.

Sisenna, we are told by Cicero, was a man of learning, well skilled in the Roman language, acquainted with the laws and constitution of his country, and possessed of no small share of wit; but eloquence was not his element, and his practice in the forum was inconsiderable. See *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 228. In a subsequent part of the same work, Cicero says, that Sisenna was of opinion, that to use uncommon words was the perfection of style. To prove this he relates a pleasant anecdote. One Caius Rufus carried on a prosecution. Sisenna appeared for the defendant; and, to express his contempt of his adversary, said that many parts of the charge deserved to be spit upon. For this purpose he coined so strange a word, that the prosecutor implored the protection of the judges. I do not, said he, understand Sisenna; I am circumvented; I fear that some snare is laid for me. What does he mean by *sputatilica?* I know that *sputa* is spittle: but what is *tilica?* The court laughed at the oddity of a word so strangely compounded. "Rufio accusante Chritilium, Sisenna defendens dixit, quædam ejus SPUTATILICA esse crimina. Tum Caius Rufius, Circumvenior, inquit, judices, nisi subvenitis. Sisenna quid dicat nescio: metuo insidias. SPUTATILICA! quid est hoc? Sputa quid sit, scio; tilica nescio." *Maximi risus. De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 260. Whether this was the same Sisenna, who is said in the former quotation to have been a correct speaker, does not appear with any degree of certainty.

9 For the character of Secundus, see s. ii. note.

that knows how to distinguish the specific qualities of different authors. The beauty of order is yours. When the occasion demands it, you can expand and amplify with strength and majesty; and you know when to be concise with energy. Your periods flow with ease, and your composition has every grace of style and sentiment. You command the passions with resistless sway, while in yourselves you beget a temperance so truly dignified, that, though, perhaps, envy and the malignity of the times may be unwilling to proclaim your merit, posterity will do you ample justice.[1]

XXIV. As soon as Aper concluded, You see, said Maternus, the zeal and ardour of our friend: in the cause of the moderns, what a torrent of eloquence! against the ancients, what a fund of invective! With great spirit, and a vast compass of learning, he has employed against his masters the arts for which he is indebted to them. And yet all this vehemence must not deter you, Messala, from the performance of your promise. A formal defence of the ancients is by no means necessary. We do not presume to vie with that illustrious race. We have been praised by Aper, but we know our inferiority. He himself is aware of it, though, in imitation of the ancient manner,[2] he has thought proper, for the sake of a philosophical debate, to take the wrong side of the question. In answer to his argument, we do not desire you to expatiate in praise of the ancients: their fame wants no addition. What we request is, an investigation of the causes which have produced so rapid a decline from the flourishing state of genuine eloquence. I call it rapid, since, according to Aper's own chronology, the period from the death of Cicero does not exceed one hundred and twenty years.[3]

XXV. I am willing, said Messala, to pursue the plan which you have recommended. The question, whether the men who flourished above one hundred years ago, are to be accounted ancients, has been started by my friend Aper, and, I believe, it is of the first impression. But it is a mere dispute about words. The discussion of it is of no moment, provided it be granted, whether we call them ancients, or our predecessors, or give them any other appellation, that the eloquence of those times was superior to that of the present age. When Aper tells us, that different periods of time have produced new modes of oratory, I see nothing to object: nor shall I deny, that in one and the same period the style and manners have greatly varied. But this I assume, that among the orators of Greece, Demosthenes holds the first rank, and after him[4] Æschynes, Hyperides, Lysias, and Lycurgus, in regular succession. That age, by common consent, is allowed to be the flourishing period of Attic eloquence.

In like manner, Cicero stands at the head of our Roman orators, while Calvus, Asinius, and Cæsar, Cælius and Brutus, follow him at a distance; all of them superior, not only to every former age, but to the whole race that came after them. Nor is it material that they differ in the mode, since they all agree in the kind. Calvus is close and nervous; Asinius more open and harmonious; Cæsar is distinguished[5] by the

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1 Quintilian says, the merit of a fine writer flourishes after his death, for envy does not go down to posterity. "Ad posteros enim virtus durabit, nec perveniet invidia." Lib. iii. c. 1. Envy is always sure to pursue living merit; and therefore, Cleo observes to Alexander, that Hercules and Bacchus were not numbered among the gods, till they conquered the malignity of their contemporaries. "Nec Herculem, nec Patrem Liberum, prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam." Quintus Curtius, lib. viii. s. 18. Pliny the younger has a beautiful epistle on this subject. After praising, in the highest manner, the various works of Pompeius Saturninus, he says to his correspondent, Let it be no objection to such an author, that he is still living. If he flourished in a distant part of the world, we should not only procure his books, but we should have his picture in our houses: and shall his fame be tarnished, because we have the man before our eyes? Shall malignity make us cease to admire him, because we see him, hear him, esteem and love him? "Neque enim debet operibus ejus obesse, QUOD VIVIT." "An si inter eos, quos nunquam vidimus, floruisset, non solum libros ejus, verum etiam imagines conquireremus, ejusdem nunc honor præsentis et gratia quasi satietate languescet? At hoc pravum malignumque est, non admirari hominem admiratione dignissimum, quia videre, alloqui, audire, complecti, nec laudare tantum, verum etiam amare contingit." Lib. i. ep. 16.

2 In the Dialogues of Plato and others of the academic school, the ablest philosophers occasionally supported a wrong hypothesis, in order to provoke a thorough discussion of some important question.

3 Cicero was killed on the seventh of December, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, A. U. C. 711; before Christ, 43. From that time to the sixth of Vespasian the number of years is exactly 117; though in the Dialogue said to be 120. See s. xvii. note.

4 See Plutarch's Lives of Lysias, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, and Hyperides. See also the elegant translation of the orations of Lysias, by Dr. Gillies.

5 For Quintilian's opinion of Cæsar's eloquence, see s. xvii. note. To what is there said may be added the authority of Cicero, who fairly owns, that Cæsar's constant habit of speaking his language with purity and correctness, exempted him from all the vices of the corrupt style adopted by others. To that politeness of expression which every well-bred citizen, though he does not aspire to be an orator, ought to practise, when Cæsar adds the splendid ornaments of eloquence, he may then be said to place the finest pictures in the best light. In his manner there is nothing mechanical, nothing of professional craft: his voice is impressive, and his action dignified. To all these qualities he unites a certain majesty of mien and figure, that bespeaks a noble mind. "Cæsar autem rationem adhibens, consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura, et incorrupta consuetudine emendat. Itaque cum ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum, quæ etiam si orator non sis, et sis ingenuus civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est, adjungit illa ora-

splendour of his diction; Cælius by a caustic severity; and gravity is the characteristic of Brutus. Cicero is more luxuriant in amplification, and he has strength and vehemence. They all, however, agree in this; their eloquence is manly, sound, and vigorous. Examine their works, and you will see the energy of congenial minds, a family-likeness in their genius, however it may take a distinct colour from the specific qualities of the men. True, they detracted from each other's merit. In their letters, which are still extant, we find some strokes of mutual hostility. But this littleness does not impeach their eloquence: their jealousy was the infirmity of human nature. Calvus, Asinius, and Cicero, might have their fits of animosity, and, no doubt, were liable to envy, malice, and other degrading passions: they were great orators, but they were men.

Brutus is the only one of the set, who may be thought superior to petty contentions. He spoke his mind with freedom, and, I believe, without a tincture of malice. He did not envy Cæsar himself, and can it be imagined that he envied Cicero? As to Galba,[6] Lælius, and others of a remote period, against whom we have heard Aper's declamation, I need not undertake their defence, since I am willing to acknowledge, that in their style and manner we perceive those defects and blemishes, which it is natural to expect, while art, as yet in its infancy, has made no advances towards perfection.

XXVI. After all, if the best form of eloquence must be abandoned, and some new-fangled style must grow into fashion, give me the rapidity of Gracchus,[7] or the more solemn manner of Crassus,[8] with all their imperfections, rather than the effeminate delicacy of[9] Mæcenas, or the tinkling cymbal[10] of Gallio. The most homely dress is preferable to gaudy colours and

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toria ornamenta dicendi; tum videtur tanquam tabulas bene pictas collocare in bono lumine. Hanc cum habeat præcipuam laudem in communibus, non video cui debeat cedere. Splendidam quamdam, minimeque veteratoriam rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu: forma etiam magnifica, et generosa quodammodo." *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 261.

For Cælius, see s. xvii. note; and for Brutus, the same section, note.

6 Servius Galba has been already mentioned, s. xviii. note. Caius Lælius was consul A. U. C. 614; before the Christian era, 140. He was the intimate friend of Scipio, and the patron of Lucilius, the first Roman satirist. See Horace, lib. ii. sat. i. ver. 71.

> Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remorant
> Virtus Scipiadæ, et mitis sapientia Læli,
> Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur olus, soliti.
>
> When Scipio's virtue, and of milder vein
> When Lælius' wisdom, from the busy scene
> And crowd of life, the vulgar and the great,
> Could with their favourite satirist retreat,
> Lightly they laugh'd at many an idle jest,
> Until their frugal toast of herbs was dress'd.
>
> *Francis's Horace.*

It is probable that the harsh manner of Lucilius, *durus componere versus*, infected the eloquence of Lælius, since we find in Cicero, that his style was unpolished, and had much of the rust of antiquity. "Multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille quam Scipio, et, cum sint in dicendo variæ voluntates, delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur, et lubenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Lælius." *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 83.

7 For an account of Caius Gracchus, see s. xviii. note.

8 For Lucius Crassus, see s. xviii. note.

9 The false taste of Mæcenas has been noted by the poets and critics who flourished after his death. His affected prettinesses are compared to the prim curls, in which women and effeminate men tricked out their hair. Seneca, who was himself tainted with affectation, has left a beautiful epistle on the very question that makes the main subject of the present Dialogue. He points out the causes of the corrupt taste that debauched the eloquence of those times, and imputes the mischief to the degeneracy of the manners. Whatever the man was, such was the orator. "Talis oratio qualis vita." When ancient discipline relaxed, luxury succeeded, and language became delicate, brilliant, spangled with conceits. Simplicity was laid aside, and quaint expressions grew into fashion. Does the mind sink into languor, the body moves reluctantly. Is the man softened into effeminacy, you see it in his gait. Is he quick and eager, he walks with alacrity. The powers of the understanding are affected in the same manner. Having laid this down as his principle, Seneca proceeds to describe the soft delicacy of Mæcenas, and he finds the same vice in his phraseology. He cites a number of the lady-like terms, which the great patron of letters considered as exquisite beauties. In all this, says he, we see the man who walked the streets of Rome in his open and flowing robe. "Nonne statim, cum hæc legis, occurrit hunc esse, qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit?" Seneca, epist. cxiv. What he has said of Mæcenas is perfectly just. The fopperies of that celebrated minister are in this Dialogue called CALAMISTRI; an allusion borrowed from Cicero, who praises the beautiful simplicity of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and says they were men of a vicious taste, who wanted to apply the *curling-iron*, that is, to introduce the glitter of conceit and antithesis in the place of truth and nature. "Commentarios quosdam scripsit rerum suarum, valde quidem probandos: nudi enim sunt, et recti, et venusti, omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste, detracto. Ineptis gratum fortasse fecit, qui volunt illa CALAMISTRIS inurere." Cicero *De Claris Orat.* s. 262.

10 Who Gallio was, is not clearly settled by the commentators. Quintilian, lib. iii. cap. 1, makes mention of Gallio, who wrote a treatise of eloquence; and in the *Annals*, b. xv. s. 73, we find Junius Gallio, the brother of Seneca; but whether either of them is the person here intended, remains uncertain. Whoever he was, his eloquence was a tinkling cymbal. Quintilian says of such orators, who are all inflated, tumid, corrupt, and jingling, that their malady does not proceed from a full and rich constitution, but from mere infirmity; for,

> As in bodies, thus in souls we find,
> What wants in blood and spirits, swell'd with wind.

"Nam tumidos, et corruptos, et tinnulos, et quocumque alio cacozeliæ genere peccantes, certum habeo, non virium, sed infirmitatis vitio laborare; ut corpora non robore, sed valetudine inflantur." Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 3.

meretricious ornaments. The style in vogue at present, is an innovation against every thing just and natural; it is not even manly. The luxuriant phrase, the inanity of tuneful periods, and the wanton levity of the whole composition, are fit for nothing but the histrionic art, as if they were written for the stage. To the disgrace of the age (however astonishing it may appear), it is the boast, the pride, the glory of our present orators, that their periods are musical enough either for the dancer's heel,[1] or the warbler's throat. Hence it is, that by a frequent, but preposterous, metaphor, the orator is said to speak in melodious cadence, and the dancer to move with expression. In this view of things, even[2] Cassius Severus (the only modern whom Aper has ventured to name), if we compare him with the race that followed, may be fairly pronounced a legitimate orator, though it must be acknowledged, that in what remains of his composition, he is clumsy without strength, and violent without spirit. He was the first that deviated from the great masters of his art. He despised all method and regular arrangement; indelicate in his choice of his words, he paid no regard to decency; eager to attack, he left himself unguarded; he brandished his weapons without skill or address; and, to speak plainly, he wrangled, but did not argue. And yet, notwithstanding these defects, he was, as I have already said, superior to all that came after him, whether we regard the variety of his learning, the urbanity of his wit, or the vigour of his mind. I expected that Aper, after naming this orator, would have drawn up the rest of his forces in regular order. He has fallen, indeed, upon Asinius, Cælius, and Calvus; but where are his champions to enter the lists with them? I imagined that he had a phalanx in reserve, and that we should have seen them man by man giving battle to Cicero, Cæsar, and the rest in succession. He has singled out some of the ancients, but has brought none of his moderns into the field. He thought it enough to give them a good character in their absence. In this, perhaps, he acted with prudence: he was afraid, if he selected a few, that the rest of the tribe would take offence. For among the rhetoricians of the present day, is there one to be found, who does not, in his own opinion, tower above Cicero, though he has the modesty to yield to Gabinianus?[3]

XXVII. What Aper has omitted, I intend to perform. I shall produce his moderns by name, to the end that, by placing the example before our eyes, we may be able, more distinctly, to trace the steps by which the vigour of ancient eloquence has fallen to decay. Maternus interrupted him. I wish, he said, that you would come at once to the point: we claim your promise. The superiority of the ancients is not in question. We want no proof of it. Upon that point my opinion is decided. But the causes of our rapid decline from ancient excellence remain to be unfolded. We know that you have turned your thoughts to this subject, and we expected from you a calm disquisition, had not the violent attack which Aper made upon your favourite orators, roused your spirit, and, perhaps, given you some offence. Far from it, replied Messala; he has given me no offence; nor must you, my friends, take umbrage, if at any time a word should fall from me, not quite agreeable to your way of thinking. We are engaged in a free inquiry, and you know, that, in this kind of debate, the established law allows every man to speak his mind without reserve. That is the law, replied Maternus; you may proceed in perfect security. When you speak of the ancients, speak of them with ancient freedom, which, I fear, is at a lower ebb than even the genius of those eminent men.

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1 Pliny declares, without ceremony, that he was ashamed of the corrupt effeminate style that disgraced the courts of justice, and made him think of withdrawing from the forum. He calls it sing-song, and says that nothing but musical instruments could be added. "Pudet referre, quæ quam fracta pronunciatione dicantur; quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum, ac sola cymbala et tympana, illis canticis desunt." Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 14. The chief aim of Persius in his first satire is levelled against the bad poets of his time, and also the spurious orators, who enervated their eloquence by antithesis, far-fetched metaphors, and points of wit, delivered with the softest tone of voice, and ridiculous airs of affectation.

> Fur es, ait Pedio: Pedius quid? Crimina raris
> Librat in antithetis; doctus possisse figuras
> Laudatur. Bellum hoc! hoc bellum! an Romule caves?
> Mea' moveat quippe, et, cantet si naufragus, assem
> Protulerim? Cantas, cum fracta te in trabe pictum
> Ex humero portes?
>
> *Persius*, sat. i. ver. 85.

> Theft, says the accuser, to thy charge I lay,
> O Pedius. What does gentle Pedius say?
> Studious to please the genius of the times,
> With periods, points, and tropes, he slurs his crimes.
> He lards with flourishes his long harangue:
> 'Tis fine, mayst thou. What! to be prais'd and hang?
> Effeminate Roman! shall such stuff prevail,
> To tickle thee, and make thee wag thy tail?
> Say, should a shipwreck'd sailor sing his woe,
> Wouldst thou be moved to pity, and bestow
> An alms? What's more prepost'rous than to see
> A merry beggar? wit in misery!
>
> *Dryden's Persius*

2 For Cassius Severus, see s. xix. note.

3 Gabinianus was a teacher of rhetoric in the reign of Vespasian. Eusebius, in his Chronicon, eighth of Vespasian, says that Gabinianus, a celebrated rhetorician, was a teacher of eloquence in Gaul. "Gabinianus, celeberrimi nominis rhetor, in Gallia docuit." His admirers deemed him another Cicero, and, after him, all such orators were called Ciceroniani Gabiniani.

XXVIII. Messala resumed his discourse: The causes of the decay of eloquence are by no means difficult to be traced. They are, I believe, well known to you, Maternus, and also to Secundus, not excepting my friend Aper. It seems, however, that I am now, at your request, to unravel the business. But there is no mystery in it. We know that eloquence, with the rest of the polite arts, has lost its former lustre: and yet, it is not a dearth of men, or a decay of talents, that has produced this fatal effect. The true causes are, the dissipation of our young men, the inattention of parents, the ignorance of those who pretend to give instruction, and the total neglect of ancient discipline. The mischief began at Rome, it has overrun all Italy, and is now, with rapid strides, spreading through the provinces. The effects, however, are more visible at home, and therefore I shall confine myself to the reigning vices of the capital; vices that wither every virtue in the bud, and continue their baleful influence through every season of life.

But before I enter on the subject, it will not be useless to look back to the system of education that prevailed in former times, and to the strict discipline of our ancestors, in a point of so much moment as the formation of youth. In the times to which I now refer, the son of every family was the legitimate offspring of a virtuous mother. The infant, as soon as born, was not consigned to the mean dwelling of a hireling nurse,[4] but was reared and cherished in the bosom of a tender parent. To regulate all household affairs, and attend to her infant race, was, at that time, the glory of the female character. A matron, related to the family, and distinguished by the purity of her life, was chosen to watch the progress of the tender mind. In her presence not one indecent word was uttered; nothing was done against propriety and good manners. The hours of study and serious employment were settled by her direction; and not only so, but even the diversions of the children were conducted with modest reserve and sanctity of manners. Thus it was with Cornelia,[5] the mother of the Gracchi, superintended the education of her illustrious issue. It was thus that Aurelia[6] trained up Julius Cæsar; and thus Atia[7] formed the mind of Augustus. The consequence of this regular discipline was, that the young mind grew up in innocence, unstained by vice, unwarped by irregular passions, and, under that culture, received the seeds of science. Whatever was the peculiar bias, whether to the military art, the study of the laws, or the profession of eloquence, that engrossed the whole attention, and the youth, thus directed, embraced the entire compass of one favourite science.

XXIX. In the present age, what is our practice? The infant is committed to a Greek chambermaid, and a slave or two chosen for the purpose, generally the worst of the whole household train; all utter strangers to every liberal notion. In that worshipful society[8] the youth grows up, imbibing folly and vulgar error. Throughout the house, not one servant

4 In order to brand and stigmatise the Roman matrons who committed the care of their infant children to hired nurses, Tacitus observes, that no such custom was known among the savages of Germany. See *Manners of the Germans*, s. xx. See also Quintilian, on the subject of education, lib. i. cap. 2 and 3.

5 Cornelia, the mother of the two Gracchi, was daughter to the first Scipio Africanus. The sons, Quintilian says, owed much of their eloquence to the care and institutions of their mother, whose taste and learning were fully displayed in her letters, which were then in the hands of the public. "Nam Gracchorum eloquentiæ multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem, cujus doctissimus sermo in posteros quoque est epistolis traditus." Quint. lib. i. cap. 1. To the same effect Cicero: "Fuit Gracchus diligentia Corneliæ matris a puero doctus, et Græcis literis eruditus." De Claris Orat. s. 104. Again, Cicero says, We have read the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, from which it appears, that the sons were educated, not so much in the lap of their mother, as her conversation. "Legimus epistolas Corneliæ, matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quam in sermone matris." De Claris Orat. s. 211. Pliny the elder informs us that a statue was erected to her memory, though Cato the Censor declaimed against showing so much honour to women, even in the provinces. But with all his vehemence he could not prevent it in the city of Rome. Pliny, lib. xxxiv. s. 14.

6 For Aurelia, the mother of Julius Cæsar, see *The Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 2.

7 For Atia, the mother of Augustus, see *Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, No. 14. As another instance of maternal care, Tacitus informs us that Julia Procilla superintended the education of her son. See *Life of Agricola*, s. iv.

8 Quintilian thinks the first elements of education so highly material, that he has two long chapters on the subject. He requires, in the first place, that the language of the nurses should be pure and correct. Their manners are of great importance, but, he adds, let them speak with propriety. It is to them that the infant first attends; he listens, and endeavours to imitate them. The first colour, imbibed by yarn or thread, is sure to last. What is bad, generally adheres tenaciously. Let the child, therefore, not learn in his infancy, what he must afterwards take pains to unlearn. "Ante omnia, ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus. Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est; recte tamen etiam loquantur. Has primum audiet puer; harum verba effingere imitando conabitur. Et natura tenacissimi sumus eorum, quæ rudibus annis percipimus; nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, eluí possunt. Et hæc ipsa magis pertinaciter hærent, quæ deteriora sunt. Non assuescat ergo, ne dum infans quidem est, sermoni, qui dediscendus est." Quintilian, lib. i. cap. 1. Plutarch has a long discourse on the breeding of children, in which all mistakes are pointed out, and the best rules enforced with great acuteness of observation.

cares what he says or does: in the presence of his young master: and indeed how should it be otherwise? The parents themselves are the first to give their children the worst examples of vice and luxury. The stripling consequently loses all sense of shame, and soon forgets the respect he owes to others as well as to himself. A passion for horses, players, and gladiators,[2] seems to be the epidemic folly of the times. The child receives it in his mother's womb; he brings it with him into the world; and in a mind so possessed, what room for science, or any generous purpose?

In our houses, at our tables, sports and interludes are the topics of conversation. Enter the places of academical lectures, and who talks of any other subject? The preceptors themselves have caught the contagion. Nor can this be wondered at. To establish a strict and regular discipline, and to succeed by giving proofs of their genius, is not the plan of our modern rhetoricians. They pay their court to the great, and, by servile adulation, increase the number of their pupils. Need I mention the manner of conveying the first elements of school learning? No care is taken to give the student a taste for the best authors;[3] the page of history lies neglected; the study of men and manners is no part of their system; and every branch of useful knowledge is left uncultivated. A preceptor is called in, and education is then thought to be in a fair way. But I shall have occasion hereafter to speak more fully of that class of men, called rhetoricians. It will then be seen, at what period that profession first made its appearance at Rome, and what reception it met with from our ancestors.

XXX. Before I proceed, let us advert for a moment to the plan of ancient discipline. The unwearied diligence of the ancient orators, their habits of meditation, and their daily exercise in

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1 Juvenal has one entire satire on the subject of education:

> Nil dictu fœdum visuque hæc limina tangat,
> Intra quæ puer est. Procul hinc, procul inde puellæ
> Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis parasiti.
> Maxima debetur puero reverentia.
>
> Sat. xiv. ver. 44.

> Suffer no lewdness, no indecent speech,
> The apartment of the tender youth to reach.
> Far be from thence the glutton parasite,
> Who sings his drunken catches all the night.
> Boys from their parents may this reverence claim.
>
> *Dryden's Juvenal.*

2 The rage of the Romans for the diversions of the theatre, and public spectacles of every kind, is often mentioned by Horace, Juvenal, and other writers under the emperors. Seneca says, that, at one time, three ways were wanted to as many different theatres: *tribus eodem tempore theatris viæ postulantur.* And again, the most illustrious of the Roman youth are no better than slaves to the pantomimic performers. "Ostendam nobilissimos juvenes mancipia pantomimorum." Epist. 47. It was for this reason that Petronius lays it down as a rule to be observed by the young student, never to list himself in the parties and factions of the theatre:

> —— Neve planxor in scena
> Sedeat redemptus, histrionis addictus.

It is well known, that theatrical parties distracted the Roman citizens, and rose almost to phrensy. They were distinguished by the *green* and *blue*. Caligula, as we read in Suetonius, attached himself to the former, and was so fond of the charioteers, who wore green liveries, that he lived for a considerable time in the stables, where their horses were kept. "Prasinæ factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cœnaret in stabulo assidue et maneret." *Life of Caligula*, s. 55. Montesquieu reckons such party divisions among the causes that wrought the downfall of the empire. Constantinople, he says, was split into two factions, the *green* and the *blue*, which owed their origin to the inclination of the people to favour one set of charioteers in the circus rather than another. These two parties raged in every city throughout the empire, and their fury rose in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Justinian favoured the blues, who became so elate with pride, that they trampled on the laws. All ties of friendship, all natural affection, and all relative duties, were extinguished. Whole families were destroyed; and the empire was a scene of anarchy and wild contention. He, who felt himself capable of the most atrocious deeds, declared himself a BLUE, and the GREENS were massacred with impunity. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, chap. xx.

3 Quintilian, in his tenth book, chap. 1. has given a full account of the best Greek and Roman poets, orators, and historians; and in b. ii. ch. 6, he draws up a regular scheme for the young student to pursue in his course of reading. There are, he says, two rocks, on which they may split. The first, by being led by some fond admirer of antiquity to set too high a value on the manner of Cato and the Gracchi; for, in that commerce, they will be in danger of growing dry, harsh, and rugged. The strong conception of those men will be beyond the reach of tender minds. Their style, indeed, may be copied; and the youth may flatter himself, when he has contracted the rust of antiquity, that he resembles the illustrious orators of a former age. On the other hand, the florid decorations and false glitter of the moderns may have a secret charm, the more dangerous, and seductive, as the petty flourishes of our new way of writing may prove acceptable to the youthful mind. "Duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto; unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum, Catonisque, et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit. Erunt enim horridi atque jejuni. Nam neque vim eorum adhuc intellectu consequentur; et elocutione, quæ tum sine dubio erat optima, sed nostris temporibus aliena, contenti, quod est pessimum, similes sibi magnis viris videbuntur. Alterum, quod hæc diversum est, ne recentis hujus lasciviæ flosculis capti, voluptate quadam prava deliniantur, ut prædulce illud genus, et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo proprius est, adament." Such was the doctrine of Quintilian. His practice, we may be sure, was consonant to his own rules. Under such a master the youth of Rome might be initiated in science, and formed to a just taste for eloquence and legitimate composition; but one man was not equal to the task. The rhetoricians and pedagogues of the age preferred the novelty and meretricious ornaments of the style then in vogue.

the whole circle of arts and sciences, are amply displayed in the books which they have transmitted to us. The treatise of Cicero, entitled Brutus,[4] is in all our hands. In that work, after commemorating the orators of a former day, he closes the account with the particulars of his own progress in science, and the method he took in educating himself to the profession of oratory. He studied the civil law under[5] Mucius Scævola; he was instructed in the various systems of philosophy, by Philo[6] of the academic school, and by Diodorus the stoic; and though Rome, at that time, abounded with the best professors, he made a voyage to Greece,[7] and thence to Asia, in order to enrich his mind with every branch of learning. Hence that store of knowledge which appears in all his writings. Geometry, music, grammar, and every useful art, were familiar to him. He embraced the whole science of logic[8] and ethics. He

4 This is the treatise, or history of the most eminent orators (De Claris Oratoribus), which has been so often cited in the course of these notes. It is also entitled Brutus; a work replete with the soundest criticism, and by its variety and elegance always charming.

5 Quintus Mucius Scævola was the great lawyer of his time. Cicero draws a comparison between him and Crassus. They were both engaged, on opposite sides, in a cause before the centumviri. Crassus proved himself the best lawyer among the orators of that day, and Scævola the most eloquent of the lawyers. "Ut eloquentium juris peritissimus Crassus; jurisperitorum eloquentissimus Scævola putaretur." *De Claris Orat.* s. 145. During the consulship of Sylla, A. U. C. 666, Cicero being then in the nineteenth year of his age, and wishing to acquire a competent knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence, attached himself to Mucius Scævola, who did not undertake the task of instructing pupils, but, by conversing freely with all who consulted him, gave a fair opportunity to those who thirsted after knowledge. "Ego autem juris civilis studio, multum operæ dabam Q. Scævolæ, qui quamquam nemini se ad docendum dabat, tamen, consulentibus respondendo, studiosos audiendi docebat." *De Claris Orat.* s. 306.

6 Philo was a leading philosopher of the academic school. To avoid the fury of Mithridates, who waged a long war with the Romans, he fled from Athens, and, with some of the most eminent of his fellow citizens, repaired to Rome. Cicero was struck with his philosophy, and became his pupil. "Cum princeps academiæ Philo, cum Atheniensium optimatibus, Mithridatico bello, domo profugisset, Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus." *De Claris Orat.* s. 306.

Cicero adds, that he gave board and lodging, at his own house, to Diodotus the stoic, and, under that master, employed himself in various branches of literature, but particularly in the study of logic, which may be considered as a mode of eloquence, contracted, close, and nervous. "Eram cum stoico Diodoto: qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. A quo, cum in aliis rebus, tum studiosissime in dialectica exercebar, quæ quasi contracta et adstricta eloquentia putanda est." *De Claris Orat.* s. 309.

7 Cicero gives an account of his travels, which he undertook, after having employed two years in the business of the forum, where he gained an early reputation. At Athens, he passed six months with Antiochus, the principal philosopher of the old academy, and, under the direction of that able master, resumed those abstract speculations which he had cultivated from his earliest youth. Nor did he neglect his rhetorical exercises. In that pursuit, he was assisted by Demetrius, the Syrian, who was allowed to be a skilful preceptor. He passed from Greece into Asia; and, in the course of his travels through that country, he lived in constant habits with Menippus of Stratonica; a man eminent for his learning; who, if to be neither frivolous, nor unintelligible, is the character of Attic eloquence, might fairly be called a disciple of that school. He met with many other professors of rhetoric, such as Dionysius of Magnesia, Æschylus of Cnidos, and Zenocles of Adramytus; but not content with their assistance, he went to Rhodes, and renewed his friendship with Molo, whom he had heard at Rome, and knew to be an able pleader in real causes; a fine writer, a judicious critic, who could, with a just discernment of the beauties as well as the faults of a composition, point out the road to excellence, and improve the taste of his scholars. In his attention to the Roman orator, the point he aimed at (Cicero will not say that he succeeded) was, to lop away superfluous branches, and confine within its proper channel a stream of eloquence, too apt to swell above all bounds, and overflow its banks. After two years thus spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and improvement in his oratorical profession, Cicero returned to Rome almost a new man. "Is (Molo) dedit operam (si modo id consequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes hos, et superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate, et licentia, reprimeret et quasi extra ripas diffluentes coerceret. Ita recepi me biennio post, non modo exercitatior, sed prope mutatus." See *De Claris Oratoribus*, s. 315 and 316.

8 Cicero is here said to have been a complete master of philosophy, which, according to Quintilian, was divided into three branches, namely, physics, ethics, and logic. It has been mentioned in this section, note, that Cicero called logic a contracted and close mode of eloquence. That observation is fully explained by Quintilian. Speaking of logic, the use, he says, of that contentious art, consists in just definition, which presents to the mind the precise idea; and in nice discrimination, which marks the essential difference of things. It is this faculty that throws a sudden light on every difficult question, removes all ambiguity, clears up what was doubtful, divides, developes, and separates, and then collects the argument to a point. But the orator must not be too fond of this close combat. The minute attention, which logic requires, will exclude what is of higher value; while it aims at precision, the vigour of the mind is lost in subtlety. We often see men, who argue with wonderful craft; but, when petty controversy will no longer serve their purpose, we see the same men without warmth or energy, cold, languid, and unequal to the conflict; like those little animals, which are brisk in narrow places, and by their agility baffle their pursuers, but in the open field are soon overpowered. "Hæc pars dialectica, sive illam dicere malimus disputatricem, ut est utilis sæpe et finitionibus, et comprehensionibus, et separandis quæ sunt differentia, et resolvenda ambiguitate, et distinguendo, dividendo, illiciendo, implicando; ita si totum sibi vindicaverit in foro certamen, obstabit melioribus, et sectas ad tenuitatem vires ipsa subtilitate consumet. Itaque reperias quosdam in disputando mire callidos; cum ab illa vero cavillatione discesserint, non magis sufficere in aliquo graviori actu, quam parva

studied the operations of nature. His diligence of inquiry opened to him the long chain of causes and effects, and, in short, the whole system of physiology was his own. From a mind thus replenished, it is no wonder, my good friends, that we see in the compositions of that extraordinary man that affluence of ideas, and that prodigious flow of eloquence. In fact, it is not with oratory as with the other arts, which are confined to certain objects, and circumscribed within their own peculiar limits. He alone deserves the name of an orator, who can speak in a copious style, with ease or dignity, as the subject requires; who can find language to decorate his argument; who through the passions can command the understanding; and, while he serves mankind, knows how to delight the judgment and the imagination of his audience.

XXXI. Such was, in ancient times, the idea of an orator. To form that illustrious character, it was not thought necessary to declaim in the schools of rhetoricians,[1] or to make a vain parade in fictitious controversies, which were not only void of all reality, but even of a shadow of probability. Our ancestors pursued a different plan: they stored their minds with just ideas of moral good and evil; with the rules of right and wrong, and the fair and foul in human transactions. These, on every controverted point, are the orator's province. In courts of law, just and unjust undergo his discussion; in political debate, between what is expedient and honourable, it is his to draw the line; and those questions are so blended in their nature, that they enter into every cause. On such important topics, who can hope to bring variety of matter, and to dignify that matter with style and sentiment, if he has not, beforehand, enlarged his mind with the knowledge of human nature? with the laws of moral obligation? the deformity of vice, the beauty of virtue, and other points which do not immediately belong to the theory of ethics?

The orator, who has enriched his mind with these materials, may be truly said to have acquired the powers of persuasion. He who knows the nature of indignation, will be able to kindle or allay that passion in the breast of the judge; and the advocate who has considered the effect of compassion, and from what secret springs it flows, will best know how to soften the mind, and melt it into tenderness. It is by these secrets of his art that the orator gains his influence. Whether he has to do with the prejudiced, the angry, the envious, the melancholy, or the timid, he can bridle their various passions, and hold the reins in his own hand. According to the disposition of his audience, he will know when to check the workings of the heart, and when to raise them to their full tumult of emotion.

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quædam animalia, quæ in angustiis mobilia, campo deprehenduntur." *Quint.* lib. xi. cap. 2.

Ethics, or moral philosophy, the same great critic holds to be indispensably requisite. "Jam quidem pars illa moralis, quæ dicitur ethice, certe tota oratori est accommodata. Nam in tanta causarum varietate, nulla fere dici potest, cujus non parte aliqua tractatus æqui et boni reperiantur." Lib. xii. Unless the mind be enriched with a store of knowledge, there may be loquacity, but nothing that deserves the name of oratory. Eloquence, says Lord Bolingbroke, must flow like a stream that is fed by an abundant spring, and not spout forth like a little frothy stream, on some gaudy day, and remain dry for the rest of the year. See *Spirit of Patriotism.*

With regard to natural philosophy, Quintilian has a sentiment so truly sublime, that to omit it in this place would look like insensibility. If, says he, the universe is conducted by a superintending Providence, it follows that good men should govern the nations of the earth. And if the soul of man is of celestial origin, it is evident that we should tread in the paths of virtue, all aspiring to our native source, not slaves to passion, and the pleasures of the world. These are important topics; they often occur to the public orator, and demand all his eloquence. "Nam si regitur providentia mundus, administranda certe bonis viris erit respublica. Si divina nostris animis origo, tendendum ad virtutem, nec voluptatibus terreni corporis serviendum. An hoc non frequenter tractabit orator?" *Quint.* lib. xii. cap. 2.

1 Quintilian, as well as Seneca, has left a collection of school-declamations, but he has given his opinion of all such performances. They are mere imitation, and, by consequence, have not the force and spirit which a real cause inspires. In public harangues, the subject is founded in reality; in declamations, all is fiction. "Omnis imitatio ficta est; quo fit ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant, quam orationes; quod in his vera, in illis assimulata materia est." Lib. x. cap. 2. Petronius has given a lively description of the rhetoricians of his time. The consequence, he says, of their turgid style, and the pompous swell of sounding periods, has ever been the same: when their scholars enter the forum, they look as if they were transported into a new world. The teachers of rhetoric have been the bane of all true eloquence. "Hæc ipsa tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent: nunc et rerum tumore, et sententiarum vanissimo strepitu, hoc tantum proficiunt, ut quum in forum venerint, putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos. Pace vestra liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis." Petron. *in Satyrico*, cap. 1 and 2. That gay writer, who passed his days in luxury and voluptuous pleasures (see his character, *Annals*, b. xvi. s. 18.), was, amidst all his dissipation, a man of learning, and, at intervals, of deep reflection. He knew the value of true philosophy, and, therefore, directs the young orator to the Socratic school, and to that plan of education which we have before us in the present Dialogue. He bids his scholar begin with Homer, and there drink deep of the Pierian spring: after that, he recommends the moral system; and, when his mind is thus enlarged, he allows him to wield the arms of Demosthenes.

——— Det primos verubus annos,
Mæoniusque bibat felici pectore fontem:
Mox et Socratico plenus grege mutet habenas
Liber, et ingentis quatiat Demosthenis arma.

Some critics are chiefly pleased with that close mode of oratory, which in a laconic manner states the facts, and forms an immediate conclusion: in that case, it is obvious how necessary it is to be a complete master of the rules of logic. Others delight in a more open, free, and copious style, where the arguments are drawn from topics of general knowledge; for this purpose, the peripatetic school[2] will supply the orator with ample materials. The academic philosopher[3] will inspire him with warmth and energy; Plato will give the sublime, and Xenophon that equal flow which charms us in that amiable writer. The rhetorical figuré, which is called exclamation, so frequent with Epicurus[4] and Metrodorus, will add to a discourse those sudden breaks of passion, which give motion, strength, and vehemence.

It is not for the stoic school, nor for their imaginary wise man, that I am laying down rules. I am forming an orator, whose business it is, not to adhere to one sect, but to go the round of all the arts and sciences. Accordingly we find, that the great masters of ancient eloquence laid their foundation in a thorough study of the civil law, and to that fund they added grammar, music, and geometry. The fact is, in most of the causes that occur, perhaps in every cause, a due knowledge of the whole system of jurisprudence is an indispensable requisite. There are likewise many subjects of litigation, in which an acquaintance with other sciences is of the highest use.

XXXII. Am I to be told, that to gain some slight information on particular subjects, as occasion may require, will sufficiently answer the purposes of an orator? In answer to this, let

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2 Cicero has left a book, entitled TOPICA, in which he treats at large of the method of finding proper arguments. This, he observes, was executed by Aristotle, whom he pronounces the great master both of invention and judgment. "Cum omnis ratio diligens disserendi duas habeat partes; unam INVENIENDI, alteram JUDICANDI; utriusque princeps, ut mihi quidem videtur, Aristoteles fuit." *Ciceronis Topica*, s. vi. The sources from which arguments may be drawn, are called LOCI COMMUNES, COMMON PLACES. To supply the orator with ample materials, and to render him copious on every subject, was the design of the Greek preceptor, and for that purpose he gave his TOPICA. "Aristoteles adolescentes, non ad philosophorum morem tenuiter disserendi, sed ad copiam rhetorum in utramque partem, ut ornatius et uberius dici posset, exercuit; idemque locos (sic enim appellat) quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis in utramque partem traheretur oratio." Cicero, *De Oratore*. Aristotle was the most eminent of Plato's scholars: he retired to a *gymnasium*, or place of exercise, in the neighbourhood of Athens, called the *Lyceum*, where, from a custom, which he and his followers observed, of discussing points of philosophy, as they walked in the *porticos* of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking philosophers. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 537. 4to edit.

3 The academic sect derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated *gymnasium*, or place of exercise, in the suburbs of Athens, called the *Academy*, after *Ecademus*, who possessed it in the time of the *Tyndaridæ*. It was afterwards purchased, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens. It was gradually improved with plantations, groves, and porticos for the particular use of the professors or masters of the academic school: where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the city. See Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 536. Plato, and his followers, continued to reside in the porticos of the academy. They chose

> ——————— The green retreats
> Of Academus, and the thymy vale,
> Where, oft enchanted with Socratic sounds,
> Ilyssus pure devolved his tuneful stream
> In gentle murmurs.
>
> *Akenside, Pleas. of Imag.*

For dexterity in argument, the orator is referred to this school, for the reason given by Quintilian, who says that the custom of supporting an argument on either side of the question, approaches nearest to the orator's practice in forensic causes. "Academiam quidam utilissimam credunt, quod mos in utramque partem disserendi ad exercitationem forensium causarum proxime accedat." Lib. xii. cap. 2. Quintilian assures us that we are indebted to the academic philosophy for the ablest orators, and it is to that school that Horace sends his poet for instruction:

> Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ,
> Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
>
> *Ars Poet.* ver. 310.

> Good sense, that fountain of the muse's art,
> Let the rich page of Socrates impart;
> And if the mind with clear conception glow,
> The willing words in just expressions flow.
>
> *Francis' Horace.*

4 Epicurus made frequent use of the rhetorical figure called exclamation; and in his life, by Diogenes Laertius, we find a variety of instances. It is for that manner of giving animation to a discourse that Epicurus is mentioned in the Dialogue. For the rest, Quintilian tells us what to think of him. Epicurus, he says, dismisses the orator from his school, since he advises his pupil to pay no regard to science or to method. "Epicurus imprimis nos a se ipse dimittit, qui fugere omnem disciplinam navigatione quam velocissima jubet." Lib. xii. cap. 2. Metrodorus was the favourite disciple of Epicurus. Brotier says that a statue of the master and the scholar, with their heads joined together, was found at Rome in the year 1743.

It is worthy of notice, that except the stoics, who without aiming at elegance of language, argued closely and with vigour, Quintilian proscribes the remaining sects of philosophers. Aristippus, he says, placed his *summum bonum* in bodily pleasure, and therefore could be no friend to the strict regimen of the accomplished orator. Much less could Pyrrho be of use, since he doubted whether there was any such thing in existence as the judges before whom the cause must be pleaded. To him the party accused, and the senate, were alike nonentities. "Neque vero Aristippus, summum in voluptate corporis bonum ponens, ad hunc nos laborem adhortetur. Pyrrho quidem, quas in hoc opere partes habere potest? cui judices esse apud quos verba faciat, et reum pro quo loquatur, et senatum, in quo sit dicenda sententia, non liquebat." *Quintil.* lib. xii. cap. 2.

it be observed, that the application of what we draw from our own fund, is very different from the use we make of what we borrow. Whether we speak from digested knowledge, or the mere suggestion of others, the effect is soon perceived. Add to this, that conflux of ideas with which the different sciences enrich the mind, gives an air of dignity to whatever we say, even in cases where that depth of knowledge is not required. Science adorns the speaker at all times, and, where it is least expected, confers a grace that charms every hearer; the man of erudition feels it, and the unlettered part of the audience acknowledge the effect without knowing the cause. A murmur of applause ensues; the speaker is allowed to have laid in a store of knowledge; he possesses all the powers of persuasion, and then is called an orator indeed.

I take the liberty to add, if we aspire to that honourable appellation, that there is no way but that which I have chalked out. No man was ever yet a complete orator, and, I affirm, never can be, unless, like the soldier marching to the field of battle, he enters the forum armed at all points with the sciences and the liberal arts. Is that the case in these our modern times? The style which we hear every day, abounds with colloquial barbarisms, and vulgar phraseology: no knowledge of the laws is heard; our municipal policy is wholly neglected, and even the decrees of the senate are treated with contempt and derision. Moral philosophy is discarded, and the maxims of ancient wisdom are unworthy of their notice. In this manner, Eloquence is dethroned; she is banished from her rightful dominions, and obliged to dwell in the cold regions of antithesis, forced conceit, and pointed sentences. The consequence is, that she, who was once the sovereign mistress of the sciences, and led them as handmaids in her train, is now deprived of her attendants, reduced, impoverished, and, stripped of her usual honours (I might say of her genius), compelled to exercise a mere plebeian art.

And now, my friends, I think I have laid open the efficient cause of the decline of eloquence. Need I call witnesses to support my opinion? I name Demosthenes among the Greeks. He, we are assured, constantly attended[1] the lectures of Plato. I name Cicero among the Romans: he tells us (I believe I can repeat his words), that if he attained any degree of excellence, he owed it, not so much to the precepts of rhetoricians, as to his meditations in the walks of the academic school. I am aware that other causes of our present degeneracy may be added; but that task I leave to my friends, since I now may flatter myself that I have performed my promise. In doing it, I fear, that, as often happens to me, I have incurred the danger of giving offence. Were a certain class of men to hear the principles which I have advanced in favour of legal knowledge and sound philosophy, I should expect to be told that I have been all the time commending my own visionary schemes.

XXXIII. You will excuse me, replied Maternus, if I take the liberty to say that you have by no means finished your part of our inquiry. You seem to have spread your canvass, and to have touched the outlines of your plan; but there are other parts that still require the colouring of so masterly a hand. The stores of knowledge, with which the ancients enlarged their minds, you have fairly explained, and, in contrast to that pleasing picture, you have given us a true draught of modern ignorance. But we now wish to know, what were the exercises, and what the discipline, by which the youth of former times prepared themselves for the honours of their profession. It will not, I believe, be contended, that theory, and systems of art, are of themselves sufficient to form a genuine orator. It is by practice, and by constant exertion, that the faculty of speech improves, till the genius of the man expands, and flourishes in its full vigour. This, I think, you will not deny, and my two friends, if I may judge by their looks, seem to give their assent. Aper and Secundus agreed without hesitation.

Messala proceeded as follows: Having, as I conceive, shown the seed-plots of ancient eloquence, and the fountains of science, from which they drew such copious streams; it remains now to give some idea of the labour, the assiduity, and the exercises, by which they trained themselves to their profession. I need not observe, that in the pursuit of science, method and constant exercise are indispensable: for who can hope, without regular attention, to master abstract schemes of philosophy, and embrace the whole compass of the sciences? Knowledge must be grafted in the mind by frequent meditation;[2] to that must be added the faculty of

1 We are told by Quintilian, that Demosthenes, the great orator of Greece, was an assiduous hearer of Plato: "Constat Demosthenem, principem omnium Græciæ oratorum, dedisse operam Platoni." Lib. xii. cap. 2. And Cicero expressly says, that if he might venture to call himself an orator, he was made so, not by the manufacture of the schools of rhetoric, but in the walks of the Academy. "Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse." *Ad Brutum Orator* s. 12.

2 The ancient critics made a wide distinction between a mere facility of speech, and what they called the oratorical faculty. This is fully explained by Asinius Pollio, who said of himself, that by pleading at first with propriety, he succeeded so far as to be often called upon; by pleading frequently, he began to lose the propriety with which he set out; and the reason was, by constant

conveying our ideas; and, to make sure of our impression, we must be able to adorn our thoughts with the colours of true eloquence. Hence it is evident that the same arts, by which the mind lays in its stock of knowledge, must be still pursued, in order to attain a clear and graceful manner of conveying that knowledge to others. This may be thought refined and too abstruse. If, however, we are still to be told that science and elocution are things in themselves distinct and unrelated; this, at least, may be assumed, that he, who, with a fund of previous knowledge, undertakes the province of oratory, will bring with him a mind well seasoned, and duly prepared for the study and exercise of real eloquence.

XXXIV. The practice of our ancestors was agreeable to this theory. The youth, who was intended for public declamation, went forth, under the care of his father, or some near relation, with all the advantages of home-discipline; his mind was expanded by the fine arts, and impregnated with science. He was conducted to the most eminent orator of the time. Under that illustrious patronage he visited the forum; he attended his patron upon all occasions; he listened with attention to his pleadings in the tribunals of justice, and his public harangues before the people; he heard him in the warmth of argument; he noted his sudden replies, and thus, in the field of battle, if I may so express myself, he learned the first rudiments of rhetorical warfare. The advantages of this method are obvious: the young candidate gained courage, and improved his judgment; he studied in open day, amidst the heat of the conflict, where nothing weak or idle could be said with impunity; where every thing absurd was instantly rebuked by the judge, exposed to ridicule by the adversary, and condemned by the whole bar.

In this manner the student was initiated in the rules of sound and manly eloquence; and, though it be true, that he placed himself under the auspices of one orator only, he heard the rest in their turn, and in that diversity of tastes which always prevails in mixed assemblies, he was enabled to distinguish what was excellent or defective in the kind. The orator in actual business was the best preceptor: the instructions which he gave, were living eloquence, the substance, and not the shadow. He was himself a real combatant, engaged with a zealous antagonist, both in earnest, and not like gladiators, in a mock contest, fighting for prizes. It was a struggle for victory, before an audience always changing, yet always full; where the speaker had his enemies as well as his admirers; and between both, what was brilliant met with applause; what was defective, was sure to be condemned. In this clash of opinions, the genuine orator flourished, and acquired that lasting fame, which, we all know, does not depend on the voice of friends only, but must rebound from the benches filled with your enemies. Extorted applause is the best suffrage.

In that school, the youth of expectation, such as I have delineated, was reared and educated by the most eminent genius of the times. In the forum, he was enlightened by the experience of others; he was instructed in the knowledge of the laws, accustomed to the eye of the judges, habituated to the looks of a numerous audience, and acquainted with the popular taste. After this preparation, he was called forth to conduct a prosecution, or to take upon himself the whole weight of the defence. The fruit of his application was then seen at once. He was equal, in his first outset, to the most arduous business. Thus it was that Crassus, at the age of nineteen,[3] stood forth the accuser of Papirius Carbo; thus Julius Cæsar, at one and twenty, arraigned Dolabella; Asinius Pollio, about the same age, attacked Caius Cato; and Calvus, but a little older, flamed out against Vatinius. Their several speeches are still extant, and we all read them with admiration.

XXXV. In opposition to this system of education, what is our modern practice? Our young men are led[4] to academical prolusions in the school of vain professors, who call themselves

practice he acquired rashness, not a just confidence in himself; a fluent facility, not the true faculty of an orator. "Commode agendo factum est, ut sæpe agerem; sæpe agendo, ut minus commode; quia scilicet nimia facilitas magis quam facultas, nec fiducia sed temeritas, paratur." Quintil. lib. xii.

3 There is in this place a trifling mistake, either in Messala, the speaker, or in the copyists. Crassus was born A. U. C. 614. See s. 18. note. Papirius Carbo, the person accused, was consul A. U. C. 634, and the prosecution was in the following year, when Crassus expressly says, that he was then only one and twenty. "Quippe qui omnium maturime ad publicas causas accesserim, annosque natus UNUM ET VIGINTI, nobilissimum hominem et eloquentissimum in judicium vocarim." Cicero, *De Orat.* lib. iii. s. 74. Pliny the consul was another instance of early pleading. He says himself, that he began his career in the forum at the age of nineteen, and, after long practice, he could only see the functions of an orator as it were in a mist. "Undevicesimo ætatis anno dicere in foro cœpi, et nunc demum, quid præstare debeat orator, adhuc tamen per caliginem video." Lib. v. epist. 8. Quintilian relates of Cæsar, Calvus, and Pollio, that they all three appeared at the bar, long before they arrived at their quæstorian age, which was seven and twenty. "Calvus, Cæsar, Pollio, multum ante quæstoriam omnes ætatem gravissima judicia susceperunt." Quintilian, lib. xii. cap. 6.

4 Lipsius, in his note on this passage, says, that he once thought that the word *scena* in the text ought to be changed to *schola;* but he afterwards saw his mistake. The place of fictitious declamation and spurious eloquence, where the teachers played a ridiculous part, was properly called a theatrical scene.

rhetoricians; a race of impostors, who made their first appearance at Rome, not long before the days of Cicero. That they were unwelcome visitors, is evident from the circumstance of their being silenced by the two censors,[1] Crassus and Domitius. They were ordered, says Cicero, to shut up their school of impudence. Those scenes, however, are open at present, and there our young students listen to mountebank oratory. I am at a loss how to determine which is most fatal to all true genius, the place itself, the company that frequent it, or the plan of study universally adopted. Can the place impress the mind with awe and respect, where none are ever seen but the raw, the unskilful, and the ignorant? In such an assembly what advantage can arise? Boys harangue before boys, and young men exhibit before their fellows. The speaker is pleased with his declamation, and the hearer with his judgment. The very subjects on which they display their talents, tend to no useful purpose. They are of two sorts, persuasive or controversial. The first, supposed to be of the lighter kind, are usually assigned to the youngest scholars: the last are reserved for students of longer practice and riper judgment. But, gracious powers! what are the compositions produced on these occasions?

The subject is remote from truth, and even probability, unlike any thing that ever happened in human life; and no wonder if the superstructure perfectly agrees with the foundation. It is to these scenic exercises that we owe a number of frivolous topics, such as the reward due to the slayer of a tyrant; the election to be made by[2] violated virgins; the rites and ceremonies proper to be used during a raging pestilence; the loose behaviour of married women; with other fictitious subjects, hackneyed in the schools, and seldom or never heard of in our courts of justice. These imaginary questions are treated with gaudy flourishes, and all the tumor of unnatural language. But after all this mighty parade, call these striplings from their schools of rhetoric, into the presence of the judges, and to the real business of the bar;[3]

1 Lucius Licinius Crassus and Domitius Ænobarbus were censors A. U. C. 662. Crassus himself informs us, that, for two years together, a new race of men, called Rhetoricians, or masters of eloquence, kept open schools at Rome, till he thought fit to exercise his censorian authority, and by an edict to banish the whole tribe from the city of Rome: and this, he says, he did, not, as some people suggested, to hinder the talents of youth from being cultivated, but to save their genius from being corrupted, and the young mind from being confirmed in shameless ignorance. Audacity was all the new masters could teach; and this being the only thing to be acquired on that stage of impudence, he thought it the duty of a Roman censor to crush the mischief in the bud. "Latini (sic diis placet) hoc biennio magistri dicendi exiterunt; quos ego censor edicto meo sustuleram; non quo (ut nescio quos dicere aiebant) acui ingenia adolescentium nollem, sed, contra, ingenia obtundi nolui, corroborari impudentiam. Hos vero novos magistros nihil intelligebam posse docere, nisi ut auderent. Hoc cum unum traderetur, et cum impudentiæ ludus esset, putavi esse censoris, ne longius id serperet providere." *De Orat.* lib. iii. s. 93 and 94. Aulus Gellius mentions a former expulsion of the rhetoricians, by a decree of the senate, in the consulship of Fannius Strabo and Valerius Messala, A. U. C. 593. He gives the words of the decree, and also of the edict, by which the teachers were banished by Crassus, several years after. See *A Gellius, Noctes Atticæ*, lib. xv. cap. 2. See also Suetonius, *De Claris Rhet.* s. 1.

2 Seneca has left a collection of declamations in the two kinds, viz. the persuasive, and controversial. See his SUASORIÆ, and CONTROVERSIÆ. In the first class, the questions are, Whether Alexander should attempt the Indian ocean? Whether he should enter Babylon, when the augurs denounced impending danger? Whether Cicero, to appease the wrath of Mark Antony, should burn all his works? The subjects in the second class are more complex. A priestess was taken prisoner by a band of pirates, and sold to slavery. The purchaser abandoned her to prostitution. Her person being rendered venal, a soldier made his offers of gallantry. She desired the price of her prostituted charms; but the military man resolved to use force and insolence, and she stabbed him in the attempt. For this she was prosecuted, and acquitted. She then desired to be restored to her rank of priestess; that point was decided against her. These instances may serve as a specimen of the trifling declamations, into which such a man as Seneca was betrayed by his own imagination. Petronius has described the literary farce of the schools. Young men, he says, were there trained up in folly, neither seeing nor hearing any thing that could be of use in the business of life. They were taught to think of nothing, but pirates loaded with fetters on the seashore; tyrants, by their edicts, commanding sons to murder their fathers; the responses of oracles demanding a sacrifice of three or more virgins, in order to abate an epidemic pestilence. All these discourses, void of common sense, are tricked out in the gaudy colours of exquisite eloquence, soft, sweet, and seasoned to the palate. In this ridiculous boy's-play the scholars trifle away their time; they are laughed at in the forum, and still worse, what they learn in their youth they do not forget at an advanced age. "Ego adolescentulos existimo in scholis stultissimos fieri, quia nihil ex iis, quæ in usu habemus, aut audiunt aut vident; sed piratas cum catenis in littore stantes, et tyrannos edicta scribentes, quibus imperent filiis, ut patrum suorum capita præcidant; sed responsa in pestilentia data, ut virgines tres aut plures immolentur; sed mellitos verborum globos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa. Nunc pueri in scholis ludunt; juvenes ridentur in foro; et, quod utroque turpius est, quod quisque perperam discit, in senectute confiteri non vult." Petron. *in Satyrico*, cap. 3 and 4.

3 Here unfortunately begins a chasm in the original. The words are, "Cum ad veros judices ventum est, * * * * rem cogitare * * * * nihil humile, nihil abjectum eloqui poterat." This is unintelligible. What follows from the words *magna eloquentia sicut flamma*, palpably belongs to Maternus, who is the last speaker in the Dialogue. The whole of what Secundus said is lost. The expedient has been, to divide the sequel between Secundus and Maternus; but that is mere patch-work.

1. "What figure will they make before that solemn judicature? Trained up in chimerical exercises, strangers to the municipal laws, unacquainted with the principles of natural justice and the rights of nations, they will bring with them that false taste which they have been for years acquiring, but nothing worthy of the public ear, nothing useful to their clients. They have succeeded in nothing but the art of making themselves ridiculous. The peculiar quality of the teacher,[4] whatever it be, is sure to transfuse itself into the performance of the pupil. Is the master haughty, fierce, and arrogant; the scholar swells with confidence; his eye threatens prodigious things, and his harangue is an ostentatious display of the common-places of school oratory, dressed up with dazzling splendour, and thundered forth with emphasis. On the other hand, does the master value himself for the delicacy of his taste, for the foppery of glittering conceits and tinsel ornament; the youth who has been educated under him, sets out with the same artificial prettiness, the same foppery of style and manner. A simper plays on his countenance; his elocution is soft and delicate; his action pathetic; his sentences entangled in a maze of sweet perplexity; he plays off the whole of his theatrical skill, and hopes to elevate and surprise.

2. "This love of finery, this ambition to shine and glitter, has destroyed all true eloquence. Oratory is not the child of hireling teachers; it springs from another source, from a love of liberty, from a mind replete with moral science, and a thorough knowledge of the laws; from a due respect for the best examples, from profound meditation,[5] and a style formed by constant practice. While these were thought essential requisites, eloquence flourished. But the true beauties of language fell into disuse, and oratory went to ruin. The spirit evaporated; I fear, to revive no more. I wish I may prove a false prophet, but we know the progress of art in every age and country. Rude at first, it rises from low beginnings, and goes on improving, till it reaches the highest perfection in the kind. But at that point it is never stationary: it soon declines, and from the corruption of what is good, it is not in the nature of man, nor in the power of human faculties, to rise again to the same degree of excellence.

3. "Messala closed with a degree of vehemence, and then turning to Maternus and Secundus,[6] It is yours, he said, to pursue this train of argument; or if any cause of the decay of eloquence lies still deeper, you will oblige us by bringing it to light. Maternus, I presume, will find no difficulty: a poetic genius holds commerce with the gods, and to him nothing will remain a secret. As for Secundus, he has been long a shining ornament of the forum, and by his own experience knows how to distinguish genuine eloquence from the corrupt and vicious. Maternus heard this sally of his friend's good humour with a smile. The task, he said, which you have imposed upon us, we will endeavour to execute. But though I am the interpreter of the gods, I must, notwithstanding, request that Secundus may take the lead. He is master of the subject, and, in questions of this kind, experience is better than inspiration.

4. "Secundus[7] complied with his friend's request. I yield, he said, the more willingly, as I shall hazard no new opinion, but rather con-

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We are told in the first section of the Dialogue, that the several persons present spoke their minds, each in his turn assigning different but probable causes, and at times agreeing on the same. There can, therefore, be no doubt but Secundus took his turn in the course of the inquiry. Of all the editors of Tacitus, Brotier is the only one who has adverted to this circumstance. To supply the loss, as well as it can now be done by conjecture, that ingenious commentator has added a supplement, with so much taste, and such a degree of probability, that it has been judged proper to adopt what he has added. The thread of the discourse will be unbroken, and the reader, it is hoped, will prefer a regular continuity to a mere vacant space. The inverted commas in the margin of the text will mark the supplemental part, as far as section 36, where the original proceeds to the end of the Dialogue. The sections of the Supplement will be marked, for the sake of distinction, with figures, instead of the Roman numeral letters.

4 Petronius says, you may as well expect that the person, who is for ever shut up in a kitchen, should be sweet and fresh, as that young men, trained up in such absurd and ridiculous interludes, should improve their taste or judgment. "Qui inter hæc nutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam bene olere, qui in culina habitant." Petronius, *in Satyrico*, s. 2

5 The means by which an orator is nourished, formed, and raised to eminence, are here enumerated. These are the requisites, that lead to that distinguished eloquence, which is finely described by Petronius, when he says, a sublime oration, but sublime within due bounds, is neither deformed with affectation, nor turgid in any part, but, depending on truth and simplicity, rises to unaffected grandeur. "Grandis, et, ut ita dicam, pudica oratio, non est maculosa, nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exsurgit." Petronius, *in Satyrico*, s. 2.

6 Maternus engaged for himself and Secundus, that they would communicate their sentiments: see s. 16. In consequence of that promise, Messala now calls upon them both. They have already declared themselves admirers of ancient eloquence. It now remains to be known, whether they agree with Messala as to the cause that occasioned a rapid decline: or whether they can produce new reasons of their own.

7 Secundus proceeds to give his opinion. This is managed by Brotier with great art and judgment, since it is evident, in the original text, that Maternus closed the debate. According to what is said in the introduction to the Dialogue, Secundus agrees with Messala upon most points, but still assigns different, but probable reasons. A revolution, he says, happened in literature; a new taste prevailed, and the worst models

firm what has been urged by Messala. It is certain, that, as painters are formed by painters, and poets by the example of poets, so the young orator must learn his art from orators only. In the schools of rhetoricians,[1] who think themselves the fountain-head of eloquence, every thing is false and vitiated. The true principles of the persuasive art are never known to the professor, or if at any time there may be found a preceptor of superior genius, can it be expected that he shall be able to transfuse into the mind of his pupil all his own conceptions, pure, unmixed, and free from error? The sensibility of the master, since we have allowed him genius, will be an impediment: the uniformity of the same dull tedious round will give him disgust, and the student will turn from it with aversion. And yet I am inclined to think, that the decay of eloquence would not have been so rapid, if other causes, more fatal than the corruption of the schools, had not co-operated. When the worst models became the objects of imitation, and not only the young men of the age, but even the whole body of the people admired the new way of speaking, eloquence fell at once into that state of degeneracy, from which nothing can recover it. We, who came afterwards, found ourselves in a hopeless situation; we were driven to wretched expedients, to forced conceits, and the glitter of frivolous sentences; we were obliged to hunt after wit, when we could be no longer eloquent. By what pernicious examples this was accomplished, has been explained by our friend Messala.

5. "We are none of us strangers to those unhappy times, when Rome, grown weary of her vast renown in arms, began to think of striking into new paths of fame, no longer willing to depend on the glory of our ancestors. The whole power of the state was centred in a single ruler, and by the policy of the prince, men were taught to think no more of ancient honour. Invention was on the stretch for novelty, and all looked for something better than perfection; something rare, far-fetched, and exquisite. New modes of pleasure were devised. In that period of luxury and dissipation, when the rage for new inventions was grown epidemic, Seneca arose. His talents were of a peculiar sort, acute, refined and polished; but polished to a degree that made him prefer affectation and wit to truth and nature. The predominance of his genius was great, and, by consequence, he gave the mortal stab to all true eloquence.[2] When I say this, let me not be suspected of that low malignity which would tarnish the fame of a great character. I admire the man, and the philosopher. The undaunted firmness with which he braved the tyrant's frown, will do immortal honour to his memory. But the fact is, (and why should I disguise it?) the virtues of the writer have undone his country.

6. "To bring about this unhappy revolution, no man was so eminently qualified.[3] His un-

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were deemed worthy of imitation. The emotions of the heart were suppressed. Men could no longer yield to the impulse of genius. They endeavoured to embellish their composition with novelty; they sparkled with wit, and amused their readers with point, antithesis, and forced conceits. They fell into the case of the man who, according to Martial, was ingenious, but not eloquent:

> Cum sexaginta numeret Cassellius annos;
> Ingenuous homo est: quando disertus erit?
>
> Lib. vii. epig. 8.

1 Enough, perhaps, has been already said in the notes, concerning the teachers of rhetoric; but it will not be useless to cite one passage more from Petronius, who in literature, as well as convivial pleasure, may be allowed to be *arbiter elegantiarum*. The rhetoricians, he says, came originally from Asia; they were, however, neither known to Pindar, and the nine lyric poets, nor to Plato, or Demosthenes. They arrived at Athens in evil hour, and imported with them that enormous frothy loquacity, which at once, like a pestilence, blasted all the powers of genius, and established the rules of corrupt eloquence. "Nondum umbraticus doctor ingenia deleverat, cum Pindarus novemque lyrici Homericis versibus canere non timuerunt. Certe neque Platona, neque Demosthenem, ad hoc genus exercitationis accessisse video. Nuper ventosa isthæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit, animosque juvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit; ilmulque corruptæ eloquentiæ regula stetit et obtinuit."

Tron. *Satyricon*, s. 2.

2 When the public taste was vitiated, and to *elevate and surprise*, as Bayes says, was the *new way of writing*, Seneca is, with good reason, ranked in the class of ingenious, but affected authors. Menage says, if all the books in the world were in the fire, there is not one, whom he would so eagerly snatch from the flames as Plutarch. That author never tires him; he reads him often and always finds new beauties. He cannot say the same of Seneca; not but there are admirable passages in his works, but when brought to the test they lose their apparent beauty by a close examination. Seneca serves to be quoted in the warmth of conversation, but is not of equal value in the closet. Whatever be the subject, he wishes to shine, and, by consequence, his thoughts are too refined, and often *false*. *Menagiana*, tom. ii. p. 1.

3 This charge against Seneca is by no means new. Quintilian was his contemporary; he saw and heard the man, and, in less than twenty years after his death, pronounced judgment against him. In the conclusion of the first chapter of his tenth book, after having given an account of the Greek and Roman authors, he says, he reserved Seneca for the last place, because, having always endeavoured to counteract the influence of a bad taste, he was supposed to be influenced by motives of personal enmity. But the case was otherwise. He saw that Seneca was the favourite of the times, and, to check the torrent that threatened the ruin of all true eloquence, he exerted his best efforts to diffuse a sounder judgment. He did not wish that Seneca should be laid aside: but he could not in silence see him preferred to the writers of the Augustan age, whom that writer en-

derstanding was large and comprehensive; his genius rich and powerful; his way of thinking ingenious, elegant, and even charming. His researches in moral philosophy excited the

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deavoured to depreciate, conscious that, having chosen a different style, he could not hope to please the taste of those who were charmed with the authors of a former day. But Seneca was still in fashion; his partisans continued to admire, though it cannot be said that they imitated him. He fell short of the ancients, and they were still more beneath their model. Since they were content to copy, it were to be wished that they had been able to vie with him. He pleased by his defects, and the herd of imitators chose the worst. They acquired a vicious manner, and flattered themselves that they resembled their master. But the truth is, they disgraced him. Seneca, it must be allowed, had many great and excellent qualities; a lively imagination, vast erudition, and extensive knowledge. He frequently employed others to make researches for him, and was often deceived. He embraced all subjects; in his philosophy, not always profound, but a keen censor of the manners, and on moral subjects truly admirable. He has brilliant passages, and beautiful sentiments; but the expression is in a false taste, the more dangerous, as he abounds with delightful vices. You would have wished that he had written with his own imagination, and the judgment of others. To sum up his character; had he known how to rate little things, had he been above the petty ambition of always shining, had he not been fond of himself, had he not weakened his force by minute and dazzling sentences, he would have gained, not the admiration of boys, but the suffrage of the judicious. At present he may be read with safety by those who have made acquaintance with better models. His works afford the fairest opportunity of distinguishing the beauties of fine writing from their opposite vices. He has much to be approved, and even admired: but a just selection is necessary, and it is to be regretted that he did not choose for himself. Such was the judgment of Quintilian: the learned reader will, perhaps, be glad to have the whole passage in the author's words, rather than be referred to another book. "Ex industria Senecam, in omni genere eloquentiæ versatum, distuli, propter vulgatum falso de me opinionem, qua damnare eum, et invisum quoque habere eum creditus. Quod accidit mihi, dum corruptum, et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora judicia contendo. Tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit. Quem non equidem omnino conabar excutere, sed potioribus præferri non sinebam, quos ille non desiterat incessere, cum, diversi sibi conscius generis, placere se in dicendo posse iis quibus illi placerent, diffideret. Amabant autem eum magis, quam imitabantur; tantumque ab illo defluebant, quantum ille ab antiquis descenderat. Foret enim optandum, pares, aut saltem proximos, illi viro fieri. Sed placebat propter sola vitia, et ad ea se quisque dirigebat effingenda, quæ poterat. Deinde cum se jactaret eodem modo dicere, Senecam infamabat. Cujus et multæ alioqui et magnæ virtutes fuerunt: ingenium facile et copiosum; plurimum studii; et multarum rerum cognitio, in qua tamen aliquando ab iis, quibus inquirenda quædam mandabat, deceptus est. Tractavit etiam omnem fere studiorum materiam; in philosophia parum diligens, egregius tamen vitiorum insectator. Multa in eo claræque sententiæ; multa etiam morum gratia legenda; sed in eloquendo corrupta pleraque, atque eo perniciosissima, quod abundat dulcibus vitiis. Velles cum suo ingenio dixisse, alieno judicio. Nam si aliqua contempsisset; si parum concupisset, si non omnia sua amasset; si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset, consensu potius eruditorum, quam puerorum amore comprobaretur. Verum sic quoque jam robustis, et severiore genere satis firmatis, legendus, vel ideo, quod exercere potest utrimque judicium. Multa enim (ut dixi) probanda in eo, multa etiam admiranda sunt; eligere modo curæ sit, quod utinam ipse fecisset." Quintil. lib. x. cap. 1. From this it is evident, that Seneca, even in the meridian of his fame and power, was considered as the grand corrupter of eloquence. The charge is therefore renewed in this dialogue, with strict propriety. Rollin, who had nourished his mind with ancient literature, and was, in his time, the Quintilian of France, has given the same opinion of Seneca, who, he says, knew how to play the critic on the works of others, and to condemn the strained metaphor, the forced conceit, the tinsel sentence, and all the blemishes of a corrupt style, without desiring to weed them out of his own productions. In a letter to his friend (epist. 114), which has been mentioned section 26, note, Seneca admits a general depravity of taste, and with great acuteness, and, indeed, elegance, traces it to its source, to the luxury and effeminate manners of the age; he compares the florid orators of his time to a set of young fops, well powdered and perfumed, just issuing from their toilette. "Barba et coma nitidos, de capsula totos;" he adds, that such affected finery is not the true ornament of a man. "Non est ornamentum virile, concinnitas." And yet, says Rollin, he did not know that he was sitting to himself for the picture. He aimed for ever at something new, far fetched, ingenious, and pointed. He preferred wit to truth and dignified simplicity. The marvellous was with him better than the natural; and he chose to surprise and dazzle, rather than merit the approbation of sober judgment. His talents placed him at the head of the fashion, and with those enchanting vices which Quintilian ascribes to him, he was, no doubt, the person who contributed most to the corruption of taste and eloquence. See Rollin's Belles Lettres, vol. i. sur le Gout. Another eminent critic, L'Abbe Gedoyn, who has given an elegant translation of Quintilian, has, in the preface to that work, entered fully into the question concerning the decline of eloquence. He admits that Seneca did great mischief, but he takes the matter up much higher. He traces it to Ovid, and imputes the taste for wit and spurious ornament, which prevailed under the emperors, to the false, but seducing charms of that celebrated poet. Ovid was undoubtedly the greatest wit of his time; but his wit knew no bounds. His fault was exuberance. "Nescivit quod bene cessit relinquere," says Seneca, who had himself the same defect. Whatever is Ovid's subject, the redundance of a copious fancy still appears. Does he bewail his own misfortunes; he seems to think, that unless he is witty, he cannot be an object of compassion. Does he write letters to and from disappointed lovers; the greatest part flows from fancy, and little from the heart. He gives us the brilliant for the pathetic. With these faults, Ovid had such enchanting graces, that his style and manner infected every branch of literature. The tribe of imitators had not the genius of their master; but being determined to shine in spite of nature, they ruined all true taste and eloquence. This is the natural progress of imitation, and Seneca was well aware of it. He tells us that the faults and blemishes of a corrupt style are ever introduced by some superior genius, who has risen to eminence in bad writing: his admirers imitate a vicious manner, and thus a false taste goes round from one to another. "Hæc vitia unus aliquis induxit,

admiration of all; and moral philosophy is never so highly praised, as when the manners are in a state of degeneracy. Seneca knew the taste of the times. He had the art to gratify the public ear. His style is neat, yet animated; concise, yet clear; familiar, yet seldom inelegant. Free from redundancy, his periods are often abrupt, but they surprise by their vivacity. He shines in pointed sentences; and that unceasing persecution of vice, which is kept up with uncommon ardour, spreads a lustre over all his writings. His brilliant style charmed by its novelty. Every page sparkles with wit, with gay allusions, and sentiments of virtue. No wonder that the graceful ease, and sometimes the dignity of his expression, made their way into the forum. What pleased universally, soon found a number of imitators. Add to this the advantages of rank and honours. He mixed in the splendour, and perhaps in the vices, of the court. The resentment of Caligula, and the acts of oppression which soon after followed, served only to adorn his name. To crown all, Nero was his pupil, and his murderer. Hence the character and genius of the man rose to the highest eminence. What was admired, was imitated, and true oratory was heard no more. The love of novelty prevailed, and for the dignified simplicity of ancient eloquence no taste remained. The art itself, and all its necessary discipline, became ridiculous. In that black period, when vice triumphed at large, and virtue had every thing to fear, the temper of the times was propitious to the corrupters of taste and liberal science. The dignity of composition was no longer of use. It had no power to stop the torrent of vice which deluged the city of Rome, and virtue found it a feeble protection. In such a conjuncture it was not safe to speak the sentiments of the heart. To be obscure, abrupt, and dark, was the best expedient. Then it was that the affected sententious brevity came into vogue. To speak concisely, and with an air of precipitation, was the general practice. To work the ruin of a person accused, a single sentence, or a splendid phrase was sufficient. Men defended themselves in a short brilliant expression; and if that did not protect them, they died with a lively apophthegm, and their last words were wit. This was the fashion introduced by Seneca. The peculiar, but agreeable vices of his style, wrought the downfall of eloquence. The solid was exchanged for the brilliant, and they, who ceased to be orators, studied to be ingenious.

7. "Of late, indeed, we have seen the dawn of better times. In the course of the last six years Vespasian has revived our hopes.[1] The friend of regular manners, and the encourager of ancient virtue, by which Rome was raised to the highest pinnacle of glory, he has restored the public peace, and with it the blessings of liberty. Under his propitious influence, the arts and sciences begin once more to flourish, and genius has been honoured with his munificence. The example of his sons[2] has helped to kindle a spirit of emulation. We beheld, with pleasure, the two princes adding to the dignity of their rank, and their fame in arms, all the grace and elegance of polite literature. But it is fatally true, that when the public taste is once corrupted, the mind which has been warped, seldom recovers its former tone. This difficulty was rendered still more insurmountable by the licentious spirit of our young men, and the popular applause, that encouraged the false taste of the times. I need not, in this company, call to mind the unbridled presumption, with which, as soon as genuine eloquence expired, the young men of the age took possession of the forum. Of modest worth and ancient manners nothing remained. We know that in former times the youthful candidate was introduced in the forum by a person of consular rank,[3] and by him set forward in his road to fame. That

sub quo tunc eloquentia est: cæteri imitantur; et alter alteri tradunt." Epist. 114. Seneca, however, did not know that he was describing himself. Tacitus says he had a genius suited to the taste of the age. "Ingenium amœnum et temporis ejus auribus accommodatum." He adopted the faults of Ovid, and was able to propagate them. For these reasons, the Abbe Gedoyn is of opinion, that Ovid began the mischief, and Seneca laid the axe to the root of the tree. It is certain, that during the remaining period of the empire, true eloquence never revived.

1 Historians have concurred in taxing Vespasian with avarice, in some instances, mean and sordid; but they agree, at the same time, that the use which he made of his accumulated riches, by encouraging the arts, and extending liberal rewards to men of genius, is a sufficient apology for his love of money.

2 Titus, it is needless to say, was the friend of virtue and of every liberal art. Even that monster Domitian was versed in polite learning, and by fits and starts capable of intense application: but we read in Tacitus, that his studies and his pretended love of poetry served as a cloak to hide his real character. See *History*, b. iv. s. 86.

3 Pliny the younger describes the young men of his time rushing forward into the forum without knowledge or decency. He was told, he says, by persons advanced in years, that, according to ancient usage, no young man, even of the first distinction, was allowed to appear at the bar, unless he was introduced by one of consular dignity. But, in his time, all fences of respect and decency were thrown down. Young men scorned to be introduced; they forced their way, and took possession of the forum without any kind of recommendation. "At hercule ante memoriam meam (majores natu ita solent dicere), ne nobilissimis quidem adolescentibus locus erat, nisi aliquo consulari producente; tanta veneratione pulcherrimum opus celebrabatur. Nunc refractis pudoris et reverentiæ claustris, omnia patent omnibus. Nec inducuntur, sed irrumpunt." Plin. lib. ii. epist. 14.

laudable custom being at an end, all fences were thrown down: no sense of shame remained, no respect for the tribunals of justice. The aspiring genius wanted no patronage; he scorned the usual forms of a regular introduction; and, with full confidence in his own powers, he obtruded himself on the court. Neither the solemnity of the place, nor the sanctity of laws, nor the importance of the oratorical character, could restrain the impetuosity of young ambition. Unconscious of the importance of the undertaking, and less sensible of his own incapacity, the bold adventurer rushed at once into the most arduous business. Arrogance supplied the place of talents.

8. "To oppose the torrent, that bore down every thing, the danger of losing all fair and honest fame was the only circumstance that could afford a ray of hope. But even that slender fence was soon removed by the arts of[4] Largius Licinius. He was the first that opened a new road to ambition. He intrigued for fame, and filled the benches with an audience suborned to applaud his declamations. He had his circle round him, and shouts of approbation followed. It was upon that occasion that Domitius Afer[5] emphatically said, Eloquence is now at the last gasp. It had, indeed, at that time shown manifest symptoms of decay, but its total ruin may be dated from the introduction of a mercenary band[6] to flatter and applaud. If we except a chosen few, whose superior genius has not as yet been seduced from truth and nature, the rest are followed by their partisans, like actors on the stage, subsisting altogether on the bought suffrages of mean and prostitute hirelings. Nor is this sordid traffic carried on with secrecy: we see the bargain made in the face of the court; the bribe is distributed with as little ceremony as if they were in a private party at the orator's own house. Having sold their voices, this venal crew rush forward from one tribunal to another, the distributors of fame, and the sole judges of literary merit. The practice is, no doubt, disgraceful. To brand it with infamy, two new terms have been invented,[7] one in the Greek language, importing the venders of praise, and the other in the Latin idiom, signifying the parasites who sell their applause for a supper. But sarcastic expressions have not been able to cure the mischief: the applauders by profession have taken courage, and the name, which was intended as a stroke of ridicule, is now become an honourable appellation.

9. "This infamous practice rages at present with increasing violence. The party no longer consists of freeborn citizens; our very slaves are hired. Even before they arrive at full age, we see them distributing the rewards of eloquence. Without attending to what is said, and without sense enough to understand, they are sure to crowd the courts of justice, whenever a raw

4 This want of decorum before the tribunals of justice would appear incredible, were it not well attested by the younger Pliny. The audience, he says, was suited to the orators. Mercenary wretches were hired to applaud in the courts, where they were treated at the expense of the advocate, as openly as if they were in a banqueting-room. "Sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti et redempti mancipes. Convenitur in media basilica, ubi tam palam sportulæ quam in triclinio dantur." Plin. lib. ii. epist. 14. He adds in the same epistle, LARGIUS LICINIUS first introduced this custom, merely that he might procure an audience. "Primus hunc audiendi morem induxit Largius Licinius, hactenus tamen ut auditores corrogaret."

5 This anecdote is also related by Pliny, in the following manner: Quintilian, his preceptor, told him that one day, when he attended Domitius Afer in a cause before the *centumviri*, a sudden and outrageous noise was heard from the adjoining court. Afer made a pause; the disturbance ceased, and he resumed the thread of his discourse. He was interrupted a second and third time. He asked, who was the advocate that occasioned so much uproar? Being told that Licinius was the person, he addressed himself to the court in these words: *Centumviri! all true eloquence is now at an end.* "Ex Quintiliano, præceptore meo, audisse memini: narrabat ille, Assectabar Domitium Afrum, cum apud centumviros diceret graviter et lente (hoc enim illi actionis genus erat), audiit ex proximo immodicum insolitumque clamorem; admiratus reticuit; ubi silentium factum est, repetit quod abruperat; iterum clamor, iterum reticuit; et post silentium, cœpit idem tertio. Novissime quis diceret quæsivit. Responsum est, Licinius. Tum intermissa causa, CENTUMVIRI, inquit, HOC ARTIFICIUM PERIIT." Lib. ii. ep. 14. Domitius Afer has been mentioned, s. 13, note. To what is there said of him may be added a fact related by Quintilian, who says that Afer, when old and superannuated, still continued at the bar, exhibiting the decay of genius, and every day diminishing that high reputation which he once possessed. Hence men said of him, he had rather *decline* than *desist*. "Malle eum deficere, quam desinere." Quint. lib. xii. cap. 11.

6 The men who applauded for hire, went from court to court to bellow forth their venal approbation. Pliny says, No longer ago than yesterday, two of my *nomenclators*, both about the age of seventeen, were bribed to play the part of critics. Their pay was about three *denarii*: that at present is the price of eloquence. "Ex judicio in judicium pari mercede transitur. Heri duo nomenclatores mei (habent sane ætatem eorum, qui nuper togas sumpserunt), ternis denariis ad laudandum trahebantur. Tanti constat, ut sis disertus." Lib. ii. epist. 14.

7 The whole account of the trade of puffing is related in the Dialogue, on the authority of Pliny, who tells us that those wretched sycophants had two nick-names; one in Greek, Σοφοκλεῖς, and the other in Latin, LAUDICÆNI; the former from *sophos*, the usual exclamation of applause, as in Martial: *Quid tam grande sophos clamat tibi turba togata;* the Latin word importing *parasites*, who sold their praise for a supper. "Inde jam non inurbane Σοφοκλεῖς vocantur; iisdem nomen Latinum impositum est, LAUDICÆNI. Et tamen crescit indies fœditas utraque lingua notata." Lib. ii. epist. 14.

young man, stung with the love of fame, but without talents to deserve it, obtrudes himself in the character of an advocate. The hall resounds with acclamations, or rather with a kind of bellowing; for I know not by what term to express that savage uproar, which would disgrace a theatre.

"Upon the whole, when I consider these infamous practices, which have brought so much dishonour upon a liberal profession, I am far from wondering that you, Maternus, judged it time to sound your retreat. When you could no longer attend with honour, you did well, my friend, to devote yourself entirely to the muses. And now, since you are to close the debate, permit me to request, that, besides unfolding the causes of corrupt eloquence, you will fairly tell us, whether you entertain any hopes of better times, and, if you do, by what means a reformation may be accomplished."

10. "It is true,[1] said Maternus, that seeing the forum deluged by an inundation of vices, I was glad, as my friend expressed it, to sound my retreat. I saw corruption rushing on with hasty strides, too shameful to be defended, and too powerful to be resisted. And yet, though urged by all those motives, I should hardly have renounced the business of the bar, if the bias of my nature had not inclined me to other studies. I balanced, however, for some time. It was, at first, my fixed resolution to stand to the last a poor remnant of that integrity and manly eloquence, which still lingered at the bar, and showed some signs of life. It was my intention to emulate, not, indeed, with equal powers, but certainly with equal firmness, the bright models of ancient times, and, in that course of practice, to defend the fortunes, the dignity, and the innocence of my fellow-citizens. But the strong impulse of inclination was not to be resisted. I laid down my arms, and deserted to the safe and tranquil camp of the muses. But though a deserter, I have not quite forgot the service in which I was enlisted. I honour the professors of real eloquence, and that sentiment, I hope, will be always warm in my heart.

11. "In my solitary walks, and moments of meditation, it often happens, that I fall into a train of thinking on the flourishing state of ancient eloquence, and the abject condition to which it is reduced in modern times. The result of my reflections I shall venture to unfold, not with a spirit of controversy, nor yet dogmatically to enforce my own opinion. I may differ in some points, but from a collision of sentiments it is possible that some new light may be struck out. My friend Aper will, therefore, excuse me, if I do not, with him, prefer the false glitter of the moderns to the solid vigour of ancient genius. At the same time, it is not my intention to disparage his friends. Messala too, whom you, Secundus, have closely followed, will forgive me, if I do not, in every thing, coincide with his opinion. The vices of the forum, which you have both, as becomes men of integrity, attacked with vehemence, will not have me for their apologist. But still I may be allowed to ask, have not you been too much exasperated against the rhetoricians?

"I will not say in their favour, that I think them equal to the task of reviving the honours of eloquence; but I have known among them, men of unblemished morals, of regular discipline, great erudition, and talents every way fit to form the minds of youth to a just taste for science and the persuasive arts. In this number one in particular[2] has lately shown forth

1 Pliny tells us, that he employed much of his time in pleading causes before the *centumviri;* but he grew ashamed of the business, when he found those courts attended by a set of bold young men, and not by lawyers of any note or consequence. But still the service of his friends, and his time of life, induced him to continue his practice for some while longer, lest he should seem, by quitting it abruptly, to fly from fatigue, not from the indecorum of the place. He contrived, however, to appear but seldom, in order to withdraw himself by degrees. "Nos tamen adhuc et utilitas amicorum, et ratio ætatis, moratur ac retinet. Veremur enim ne forte non has indignitates reliquisse, sed laborem fugisse videamur. Sumus tamen solito rariores, quod initium est gradatim desinendi." Lib. ii. epist. 14.

2 The person here distinguished from the rest of the rhetoricians, is the celebrated Quintilian, of whose elegant taste and superior judgment it were superfluous to say a word. Martial has given his character in two lines:

> Quintiliane, vagæ moderator summe juventæ,
> Gloria Romani, Quintiliane, togæ.
>
> Lib. ii. epig. 90.

It is generally supposed that he was a native of *Calagurris* (now *Calahorra,*) a city in Spain, rendered famous by the martial spirit of Sertorius, who there stood a siege against Pompey. Vossius, however, thinks that he was born a Roman; and Gedoyn, the elegant translator mentioned section 6, note, accedes to that opinion, since Martial does not claim him as his countryman. The same writer says, that it is still uncertain when Quintilian was born, and when he died; but, after a diligent inquiry, he thinks it probable that the great critic was born towards the latter end of Tiberius; and, of course, when Domitius Afer died in the reign of Nero, A. U. C. 812, A. D. 59, that he was then two and twenty. His Institutions of an Orator were written in the latter end of Domitian, when Quintilian, as he himself says, was far advanced in years. The time of his death is no where mentioned, but it probably was under Nerva or Trajan. It must not be dissembled, that this admirable author was not exempt from the epidemic vice of the age in which he lived. He flattered Domitian, and that strain of adulation is the only blemish in his work. The love of literature may be said to have been his ruling passion; but, in his estimation, learning and genius are subordinate to honour, truth, and virtue.

with superior lustre. From his abilities, all that is in the power of man may fairly be expected. A genius like his would have been the ornament of better times. Posterity will admire and honour him. And yet I would not have Secundus amuse himself with ill-grounded hopes: neither the learning of that most excellent man, nor the industry of such as may follow him, will be able to promote the interest of Eloquence, or to establish her former glory. It is a lost cause. Before the vices, which have been so ably described, had spread a general infection, all true oratory was at an end. The revolutions in our government, and the violence of the times, began the mischief, and, in the end, gave the fatal blow.

12. "Nor are we to wonder at this event. In the course of human affairs there is no stability, nothing secure or permanent. It is with our minds as with our bodies: the latter, as soon as they have attained their full growth, and seem to flourish in the vigour of health, begin, from that moment, to feel the gradual approaches of decay. Our intellectual powers proceed in the same manner; they gain strength by degrees, they arrive at maturity, and, when they can no longer improve, they languish, droop, and fade away. This is the law of nature, to which every age, and every nation, of which we have any historical records, have been obliged to submit. There is besides another general law, hard perhaps, but wonderfully ordained, and it is this: nature, whose operations are always simple and uniform, never suffers in any age or country, more than one great example of perfection in the kind.[3] This was the case in Greece, that prolific parent of genius and of science. She had but one Homer, one Plato, one Demosthenes. The same has happened at Rome: Virgil stands at the head of his art, and Cicero is still unrivalled. During a space of seven hundred years our ancestors were struggling to reach the submit of perfection: Cicero at length arose; he thundered forth his immortal energy, and nature was satisfied with the wonder she had made. The force of genius could go no further. A new road to fame was to be found. We aimed at wit, and gay conceit, and glittering sentences. The change, indeed, was great; but it naturally followed the new form of government. Genius died with public liberty.

13. "We find that the discourse of men always conforms to the temper of the times. Among savage nations[4] language is never copious. A few words serve the purpose of barbarians, and those are always uncouth and harsh, without the artifice of connection; short, abrupt, and nervous. In a state of polished society, where a single ruler sways the sceptre, the powers of the mind take a softer tone, and language grows more refined. But affectation follows, and precision gives way to delicacy. The just and natural expression is no longer the fashion. Living in ease and luxury, men look for elegance, and hope by novelty to give a grace to adulation. In other nations, where the first principles of the civil union are maintained in vigour; where the people live under the government of laws, and not the will of man; where the spirit of liberty pervades all ranks and orders of the state; where every individual holds himself bound, at the hazard of his life, to defend the constitution framed by his ancestors; where, without being guilty of an impious crime, no man dares to violate the rights of the whole community; in such a state, the national eloquence will be prompt, bold, and animated. Should internal dissensions shake the public peace, or foreign enemies threaten to invade the land, Eloquence comes forth arrayed in terror; she wields her thunder, and commands all hearts. It is true, that upon those occasions men of ambition endeavour, for their own purposes, to spread the flame of sedition; while the good and virtuous combine their force to quell the turbulent, and repel the menaces of a foreign enemy. Liberty gains new strength by the conflict, and the true patriot has the glory of serving his country, distinguished by his valour in the field, and in debate no less terrible by his eloquence.

14. "Hence it is that in free governments we see a constellation of orators. Hence Demosthenes displayed the powers of his amazing genius, and acquired immortal honour. He saw a quick and lively people, dissolved in luxury, open to the seductions of wealth, and ready to submit to a master; he saw a great and warlike monarch threatening destruction to the liberties of his country; he saw that prince at

3 Maternus, without contradicting Messala or Secundus, gives his opinion, viz. that the decline of eloquence, however other causes might conspire, was chiefly occasioned by the ruin of a free constitution. To this he adds another observation, which seems to be founded on truth, as we find that, since the revival of letters, Spain has produced one CERVANTES; France, one MOLIERE; England, one SHAKESPEARE, and one MILTON.

4 Examples of short, abrupt, and even sublime speeches out of the mouth of Barbarians, might, if the occasion required it, be produced in great abundance. Mr. Locke has observed, that the humours of a people may be learned from their usage of words. Seneca has said the same, and, in epistle cxiv. has explained himself on the subject with acute reasoning and beautiful illustration. The whole letter merits the attention of the judicious critic. The remainder of this, and the whole of the following section, serve to enforce the proposition of the speaker, viz. that Roman eloquence died with public liberty. The supplement ends here. The original text is resumed in the next section, and proceeds unbroken to the end of the Dialogue.

the head of powerful armies, renowned for victory, possessed of an opulent treasury, formidable in battle, and, by his secret arts, still more so in the cabinet; he saw that king, inflamed by ambition and the lust of dominion, determined to destroy the liberties of Greece. It was that alarming crisis that called forth the powers of Demosthenes. Armed with eloquence, and with eloquence only, he stood as a bulwark against a combination of enemies foreign and domestic. He roused his countrymen from their lethargy: he kindled the holy flame of liberty; he counteracted the machinations of Philip, detected his clandestine frauds, and fired the men of Athens with indignation. To effect these generous purposes, and defeat the policy of a subtle enemy, what powers of mind were necessary! how vast, how copious, how sublime! He thundered and lightened in his discourse; he faced every danger with undaunted resolution. Difficulties served only to inspire him with new ardour. The love of his country glowed in his heart; liberty roused all his powers, and Fame held forth her immortal wreath to reward his labours. These were the fine incentives that roused his genius, and no wonder that his mind expanded with vast conceptions. He thought for his country, and, by consequence, every sentiment was sublime; every expression was grand and magnificent."

XXXVI. The true spirit of genuine eloquence,[1] like an intense fire, is kept alive by fresh materials: every new commotion gives it vigour, and in proportion as it burns, it expands and brightens to a purer flame. The same causes at Rome produced the same effect. Tempestuous times called forth the genius of our ancestors. The moderns, it is true, have taken fire, and rose above themselves, as often as a quiet, settled, and uniform government gave a fair opportunity; but eloquence, it is certain, flourishes most under a bold and turbulent democracy, where the ambitious citizen, who best can mould to his purposes a fierce and contentious multitude, is sure to be the idol of the people. In the conflict of parties, that kept our ancestors in agitation, laws were multiplied; the leading chiefs were the favourite demagogues; the magistrates were often engaged in midnight debate; eminent citizens were brought to a public trial; families were set at variance; the nobles were split into factions, and the senate waged incessant war against the people. Hence that flame of eloquence which blazed out under the republican government, and hence that constant fuel that kept the flame alive.

The state, it is true, was often thrown into convulsions; but talents were exercised, and genius opened the way to public honours. He who possessed the powers of persuasion, rose to eminence, and by the arts which gave him popularity, he was sure to eclipse his colleagues. He strengthened his interest with the leading men, and gained weight and influence not only in the senate, but in all assemblies of the people. Foreign nations[2] courted his friendship. The magistrates, setting out for their provinces, made it their business to ingratiate themselves with the popular speaker, and, at their return, took care to renew their homage. The powerful orator had no occasion to solicit for preferment: the offices of prætor and consul stood open to receive him. He was invited to those exalted stations. Even in the rank of a private citizen he had a considerable share of power, since his authority swayed at once the senate and the people. It was in those days a settled maxim, that no man could either rise to dignities, or support himself in office, without possessing, in an eminent degree, a power of words, and dignity of language.

Nor can this be a matter of wonder, when we recollect, that persons of distinguished genius were, on various occasions, called forth by the voice of the people, and in their presence obliged to act an important part. Eloquence was the ruling passion of all. The reason is, it was not then sufficient merely to vote in the senate; it was necessary to support that vote with strength of reasoning, and a flow of language. Moreover, in all prosecutions, the party accused was expected to make his defence in person, and to examine the witnesses,[3] who at that time were

1 When great and powerful eloquence is compared to a flame, that must be supported by fresh materials, it is evident that the sentence is a continuation, not the opening of a new argument. It has been observed, and it will not be improper to repeat, that the two former speakers (Messala and Secundus) having stated, according to their way of thinking, the causes of corrupt eloquence, Maternus, as was promised in the outset of the Dialogue, now proceeds to give another reason, and, perhaps, the strongest of all; namely, the alteration of the government from the old republican form to the absolute sway of a single ruler.

2 The colonies, the provinces, and the nations that submitted to the Roman arms, had their patrons in the capital, whom they courted with assiduity. It was this mark of distinction that raised the ambitious citizen to the first honours in the state. To have a number of clients, as well at home as in the most important colonies, was the unremitting desire, the study and constant labour of all who aimed at pre-eminence: insomuch that, in the time of the old republic, the men who wished to be distinguished patrons, impoverished, and often ruined their families, by their profusion and magnificence. They paid court to the common people, to the provinces, and states in alliance with Rome; and, in their turn, they received the homage of their clients. See *Annals*, b. iii. s. 55.

3 We read in Quintilian, that oral testimony, and depositions signed by the witnesses, were both in use in his time. Written evidence, he observes, was easily combated: because the witness who chose to speak in the presence of a few who signed his attestation, might be guilty of a violation of truth with greater confidence;

not allowed to speak in written depositions, but were obliged to give their testimony in open court. In this manner, necessity, no less than the temptation of bright rewards, conspired to make men cultivate the arts of oratory. He who was known to possess the powers of speech, was held in the highest veneration. The mute and silent character fell into contempt. The dread of shame was a motive not less powerful than the ambition that aimed at honours. To sink into the humiliating rank of a client, instead of maintaining the dignity of a patron, was a degrading thought. Men were unwilling to see the followers of their ancestors transferred to other families for protection. Above all, they dreaded the disgrace of being thought unworthy of civil honours; and, if by intrigue they attained their wishes, the fear of being despised for incapacity was a spur to quicken their ardour in the pursuit of literary fame and commanding eloquence.

XXXVII. I do not know whether you have as yet seen the historical memoirs which Mucianus[4] has collected, and lately published, containing, in eleven volumes, the transactions of the times, and, in three more, the letters of eminent men who figured on the stage of public business. This portion of history is well authenticated by the original papers, still extant in the libraries of the curious. From this valuable collection it appears, that Pompey and Crassus[5] owed their elevation as much to their talents as to their fame in arms; and that Lentulus,[6] Metellus, Lucullus, Curio, and others of that class, took care to enlarge their minds, and distinguish themselves by their powers of speech. To say all in one word, no man, in those times, rose to eminence in the state, who

and besides, not being cited to speak, his being a volunteer in the cause was a circumstance against him, since it showed that he acted with ill-will to the opposite party. With regard to the witness who gives his testimony in open court, the advocate has more upon his hands: he must press him with questions, and in a set speech observe upon his evidence. He must also support his own witnesses, and, therefore, must draw up two lines of battle. "Maximus patronis circa testimonia sudor est. Ea dicuntur aut per tabulas, aut a præsentibus. Simplicior contra tabulas pugna. Nam et minus obstitisse videtur pudor inter paucos signatores, et pro diffidentia premitur absentia. Tacita præterea quadam significatione refragatur his omnibus, quod nemo per tabulas dat testimonium, nisi sua voluntate; quo ipso non esse amicum ei se, contra quem dicit, fatetur. Cum præsentibus vero ingens dimicatio est: ideoque velut duplici contra eos, proque his, acie confligitur, actionum et interrogationum." Quint. lib. v. cap. 7.

4 For an account of Mucianus, see section 7, note; also *the History*, b. ii. s. 5. Suetonius relates that Vespasian, having undertaken to restore three thousand brazen plates, which had perished in the conflagration of the capitol (see *the Hist. of Tacitus*, b. iii. s. 71), ordered a diligent search to be made for copies, and thereby furnished the government with a collection of curious and ancient records, containing the decrees of the senate, acts of the commons, and treaties of alliance, almost from the building of the city. Suetonius, *Life of Vespasian*, s. 8. This, with the addition of speeches and letters composed by men of eminence, was, most probably, the collection published by Mucianus. We may be sure that it contained a fund of information, and curious materials for history: but the whole is unfortunately lost.

5 The person intended in this place must not be confounded with Lucius Crassus, the orator celebrated by Cicero in the Dialogue De Oratore. What is here said, relates to Marcus Crassus, who was joined in the triumvirate with Pompey and Cæsar: a man famous for his riches, his avarice, and his misfortunes. While Cæsar was engaged in Gaul, and Pompey in Spain, Crassus invaded Asia, where, in a battle with the Parthians, his whole army was cut to pieces. He himself was in danger of being taken prisoner, but he fell by the sword of the enemy. His head was cut off, and carried to Orodes, the Parthian king, who ordered liquid gold to be infused into his mouth, that he, who thirsted for gold, might be glutted with it after his death. "Caput ejus recisum ad regem reportatum, ludibrio fuit, neque indigno. Aurum enim liquidum in rictum oris infusum est, ut cujus animus arserat auri cupiditate, ejus etiam mortuum et exangue corpus auro uteretur." Florus, lib. iii. cap. 11. Cicero says, that with slender talents, and a small stock of learning, he was able for some years, by his assiduity and interest, to maintain his rank in the list of eminent orators. "Mediocriter a doctrina instructus, angustius etiam a natura, labore et industria, et quod adhibebat ad obtinendas causas curam etiam, et gratiam, in principibus patronis aliquot annos fuit. In hujus oratione sermo Latinus erat, verba non abjecta, res compositæ diligenter; nullus flos tamen, neque lumen ullum: animi magna, vocis parva contentio; omnia fere ut similiter, atque uno modo dicerentur." Cicero, De Claris Oratoribus, s. 233.

6 Lentulus succeeded more by his action than by real ability. With a quick and animated countenance, he was not a man of penetration; though fluent in speech, he had no command of words. His voice was sweet and melodious; his action graceful; and with those advantages he was able to conceal all other defects. "Cneius autem Lentulus multo majorem opinionem dicendi actione faciebat, quam quanta in eo facultas erat; qui cum esset nec peracutus (quamquam et ex facie et ex vultu videbatur) nec abundans verbis, etsi fallebat in eo ipso; sed voce suavi et canora calebat in agendo, ut ea, quæ deerant, non desiderarentur." Cicero, De Claris Oratoribus, s. 234. Metellus, Lucullus, and Curio are mentioned by Cicero in the same work. Curio was a senator of great spirit and popularity. He exerted himself with zeal and ardour for the legal constitution and the liberties of his country against the ambition of Julius Cæsar, but afterwards sold himself to that artful politician, and favoured his designs. The calamities that followed are by the best historians laid to his charge. Lucan says of him,

> Audax venali comitatur Curio lingua;
> Vox quondam populi, libertatemque tueri
> Ausus, et armatos plebi miscere potentes.
>
> Lib. i. ver. 269.

And again,

> Mœnenatemque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
> Gallorum captus spoliis, et Cæsaris auro.
>
> *Pharsalia*, lib. iv. ver. 819.

had not given proof of his genius in the forum and the tribunals of justice.

To this it may be added, that the importance, the splendour, and magnitude of the questions discussed in that period, served to animate the public orator. The subject, beyond all doubt, lifts the mind above itself: it gives vigour to sentiment, and energy to expression. Let the topic be a paltry theft, a dry form of pleading, or a petty misdemeanour; will not the orator feel himself cramped and chilled by the meanness of the question? Give him a cause of magnitude, such as bribery in the election of magistrates, a charge for plundering the allies of Rome, or the murder of Roman citizens, how different then his emotions! how sublime each sentiment! what dignity of language! The effect, it must be admitted, springs from the disasters of society. It is true, that form of government, in which no such evils occur, must, beyond all question, be allowed to be the best; but since, in the course of human affairs, sudden convulsions must happen, my position is, that they produced, at Rome, that flame of eloquence which at this hour is so much admired. The mind of the orator grows and expands with his subject. Without ample materials no splendid oration was ever yet produced. Demosthenes, I believe, did not owe his vast reputation to the speeches which he made against his guardians;[1] nor was it either the oration in defence of Quinctius, or that for Archias the poet, that established the character of Cicero. It was Catiline, it was Verres, it was Milo and Mark Antony, that spread so much glory round him.

Let me not be misunderstood: I do not say, that for the sake of hearing a bright display of eloquence, it is fit that the public peace should be disturbed by the machinations of turbulent and lawless men. But, not to lose sight of the question before us, let it be remembered, that we are inquiring about an art which thrives and flourishes most in tempestuous times. It were, no doubt, better that the public should enjoy the sweets of peace, than be harassed by the calamities of war: but still it is war that produces the soldier and great commander. It is the same with Eloquence. The oftener she is obliged, if I may so express it, to take the field, the more frequent the engagement, in which she gives and receives alternate wounds, and the more formidable her adversary; the more she rises in pomp and grandeur, and returns from the warfare of the forum crowned with unfading laurels. He, who encounters danger, is ever sure to win the suffrages of mankind. For such is the nature of the human mind, that, in general, we choose a state of security for ourselves, but never fail to gaze with admiration on the man, whom we see, in the conflict of parties, facing his adversaries, and surmounting difficulties.

XXXVIII. I proceed to another advantage of the ancient forum; I mean the form of proceeding and the rules of practice observed in those days. Our modern custom is, I grant, more conducive to truth and justice; but that of former times gave to eloquence a free career, and, by consequence, greater weight and splendour. The advocate was not, as now, confined to a few hours;[2] he might adjourn as often as it suited his convenience; he might expatiate, as his genius prompted him: and the number of days, like that of the several patrons, was unlimited. Pompey was the first who circumscribed the genius of men within narrower limits.[3] In his third consulship he gave a check to eloquence, and, as it were, bridled its spirit, but still left all causes to be tried accord-

1 Demosthenes, when not more than seven years old, lost his father, and was left under the care of three guardians, who thought an orphan lawful prey, and did not scruple to embezzle his effects. In the meantime Demosthenes pursued a plan of education, without the aid or advice of his tutors. He became the scholar of Isocrates, and he was the hearer of Plato. Under those masters his progress was such, that at the age of seventeen he was able to conduct a suit against his guardians. The young orator succeeded so well in that prelude to his future fame, that the plunderers of the orphan's portion were condemned to refund a large sum. It is said that Demosthenes, afterwards, released the whole or the greatest part.

2 The rule for allowing a limited space of time for the hearing of causes, the extent of which could not be known, began, as Pliny the younger informs us, under the emperors, and was fully established for the reasons which he gives. The custom, he says, of allowing two water-glasses (*i. e. two hour-glasses*) or only one, and sometimes half a one, prevailed, because the advocates grew tired before the business was explained, and the judges were ready to decide before they understood the question. Pliny, with some indignation, asks, Are we wiser than our ancestors? are the laws more just at present? Our ancestors allowed many hours, many days, and many adjournments, in every cause; and for my part, as often as I sit in judgment, I allow as much time as the advocate requires; for would it not be rashness to guess what space of time is necessary in a cause which has not been opened? But some unnecessary things may be said; and is it not better, that what is unnecessary should be spoken, than that what is necessary should be omitted? And who can tell what is necessary, till he has heard? Patience in a judge ought to be considered as one of the chief branches of his duty, as it certainly is of justice. See Plin. b. vi. ep. 2. In England, there is no danger of arbitrary rules, to gratify the impatience of the court, or to stifle justice. The province of juries, since the late declaratory act in the case of libels, is now better understood; and every judge is taught, that a cause is tried *before him*, not BY HIM. It is his to expound the law, and wait, with temper, for the verdict of those whom the constitution has intrusted.

3 Pompey's third consulship was A. U. C. 702; before

ing to law in the forum, and before the prætors. The importance of the business, which was decided in that court of justice, will be evident, if we compare it with the transactions before the centumvirs,[4] who at present have cognizance of all matters whatever. We have not so much as one oration of Cicero or Cæsar, of Brutus, Cælius, or Calvus, or any other person famous for his eloquence, which was delivered before the last-mentioned jurisdiction, excepting only the speeches of Asinius Pollio[5] for the heirs of Urbinia. But those speeches were delivered about the middle of the reign of Augustus, when, after a long peace with foreign nations, and a profound tranquillity at home, that wise and politic prince had conquered all opposition, and not only triumphed over party and faction, but subdued eloquence itself.

XXXIX. What I am going to say will appear, perhaps, too minute: it may border on the ridiculous, and excite your mirth: with all my heart; I will hazard it for that very reason. The dress now in use at the bar has an air of meanness: the speaker is confined in a close robe,[6] and loses all the grace of action. The very courts of judicature are another objection; all causes are heard, at present, in little narrow rooms, where spirit and strenuous exertion are unnecessary. The orator, like a generous steed, requires liberty and ample space: before a scanty tribunal his spirit droops, and the dulness of the scene damps the powers of genius. Add to this, we pay no attention to style; and indeed how should we? No time is allowed for the beauties of composition: the judge calls upon you to begin, and you must obey, liable, at the same time, to frequent interruptions, while documents are read, and witnesses examined.

During all this formality, what kind of an audience has the orator to invigorate his faculties? Two or three stragglers drop in by chance, and to them the whole business seems to be transacted in solitude. But the orator requires a different scene. He delights in clamour, tumult, and bursts of applause. Eloquence must have her theatre, as was the case in ancient times, when the forum was crowded with the first men in Rome; when a numerous train of clients pressed forward with eager expectation; when the people, in their several tribes; when ambassadors from the colonies, and a great part of Italy, attended to hear the debate; in short, when all Rome was interested in the event. We know that in the cases of Cornelius, Scaurus, Milo, Bestia, and Vestinius, the concourse was so great, that those several causes were tried before the whole body of the people. A scene so vast and magnificent was enough to inflame the most languid orator. The speeches delivered upon those occasions are in every body's hands, and, by their intrinsic excellence, we of this day estimate the genius of the respective authors.

XL. If we now consider the frequent assemblies of the people, and the right of prosecuting the most eminent men in the state; if we reflect on the glory that sprung from the declared hostility of the most illustrious characters; if we recollect, that even Scipio, Sylla, and Pompey, were not sheltered from the storms of eloquence, what a number of causes shall we see conspiring to rouse the spirit of the ancient forum! The malignity of the human heart, always adverse to superior characters, encouraged the orator to persist. The very players, by sarcastic allusions to men in power, gratified the public ear, and, by consequence, sharpened the wit and acrimony of the bold declaimer.

Need I observe to you, that in all I have said, I have not been speaking of that temperate[7] fac-

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Christ, 52. He was at first sole consul, and in six or seven months Metellus Scipio became his colleague.

4 The centumviri, as mentioned s. 7. note, were a body of men composed of three out of every tribe, for the decision of such matters as the prætors referred to their judgment. The nature of the several causes, that came before that judicature, may be seen in the first book De Oratore.

5 The question in this cause before the centumviri was, whether Clusinius Figulus, the son of Urbinia, fled from his post in battle, and, being taken prisoner, remained in captivity during a length of time, till he made his escape into Italy; or, as was contended by Asinius Pollio, whether the defendant did not serve under two masters, who practised physic, and, being discharged by them, voluntarily sell himself as a slave? See Quintilian, lib. vii. cap. 2.

6 The advocates, at that time, wore a tight cloak, or mantle, like that which the Romans used on a journey. Cicero, in his oration for Milo, argues that he who wore that inconvenient dress, was not likely to have formed a design against the life of any man. "Apparet uter esset insidiator; uter nihil cogitaret mali: cum alter veheretur in rheda, penulatus, una sederet uxor. Quid horum non impeditissimum? Vestitus? an vehiculum? an comes?" A travelling-cloak could give neither grace nor dignity to an orator at the bar. The business was transacted in a kind of chat with the judges; what room for eloquence, and that commanding action which springs from the emotions of the soul, and inflames every breast with kindred passions? The cold inanimate orator is described, by Quintilian, speaking with his hand under his robe; *manum intra pallium continens.*

7 Maternus is now drawing to a conclusion, and, therefore, calls to mind the proposition with which he set out; viz. that the flame of oratory is kept alive by fresh materials, and always blazes forth in times of danger and public commotion. The unimpassioned style, which suited the *areopagus* of Athens, or the courts of Rome, where the advocate spoke by an hour-glass, does not deserve the name of genuine eloquence. The orations of Cicero for Marcellus, Ligarius, and king Dejotarus, were spoken before Cæsar, when he was master of the Roman world. In those speeches, what have we to admire, except delicacy of sentiment, and elegance of

ulty which delights in quiet times, supported by its own integrity, and the virtues of moderation? I speak of popular eloquence, the genuine offspring of that licentiousness, to which fools and ill-designing men have given the name of liberty: I speak of bold and turbulent oratory, that inflamer of the people, and constant companion of sedition; that fierce incendiary, that knows no compliance, and scorns to temporize; busy, rash, and arrogant, but, in quiet and well regulated governments, utterly unknown. Who ever heard of an orator at Crete or Lacedæmon? In those states a system of rigorous dicipline was established by the first principles of the constitution. Macedonian and Persian eloquence are equally unknown. The same may be said of every country, where the plan of government was fixed and uniform.

At Rhodes, indeed, and also at Athens, orators existed without number, and the reason is, in those communities the people directed every thing; a giddy multitude governed, and, to say the truth, all things were in the power of all. In like manner, while Rome was engaged in one perpetual scene of contention; while parties, factions, and internal divisions, convulsed the state; no peace in the forum, in the senate no union of sentiment; while the tribunals of justice acted without moderation; while the magistrates knew no bounds, and no man paid respect to eminent merit; in such times it must be acknowledged that Rome produced a race of noble orators; as in the wild uncultivated field the richest vegetables will often shoot up, and flourish with uncommon vigour. And yet it is fair to ask, Could all the eloquence of the Gracchi atone for the laws which they imposed on their country? Could the fame which Cicero obtained by his eloquence, compensate for the tragic end to which it brought him?[1]

XLI. The forum, at present, is the last sad relic of ancient oratory. But does that epitome of former greatness give the idea of a city so well regulated, that we may rest contented with our form of government, without wishing for a reformation of abuses? If we except the man of guilt, or such as labour under the hard hand of oppression, who resorts to us for our assistance? If a municipal city applies for protection, it is, when the inhabitants, harassed by the adjacent states, or rent and torn by intestine divisions, sue for protection. The province, that addresses the senate for a redress of grievances, has been oppressed and plundered, before we hear of the complaint. It is true, we vindicate the injured, but to suffer no oppression would surely be better than to obtain relief. Find, if you can, in any part of the world a wise and happy community, where no man offends against the laws: in such a nation what can be the use of oratory? You may as well profess the healing art where ill health is never known. Let men enjoy bodily vigour, and the practice of physic will have no encouragement. In like manner, where sober manners prevail, and submission to the authority of government is the national virtue, the powers of persuasion are rendered useless. Eloquence has lost her field of glory. In the senate, what need of elaborate speeches, when all good men are already of one mind? What occasion for studied harangues before a popular assembly, where the form of government leaves nothing to the decision of a wild democracy, but the whole administration is conducted by the wisdom of a single ruler? And again; when crimes are rare, and in fact of no great moment, what avails the boasted right of individuals to commence a voluntary prosecution? What necessity for a studied defence, often composed in a style of vehemence, artfully addressed to the passions, and generally stretched beyond all bounds, when justice is executed in mercy, and the judge is of himself disposed to succour the distressed?

Believe me, my very good, and (as far as the times will admit) my eloquent friends, had it been your lot to live under the old republic, and the men whom we so much admire had been reserved for the present age; if some god had changed the period of theirs and your existence, the flame of genius had been yours, and the chiefs of antiquity would now be acting with minds subdued to the temper of the times. Upon the whole, since no man can enjoy a state of calm tranquillity, and, at the same time, raise a great and splendid reputation; to be content with the benefits of the age in which we live,

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diction? How different from the *torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of passion*, that roused, inflamed and commanded the senate, and the people, against Catiline and Marc Antony!

1 For the account of Cicero's death by Velleius Paterculus, see s. 17. note. Juvenal ascribes the murder of the great Roman orator to the second Philippic against Antony.

> ——————Ridenda poemata malo,
> Quam te conspicuum divisa Philippica famæ,
> Volveris a prima qua proxima.
>
> *Sat.* x. ver. 124.
>
> I rather would be Mævius, thrash for rhymes
> Like his, the scorn and scandal of the times,
> Than the *Philippic*, fatally divine,
> Which is inscribed the second, should be mine.
>
> *Dryden's Juvenal.*

What Cicero says of Antonius, the celebrated orator, may be applied to himself: That head, which defended the commonwealth, was shown from that very rostrum, where the heads of so many Roman citizens had been saved by his eloquence. "In his ipsis rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, a quo erant multorum civium capita servata." Cicero De Oratore, lib. iii. s. 10.

without detracting from our ancestors, is the virtue that best becomes us.

XLII. Maternus concluded[2] his discourse. There have been, said Messala, some points advanced, to which I do not entirely accede; and others, which I think require farther explanation. But the day is well nigh spent. We will, therefore, adjourn the debate. Be it as you think proper, replied Maternus; and if, in what I have said, you find any thing not sufficiently clear, we will adjust those matters in some future conference. Hereupon he rose from his seat, and embracing Aper, I am afraid, he said, that it will fare hardly with you, my good friend. I shall cite you to answer before the poets, and Messala will arraign you at the bar of the antiquarians. And I, replied Aper, shall make reprisals on you both before the school professors and the rhetoricians. This occasioned some mirth and raillery. We laughed, and parted in good humour.

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2 The urbanity with which the Dialogue is conducted, and the perfect harmony with which the speakers take leave of each other, cannot but leave a pleasing impression on the mind of every reader of taste. It has some resemblance to the conclusion of Cicero's Dialogue De Natura Deorum. In both tracts, we have a specimen of the politeness with which the ancients managed a conversation on the most interesting subjects, and by the graces of style brought the way of instructing by dialogue into fashion. A modern writer, whose poetical genius cannot be too much admired, chooses to call it a *frippery way of writing*. He advises his countrymen to abandon it altogether; and this for a notable reason: because the Rev. Dr. Hurd (now Bishop of Worcester) has shown the true use of it. That the dialogues of that amiable writer have an intrinsic value, cannot be denied: they contain a fund of reflection, they allure by the elegance of the style, and they bring us into company with men whom we wish to hear, to know, and to admire. While we have such conversation-pieces, not to mention others of the same stamp, both ancient and modern, the public taste, it may be presumed, will not easily be tutored to reject a mode of composition, in which the pleasing and useful are so happily blended. The present Dialogue, it is true, cannot be proved, beyond a controversy, to be the work of Tacitus; but it is also true, that it cannot, with equal probability, be ascribed to any other writer. It has been retained in almost every edition of Tacitus; and, for that reason, claims a place in a translation which professes to give all the works of so fine a writer.

CONCLUSION.

The Author of this work has now gone through the difficult task of translating Tacitus, with the superadded labour of supplements to give continuity to the narrative, and notes to illustrate such passages as seemed to want explanation; but he cannot lay down his pen, without taking the liberty of addressing a few words to the reader. As what he has to offer relates chiefly to himself, it shall be very short. He has dedicated many years of his life to this undertaking; and though, during the whole time, he had the pleasure and the honour of being acquainted with many gentlemen of taste and learning, he had no opportunity of appealing to their opinion, or guiding himself by their advice. Amidst the hurry of life, and the various pursuits in which all are engaged, how could he hope that any one would be at leisure to attend to the doubts, the difficulties, and minute niceties, which must inevitably occur in a writer of so peculiar a genius as Tacitus? He was unwilling to be a troublesome visitor, and, by consequence, has been obliged, throughout the whole of his work, to trust to his own judgment, such as it is. He spared no pains to do all the justice in his power to one of the greatest writers of antiquity; but whether he has toiled with fruitless industry, or has in any degree succeeded, must be left to the judgment of others.

He is now at the end of his labours, and ready, after the example of Montesquieu, to cry out with the voyager in Virgil, *Italiam! Italiam!* But whether he is to land on a peaceful shore; whether the men who delight in a wreck, are to rush upon him with hostile pens, which in their hands are pitch-forks; whether his cargo is to be condemned, and he himself to be wounded, maimed, and lacerated; a little time will discover. Such critics will act as their nature prompts them. Should they *cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war*, it may be said,

> Quod genus hoc hominum, quaeve haec tam barbara moenia
> Permittit patria? Hospitio prohibemur arenae;
> Bella cient, primaque vetant consistere terra.

This, they may say, is anticipating complaint; but, in the worst that can happen, it is the only complaint this writer will ever make, and the only answer they will ever receive from his pen.

It is from a very different quarter that the translator of Tacitus waits for solid criticism. The men, as Pliny observes, who read with malignity, are not the only judges. "Neque enim soli judicant, qui malignè legunt." The scholar will see defects, but he will pronounce with temper: he will know the difficulty, and, in some cases, perhaps the impossibility, of giving in our language the sentiments of Tacitus with the precision and energy of the original; and, upon the whole, he will acknowledge that an attempt to make a considerable addition to English literature, carries with it a plea of some merit. While the French could boast of having many valuable translations of Tacitus, and their most eminent authors were still exerting themselves, with emulation, to improve upon their predecessors, the present writer saw, with regret, that this country had not so much as one translation which could be read, without disgust, by any person acquainted with the idiom and structure of our language. To supply the deficiency has been the ambition of the translator. He persevered with ardour; but, his work being finished, ardour subsides, and doubt and anxiety take their turn. Whatever the event may be, the conscious pleasure of having employed his time in a fair endeavour will remain with him. For the rest, he submits his labours to the public; and, at that tribunal, neither flushed with hope, nor depressed by fear, he is prepared, with due acquiescence, to receive a decision, which, from his own experience on former occasions, he has reason to persuade himself will be founded in truth and candour.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE CÆSARS.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

1. Caius Julius Cæsar, descended from the illustrious line of the Julian family, and father of Cæsar the dictator. He served the office of prætor. He, and his brother Lucius Cæsar, died A. U. 670. Julia their sister married C. Marius, who was seven times consul.—Suetonius, Life of Jul. Cæs. s. 1, 6. Pliny the elder, book vii. s. 53. Plutarch, Life of Marius.

2. Aurelia, the wife of C. J. Cæsar, and mother of the dictator; a woman of extraordinary talents and virtue.—Plut. Life of Jul. Cæs. Tacitus, Dialogue of Oratory, s. 28.

3. Caius Julius Cæsar, the dictator; born in the sixth consulship of Marius, A. U. 654; before Christ, 100. He gained a complete victory at Pharsalia, and became emperor of Rome, A. U. 706. He was killed in the capitol by Brutus, Cassius, and other conspirators, A. U. 710. The number slain in his wars is computed at 1,192,000 men. Plutarch says that Cæsar, in his various battles, engaged no less than 3,000,000; that he killed 1,000,000, and took another million prisoners.—Velleius Paterculus, book ii. s. 41. Pliny, book vii. s. 25. He was called after his death the divine Julius, Divus Julius.

4. Cossutia, Julius Cæsar's first wife, of an equestrian family, and immoderately rich. Cæsar married her when she was young, and was soon divorced.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, s. 1.

5. Cornelia, Cæsar's second wife. She was the daughter of Cinna, four times consul. Sylla tried in vain to compel J. Cæsar to repudiate her. He spoke her funeral panegyric.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, s. 1, 6. Plutarch, Life of J. Cæsar.

6. Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar by Cornelia. She married Servilius Cæpio, and, being divorced from him, became the wife of Pompey the Great, A. U. 695. She died A. U. 700. Her funeral oration was spoken by Octavius. Honours were instituted to her memory by Julius Cæsar.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, s. 21.

7. Cneius Pompeius Magnus, born A. U. 648. He married Julia, Cæsar's daughter. He entered on the public magistracy at the age of eighteen. He was defeated by Julius Cæsar in the battle of Pharsalia, and put to death in Egypt, A. U. 706.—Vell. Pat. book ii. s. 29. Plutarch, Life of Pompey.

8. A son of Pompey the Great by Julia, the daughter of J. Cæsar. Died A. U. 701.—Vell. Pater. book ii. s. 47.

9. A daughter of Pompey, by Julia, Cæsar's daughter. Died A. U. 701.—Plutarch, Life of J. Cæsar.

10. Pompeia, daughter of Quintus Pompeius, granddaughter of Lucius Sylla, and third wife of Julius Cæsar, who repudiated her on account of a supposed intrigue with Publius Clodius. Being asked what was his reason, he made answer, Cæsar's wife must not only be free from guilt, but also from suspicion.—Suet. Life of Cæsar, s. 6. Plutarch, Life of Cæsar.

11. Calpurnia, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, married to J. Cæsar, A. U. 695. After the death of her husband she fled for protection to Mark Antony.—Suet. Life of Cæs. s. 81.

12. Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar, being the daughter of C. J. Cæsar the prætor, and Aurelia his wife. She was married to M. Atius Balbus.—Suet. Life of Augustus, s. 4.

13. Marcus Atius Balbus, married Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar. He was grand-father to Augustus.—Suet. Life of Aug. s. 4.

14. Atia, daughter of M. Atius Balbus, by his wife Julia, the sister of J. Cæsar. She married Caius Octavius, and by him was mother of Augustus.—Suet. Life of Aug. s. 4. Tack. Dialogue of Oratory, s. 28.

15. Caius Octavius, husband of Atia, the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, by Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar. Octavius, afterwards the emperor Augustus, was, of course, grand-nephew to Julius Cæsar.—Suet. Life of Aug. s. 3, 4, 5.

16. Octavia, daughter of Atia and Caius Octavius, and sister to Augustus. She was promised in marriage to Faustus Sylla, but married Claudius Marcellus. After his death she married Mark Antony. She was a woman of exemplary virtue, and great literary accomplishments. She died A. U. 743. Augustus delivered her funeral panegyric.—Suet. Life of Jul. Cæs. s. 27.

17. Claudius Marcellus, husband of Octavia, and brother-in-law to Augustus. He was consul A. U. 704. Though nearly related to Cæsar the dictator, he was always an enemy to his cause.—Suet. Life of Jul. Cæs. s. 27.

18. Marcus Marcellus, son of Octavia, the sister of Augustus, and consequently nephew to Augustus. A youth of great expectations, highly esteemed by his uncle, and by him intended to be next in succession to the imperial dignity. He died prematurely A. U. 731. Augustus paid distinguished honours to his memory, and Virgil has made him immortal.—Tacit. Annal. ii. s. 41. Annal. iii. s. 64. Virgil. Æneid vi. ver. 883.

19. Pompeia, daughter of Sextus Pompeius, promised in marriage to Marcus Marcellus, A. U. 715.

Julia, daughter of Augustus by his wife Scribonia, married Marcus Marcellus, A. U. 729, two years before his death.—Dio Cassius, book xlviii.

20. Marcella the elder, daughter of Claudius Marcellus by his wife Octavia, and sister to the last-mentioned Marcellus. She was first married to Apuleius, and afterwards to Valerius Messala.—Suet. Life of Aug. s. 53.

21. Apuleius, husband of Marcella the elder. He is thought to have been the son of Sextus Apuleius, who was consul A. U. 725.—Dio Cassius, book liv.

22. Apuleia Varilla, daughter of Marcella the elder by her husband Apuleius. She was also grand-niece to Augustus. Being condemned for adultery A. U. 770, she was banished two hundred miles from Rome.—Tacit. Annal. ii. s. 50.

23. M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, second husband of Marcella the elder. He was consul A. U. 742.—Suetonius, Life of Augustus, s. 63. Life of Claudius, s. 26.

24. M. Valerius Messala, son of Valerius Messala Barbatus and of Marcella the elder. He was father of the famous Messalina.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 26.

25. Domitia Lepida, daughter of Antonia the younger, by her husband Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. She was the wife of the last-mentioned Valerius Messala, and mother of Messalina; a woman of debauched and profligate manners, and a violent impetuous spirit: in point of beauty, riches, and vice, the rival of Agrippina, Nero's mother. She was condemned to death A. U. 807.—Tacit. Annal. xi. s. 37. Annal. xii. s. 64. See Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 26. Life of Nero, s. 7.

26. Valeria Messalina, daughter of Valerius Messala and Domitia Lepida. She was wife to the emperor Claudius; a woman of furious and till then unheard of lewdness. While Claudius was at Ostia, she had the hardiness openly to celebrate her nuptials with Silius, and for that unparalleled crime was put to death, A. U. 801.—Tacit. Annal. xi. s. 26. Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 26.

27. Marcella the younger, daughter of Claudius Marcellus and Octavia, sister to Augustus. She was first married to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, and afterwards to M. Julius Antonius.—Suetonius, Life of Augustus, s. 63. Plutarch, Life of Mark Antony.

For M. Vipsanius Agrippa, see No. 47.

28. The issue of Vipsanius Agrippa, by his first wife Marcella, before he was married to Julia, the daughter of Augustus by his wife Scribonia.—Suet. Life of Aug. s. 63.

29. Marcus Julius Antonius, son of Mark Antony the triumvir and Fulvia his wife. He married Marcella the younger, when repudiated by Agrippa. He was consul A. U. 744; a man of libidinous passions. He was put to death for his adulterous commerce with Julia, the daughter of Augustus. The ode of Horace, *Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari*, is addressed to him.—Tacit. Annal. iii. s. 18. Annal. iv. s. 44. Horace, book iv. ode 2.

30. Lucius Antonius, son of M. Julius Antonius by Marcella the younger. On account of his father's guilt with Julia, he was sent in his infancy to Marseilles, under a pretence of education, but, in fact, to a place of exile. He died A. U. 778. Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 44.

31. Mark Antony, the triumvir, son of Marcus Antonius the celebrated orator. He was the second husband of Octavia, sister to Augustus, A. U. 714; but being in love with Cleopatra, he repudiated Octavia A. U. 722. After the assassination of Julius Cæsar, he seized the public treasure, which was deposited *in the temple of Ops*. He was at all times a turbulent and dangerous citizen; during the triumvirate, headlong, furious, and oppressive. The rage, with which he pushed on the proscription, rendered him detestable. The supreme power was often within his reach, but all his actions proved him unworthy of that elevation. He was defeated at Actium A. U. 724. The murder of Cicero consigned his name to eternal infamy. By the manner of his death he effaced much of the shame that branded his former conduct.—See Velleius Paterculus, book ii. s. 60 and 87. Pliny the elder, book vii. s. 45. Plutarch, Life of Antony. Cicero, Philippic Orations.

The inscriptions of him on medals are, *Marcus Antonius, Marci filius, Marci nepos, augur, imperator, consul designatus iterum et tertium, triumvir reipublicæ constituendæ.*

32. Antonia the elder, daughter of Antony the triumvir by Octavia sister to Augustus. She married L. Domitius Ænobarbus. She is called by Tacitus, Antonia the younger, which makes it probable that Mark Antony had a former daughter, called Antonia, by his wife Fulvia.—See Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 44. Suet. Life of Nero, s. 5. Plutarch, Life of Mark Antony.

33. Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, son of Cneius Domitius, one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar, and husband of Antonia the elder; a man of impetuous temper, violent, proud, extravagant, and cruel. He commanded in Germany, and marched his army beyond the Elbe (Albis); and having penetrated farther than any Roman had done before him, he obtained the honours of a triumph. He died A. U. 778. Suet. Life of Nero, s. 4. Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 44.

34. Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, son of the last mentioned L. D. Ænobarbus, by Antonia the elder. He married Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, A. U. 781; was consul A. U. 785. His life was a series of evil deeds. He was the father of Nero, and was used to say, that from himself and Agrippina nothing good or valuable could be born.—Suet. Life of Nero, s. 5. Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 75.

For Agrippina, his wife, see No. 93.

35. Lucius Domitius Nero, the sixth Roman emperor, son of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus by Agrippina the daughter of Germanicus. She was grandaughter to the famous Agrippa, by Julia the daughter of Augustus. Nero was born 15th December, A. U. 790, the detestable offspring of two pernicious parents. He was called simply Domitius, till by the adoption of Claudius, A. U. 803, he passed into the Claudian family, and took the name of Nero. He began his reign A. U. 807, with such favourable circumstances, as for a time, gave promise of a virtuous prince. His enormities, afterwards, delivered him down to the execration of posterity. The burning of Rome was imputed to him. The Christian religion has to boast, that the foe of human kind was the enemy of her moral doctrine. He was a burthen to himself, and detested by all orders of men. He was condemned to die *more majorum*, by a decree of the senate. He

escaped a public execution, and died in a dastardly manner by his own hand, A. U. 821, A. D. 68. By his death the race of the Cæsars became extinct.—Suet. Life of Nero, s. 6. Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 25; and see Appendix to Annals, book xvi. Pliny, book xxii. s. 22 and 46.

The inscriptions on medals are, *Nero Claudius, Divi Claudii filius, Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, pontifex maximus, imperator, tribunitia potestate, pater patriæ.*

36. Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius by Messalina. She was born A. U. 795. Britannicus was her brother. She was contracted to Lucius Silanus, but married to Nero A. U. 806; worthy of better times and a better husband. Nero repudiated her for the sake of Poppæa. She was banished to the island of Pandataria, and there put to death, A. U. 815.—Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 3. 25; and Annal. xiv. s. 60, 64. Dio Cassius, book lxi.

For Britannicus, her brother, see No. 108.

37. Poppæa Sabina, daughter of Titus Ollius by Poppæa Sabina. She was married first to Rufius Crispinus: 2dly, to Marcus Salvius Otho, afterwards emperor; and at length to Nero, A. U. 815. The vices of her character resembled those of the emperor. He loved her tenderly, yet killed her by a kick on her womb when she was with child, A. U. 818. Her body was not burnt, but filled with spices, and deposited in the monument of the Cæsars. Three years after her death, Nero dedicated a temple to her memory, with an inscription, *To Sabina the goddess Venus—Sabinæ deæ Veneri.*—Tacit. Annal. xiii. s. 45; Annal. xvi. s. 6. Suet. Life of Nero, s. 35. Dio Cassius, book lxiii.

38. Claudia Augusta, daughter of Nero and Poppæa, born at Antium A. U. 816. She was soon after her birth dignified with the title of *Augusta.* She died within four months, to the great grief of Nero. She was canonized a goddess by a decree of the senate.—Tacit. Annal. xv. s. 23. Suet. Life of Nero, s. 35.

Her inscription on medals is, Diva Claudia Neronis Filia; *The goddess Claudia, daughter of Nero.*

39. Statilia Messalina, who drew her lineage through several descents from Statilius Taurus. She was the third wife of Nero, who, to possess her person, murdered her first husband Atticus Vestinus A. U. 818. Suet. Life of Nero, s. 35. Tacit. Annal. xv. s. 68.

40. Domitia, daughter of Antonia the elder by Lucius Ænobarbus; aunt to Nero, and the wife of Passienus Crispus. Nero destroyed her by poison A. U. 812.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. s. 19, 21. Quintilian, book vi. s. 1.

For Passienus Crispus, see No. 94.

41. Caius Appius Junius Silanus. He was governor of Spain. By the desire of Claudius he married Domitia Lepida, the mother of Messalina, and was soon after put to death by order of that emperor, A. U. 795.—Dio Cassius, book lx.

42. Antonia the younger, second daughter of Antony the triumvir by Octavia sister of Augustus. She married Nero Drusus, the brother of Tiberius, and was the mother of Germanicus; a woman distinguished by her beauty, and no less by her virtue. She survived Drusus, her husband, many years, leading an exemplary life in a state of widowhood, and by the whole tenour of her conduct, almost eclipsing the lustre of her ancestors.—Pliny, book vii. s. 19. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 1. Tacit. Annal. iii. s. 3. Annal. xi. s. 3. Plutarch, Life of Mark Antony. Valerius Maximus, book iv. s. 3.

43. Caius Octavius Cæsar, Augustus, emperor of Rome. He was the son of Caius Octavius by his wife Atia, who was niece to Julius Cæsar. He was born 23d September, A. U. 691. At the age of nineteen he took the lead in the civil wars, and, in three years after, not one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar (who had adopted him for his son) survived the fury of the destructive sword. Sextus Pompeius was totally defeated in a naval engagement off the coast of Sicily. Lepidus, one of the triumvirate, was dismantled of his power; and Mark Antony was overthrown at the battle of Actium. After those events, Octavius was the only surviving chief of the Julian party. He became emperor of Rome, A. U. C. 724.

During the whole course of his reign, pacific measures were the objects of his policy. Letters flourished, and men of genius met with encouragement. By his popular acts he gained the affections of the people, with the title of Augustus, the Father of his Country. Scythia, Sarmatia, the Garamantes and Bactrians, India, and the people called the Seres, submitted to his authority, and sent their ambassadors to settle the terms of a general peace. At Rome, and the capital cities of the provinces, temples, orders of priesthood, sacerdotal colleges, were dedicated to him, not only after his death, but, in many places, during his life. He died at Nola on the 18th of August, A. U. 767. His character, strictly examined, was more splendid for his policy than his virtues. He owed his elevation to the vices of Lepidus and Antony, and the abilities of Vipsanius Agrippa; but it redounds to his praise, that what he gained by the prudence and valour of others, he was able to support, by a well-judged system of policy, during a space of four and forty years. It was said of him, that he found the city of Rome made with brick, and he changed it to marble. Though deified, even during his life in some parts of the empire, he was taught by various incidents, that he was no more than man.—See Suet. Life of Augustus. Tacit. book i. of the Annals; book xiii. s. 6. Florus, book iv. chap. xii. Aurelius Victor, chap. i. Pliny, book vii. s. 45. Seneca, de Consolatione, 34.

Inscriptions on ancient medals:

Before his elevation to the supreme power, *Octavius Cæsar, son of the deified Julius, imperator, triumvir for the purpose of restoring the commonwealth, consul, the asserter of public liberty.*

After his accession to the empire, *Cæsar, Augustus, son of the deified Julius Cæsar, imperator, consul, chief pontiff, and, with the tribunitian power, father of his country.*

After his death, *Divus Augustus*, the deified Augustus.

44. Clodia, daughter of Publius Clodius by his wife Fulvia, and daughter-in-law to Antony the triumvir. In order to conciliate terms of peace, Augustus married her, when she was yet of tender years; but a quarrel taking place with Fulvia, her mother, Augustus repudiated her in her virgin state.—Suet. Life of Augustus, s. 62.

45. Scribonia, sister of Lucius Scribonius Libo, and wife of Augustus. She had been married twice before to two men of consular rank, and by one of them, whose name was Scipio, she had a daughter named Cornelia. Augustus repudiated Scribonia A. U. 715, and Livia, in a few years afterwards, succeeded to the embraces of the emperor of Rome.—Suet. life of Aug. s. 63, 69. Dio, book xlviii. Propertius, book iv. eleg. 2.

46. Julia, daughter of Augustus, by his wife Scribonia, born A. U. 715. She was married, first, to Marcellus;

secondly, to Agrippa; and thirdly, to Tiberius; a woman of dissolute conduct, libidinous passions, and abandoned infamy. On account of her adulterous intrigues, she was banished by Augustus to the island of Pandataria A. U. 752. She was left there by Tiberius, to pine in want and misery. She died A. U. 767.—Pliny, book vii. s. 45. Dio, book lv. Tacit. Annal. i. s. 53. Vell. Paterculus, book ii. s. 100.

For her first husband, Marcus Marcellus, see No. 18.

47. Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa; a man of low extraction, in his manners unpolished, even to a degree of rusticity. For those defects he made ample atonement by superior qualities; in war, a great commander; and through life a man of unblemished integrity. He gained signal victories both by land and sea, and by his brilliant success established Augustus on the imperial throne. A stranger to letters and the fine arts, he was, notwithstanding, the friend of science. At a time when geographical knowledge had made little or no progress, he framed a map of the world, and presented it to the public. Not only Rome but Italy was adorned, under his direction, with public buildings no less useful than magnificent. Augustus, to show a grateful sense of his services and his merit, raised him to three several consulships, and even made him his associate in the tribunitian power. On the death of Marcus Marcellus (see No. 18), Augustus chose him for his son-in-law, and gave him in marriage his daughter Julia, then a widow, A. U. 733. Agrippa, though a new man, had the art of rising in the world with superior dignity. He died A. U. 742, in the fifty-first year of his age. Augustus spoke his funeral panegyric.—Tacit. Annal. i. s. 3. Pliny, book iii. s. 2; book vii. s. 8; book xxxv. s. 4. Dio, book liv. Vell. Paterculus, book ii. s. 96.

He was called in ancient medals, *Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, consul three times, commander of the fleet, and præfect of the sea-coast.*

48. Caius Cæsar, son of Agrippa and Julia, born A. U. 734; adopted by Augustus as his son, prince of the Roman youth, and consul elect. He was prematurely cut off, on his return from Armenia, A. U. 727. Tacit. Annal. i. s. 3. Dio, book liv.

He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 40.

For Livia, his wife, see No. 71.

49. Lucius Cæsar, son of Agrippa and Julia, brother to Caius Cæsar, born A. U. 737; adopted by Augustus into the Cæsarian family; styled prince of the Roman youth; and declared consul elect. He died at Marseilles on his way to join the army in Spain, in the month of August, A. U. 754. Tacit. Annal. i. s. 4.

In ancient medals, both brothers are called, *Caius and Lucius Cæsars, sons of Augustus, consuls elect, princes of the Roman youth.*

50. Marcus Agrippa Posthumus, son of Agrippa and Julia; brother to Caius and Lucius; born after his father's death, A. U. 742. He was adopted by Augustus A. U. 757, and soon after, on account of his uncouth manners, and stupid ferocity, banished to the island of Planasia. No kind of guilt could be imputed to him; no disgraceful or flagitious action was laid to his charge; and for that reason, Augustus, towards the end of his life, began to relent. He intended to restore him to his rank, and, it is said, made a voyage to the isle of Planasia for the purpose of a reconciliation. Augustus, however, did not live to carry his design into execution. Agrippa Posthumus was cut off by order of Tiberius, who made that murder the first act of his reign, A. U. 767.—Dio, book lv. Velleius Paterculus, book ii. s. 104. Tacit. Annals, book i. s. 3, 6. Pliny, book vii. s. 45.

51. Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa and Julia; grand-daughter to Augustus, and wife of Germanicus; a woman of noble qualities, an exalted spirit, and unconquerable chastity. Elate with the pride of virtue, and conscious of her illustrious birth, she scorned to bend to the arrogance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius. She was banished to the isle of Pandataria, and after suffering every barbarous outrage from the cruelty of Tiberius, died in misery A. U. 785.—Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 12. Annal. vi. s. 25. Annal. xiv. s. 63. See supplement to book v. of the Annals, s. 5.

For Germanicus, her husband, see No. 81.

52. Julia, daughter of Agrippa and Julia; sister to Agrippina, and grand-daughter to Augustus. She married Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and, in all kinds of excess and vicious debauchery, distinguished herself as the rival of her mother. In the reign of Augustus, she was condemned for her adulterous practices, and banished to the isle of Trimetus, A. U. 761. She died in exile A. U. 781.—Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 71.

53. Lucius Æmilius Paulus, son of Paulus Æmilius Lepidus and his wife Cornelia. The father was censor A. U. 732. Lucius the son married Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia.—Suet. Life of Augustus, s. 64. Dio, book liv.

54. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, son of Lucius Æmilius Lepidus and Julia the daughter of Agrippa. He married Drusilla, and committed adultery and incest with her sisters. His vices endeared him to Caligula. He was condemned for treasonable practices, and put to death A. U. 792. Caligula, upon that occasion, gave a donative to the soldiers, and dedicated to Mars the Avenger three swords, which had been prepared by the conspirators.—Dio, book lix. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 24 and 36. Tacit. Annal. xiv. s. 2.

55. Æmilia Lepida, the daughter of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, consequently grand-daughter to Augustus. She was contracted to Claudius, afterwards emperor, when he was extremely young; and afterwards married to Junius Silanus.—Suet. Life of Claud. s. 26. Pliny, book vii. s. 13.

56. Junius Silanus, the husband of the last mentioned Æmilia Lepida. Nothing of him can be said with certainty; but it is probable that he was the Marcus Silanus who was joint consul with Lucius Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. 772.—Tacit. Annal. ii. s. 59.

57. Marcus Junius Silanus, son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, born in the year in which Augustus died, A. U. 767.—Pliny, book vii. s. 13. He was a man of an unblemished character, but so inactive, that Caligula called him *The golden calf.* He was proconsul of Asia, and by Nero's order, taken off by poison, A. U. 807.—Tacit. Annal. xiii. s. 1.

58. The wife of Marcus Junius Silanus, and the mother of Lucius Silanus Torquatus. The name is not to be found in any historian.

59. Lucius Silanus Torquatus, son of Marcus Junius Silanus, who was great-grandson to Augustus. Without being charged with any crime, obnoxious only

on account of his illustrious birth and the modesty of his youth, he was put to death by Nero, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xvi. s. 7, 8, 9.

60. Lucius Junius Silanus, son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida (see No. 55 and 56). The emperor Claudius had promised him his daughter Octavia in marriage, A. U. 794, but soon after broke off the match, and left Silanus to choose his mode of death, A. U. 808.—Dio, book lx. Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 3, 8.

61. Junius Silanus Torquatus, son of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida, who was great-grand-daughter to Augustus. A pedigree derived from the Junian family, and rendered still more illustrious by his relation to Augustus, made him obnoxious to the jealousy of Nero. He died by that emperor's order, A. U. 817. Both he and Lucius Silanus Torquatus were cut off in the month of June, for which reason the name was changed to that of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annal. xv. s. 35. Annal. xvi. s. 8 and 12. Dio, book lxii.

62. Junia Calvina, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. She was married to Vitellius, who was afterwards emperor. Distinguished by her beauty and illustrious birth, she preserved an unblemished character, but provoked her enemies by a fierce and uncomplying spirit. By the malice and insidious arts of Agrippina the younger, she was banished out of Italy, but recalled by Nero A. U. 812. She lived to the time of Vespasian.—Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 4 and 8. Annal. xiv. s. 12. Suet. Life of Vesp. s. 23.

63. Vitellius, son of Lucius Vitellius, the censor and his wife Sextilia. He married Junia Calvina, and was consul A. U. 801. Upon some dissension between him and his wife, a divorce took place some time before A. U. 808.—Tacit. Annal. xi. s. 28. Annal. xii. s. 4. Suet. Life of Vitellius, s. 3 and 18.

64. Lepida, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia Lepida. She was married to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria. An accusation alleging various crimes was suborned against her, but referred to the judgment of Nero, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xvi. s. 8, 9.

65. Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, and husband of Lepida. He was celebrated for his superior knowledge of the laws; but being charged with having, among the images of his ancestors, the picture or statue of the famous Cassius, with an inscription, *To the chief of party*, he was banished to the island of Sardinia, A. U. 818.—Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 11, 12. Annal. xvi. s. 8, 9.

66. Livia, called also Livia Drusilla, and, after the death of Augustus, Julia Augusta. She was the daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus. Her first husband was Tiberius Claudius Nero: being divorced from him, she married Augustus, A. U. 716. A woman of illustrious birth; elegant in her form and manners; of high ambition, and an overbearing spirit. She had the skill to manage the gentle arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of Tiberius; a complying and obliging wife, and afterwards an imperious mother. Her enmity to Germanicus and his wife Agrippina was subtle, close, and unrelenting. She died A. U. 782, at the age of 86.—Velleius Pat. book ii. s. 75. Suet. Life of Tiberius, s. 3 and 4. Dio, book xlviii. Tacit. Annal. book v. s. 1.

Her inscriptions on ancient medals: *Livia Augusta, Julia, Augusta, mother of her country.*

After her death: *The deified Livia, wife of the deified Augustus, the deified Julia Augusta.*

67. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the first husband of Livia, and by her the father of Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and of Nero Claudius Drusus (for whom see No. 79). He obtained the dignities of prætor and pontiff; a man of brilliant talents and extensive learning. He attached himself to Antony the triumvir; and after the defeat of that party, he withdrew with his wife Livia and Tiberius, then an infant about two years old, into Sicily, A. U. 714. Livia fled from Augustus, her destined husband, and Tiberius from his future father by adoption. Tiberius Claudius Nero made his peace with Augustus, and resigned his wife A. U. 716. He died three years after, A. U. 719.—Vell. Pat. book ii. s. 75. Suet. Life of Tiberius, s. 4, 6. Dio, book xlvii.

68. Tiberius Nero, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero by Livia his wife, born 16th November, A. U. 712; adopted by Augustus A. U. 757, and emperor of Rome A. U. 767. He died on the 17th of March A. U. 790, after a reign of three and twenty years. Julius Cæsar subdued his country; Augustus cherished the conquered; and Tiberius made them crouch in bondage. He established slavery, and despised the servile spirit of the men that submitted with passive obedience. He hated eminent virtue, and was at the same time the enemy of vice. Such jarring elements have been rarely mixed in the composition of one man: fluctuating between good and evil, and by turns inclined to each, he did every thing by fits and sudden starts of passion. Before he rose to the supreme power, he distinguished himself by his warlike spirit. When master of the Roman world, dissimulation was the prominent feature of his character. When he had waded far in guilt and flagitious deeds, he lay *on the torture of the mind in restless ecstasy.* Goaded by his conscience, and alarmed by his constant suspicions, he fled from danger to the isle of Capreæ, but could not fly from himself. He was often heard to utter a most horrible wish, expressed in a Greek verse:

Εμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.
Me mortuo, terra misceatur igni.

"At my death let the earth be involved in flames." He called Priam the happiest of men, because his kingdom perished with him.—Vell. Pat. book ii. s. 75. Tacit. in the six first Annals, *passim.* Pliny, book xxviii. s. 2.

Inscriptions on ancient medals: *Tiberius Cæsar, Augustus, son of the deified Augustus, imperator, augur, chief pontiff, vested with the tribunitian power.*

69. Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia, who was the grand-daughter of Atticus, to whom Cicero addressed the well-known collection of letters. Vipsania Agrippina was first married to Tiberius, the emperor, but by him unwillingly repudiated during her pregnancy, to make way for a match with Julia, the daughter of Augustus.—Tacit. Annal. book i. s. 12. Suet. Life of Tiberius, s. 7. Dio, book liv. After her divorce, she married Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, the consul and celebrated orator, the favourite of Augustus, and, what is now of more consequence, celebrated by Horace and Virgil. Of all the children of Agrippa, she is the only one that died a natural death, A. U. 773. Tacit. Annal. book iii. s. 19.

For Asinius Gallus, see Tacit. Annal. book i. s. 8.

70. Drusus Cæsar, son of Tiberius by Vipsania Agrippina, who was repudiated in her pregnancy. He was born A. U. 739; a youth of a towering spirit, impatient of an equal, addicted to liquor, and in that vice the rival of his father. He married Livia, otherwise

called Livilla, who was debauched by Sejanus, and drawn into a plot against her husband's life. Drusus had been three times consul, and was every day rising to eminence in the state, when Sejanus put an end to his days by poison, A. U. 776.—Tacitus, Annal. book i. s. 55; book iv. s. 3 and 8. Pliny, book xiv. s. 22.

Inscriptions on ancient medals: *Drusus Cæsar son of Tiberius, grandson to the deified Augustus, pontiff, consul, vested with tribunitian power.*

71. Livia, or Livilla, daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus (see No. 79) by his wife Antonia the younger (see No. 42). She was sister to Germanicus, and also Claudius the emperor. Her first husband was Caius, the son of Agrippa: after his death she married Drusus the son of Tiberius. Sejanus seduced her affections from her husband. Engaged in a course of adultery with that flagitious minister, she hoped to rise with her paramour to the imperial dignity, and with that ambitious view conspired against her husband. Her guilt being afterwards fully detected, she was put to death by order of Tiberius (see Supplement to Annals, book v. s. 38, 39); and by a decree of the senate, her pictures and statues were all destroyed, and her memory branded with infamy.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 1. Life of Tiberius, s. 62. Tacit. Annal. book iv. s. 3 and 40; book vi. s. 2. Dio, book lviii.

72. Tiberius, son of Drusus Cæsar (see No. 70) and Livilla (No. 71), grandson to Tiberius the emperor, born with a twin-brother A. U. 772. Tiberius was so elated with joy on that occasion, that he boasted of the birth of twins, as an event which had never happened to any Roman of equal rank. Caligula deprived him of the succession and his life, A. U. 799.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. s. 84. Dio, book lix.

73. The twin-brother of Tiberius (No. 72), the son of Drusus and Livia, or Livilla, died when about four years old, A. U. 776.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. s. 84; book iv. s. 15. His name is no where mentioned.

74. Julia, daughter of Drusus Cæsar (No. 70) and Livia (No. 71), married first to Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, and afterwards to Rubellius Blandus. She was cut off by the malice of Messalina, A. U. 796.—Tacit. Annal. book iii. s. 29; book vi. s. 27; book xiii. s. 19 and 32. Dio, book lx.

For Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, the husband of Julia, see No. 82.

75. Rubellius Blandus, son of a Roman knight, and the second husband of Julia, the daughter of Drusus (see No. 70). He was married to her A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. book vi. s. 27. Dio, book lvii.

76. Rubellius Plautus, son of Rubellius Blandus and his wife Julia. The popular voice marked him out a proper person to succeed to the imperial dignity, and for that reason he was put to death by Nero A. C. 815.—Tacit. Annal. book xiii. s. 19. book xiv. s. 22 and 58.

77. Antistia Pollutia, daughter of Lucius Antistius Vetus, and wife of Rubellius Plautus (No. 76). She was put to death with her father and Sextia, her mother-in-law, A. U. 818. Her crime was, that, while she lived, Nero considered her and her family as a living reproach for the murder of her husband Rubellius Plautus.—Tacit. Annal. book xvi. s. 10 and 11.

78. A son of Tiberius the emperor by Julia, the daughter of Augustus (see No. 46). He was born at Aquileia, and died in his infancy A. U. 747. His name is no where mentioned.—Suet. Life of Tiberius, s. 7. Dio, book lv.

79. Nero Claudius Drusus, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero (see No. 67) and Livia, afterwards married to Augustus. Tiberius the emperor was his elder brother. He was born A. U. 716. A youth, says Velleius Paterculus, of as many virtues as prudence can acquire, or human nature can admit. The fine ode of Horace, *Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem*, book iv. ode 4, written in the year of Rome 743, displays his military character in the brightest colours. He rose to the highest civil offices, such as prætor, ædile, and consul. He commanded the Roman army in Germany, and for his victories obtained the name of Germanicus. He was father of the famous Germanicus by Antonia the younger (see No. 42). He died A. U. 745; the pride of the Claudian family, and the favourite of the Roman people. Augustus spoke his funeral panegyric, and in his speech offered up a fervent prayer to the gods, that all future Cæsars might resemble him, and that his own death, whenever it should happen, might be equally honourable and as sincerely lamented.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 1. Life of Tiberius, s. 4. Dio, book lv. Valerius Maximus, book iv. s. 3, No. 3.

Inscription on ancient coins: *Nero Claudius Drusus, Germanicus, imperator.*

For Antonia the younger, the wife of Drusus, see No. 42.

80. Sons of Drusus and Antonia. They died before A. U. 745, and their names are now unknown.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 1.

81. Germanicus Cæsar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus (No. 79) by Antonia the younger (No. 42), the worthiest son of the worthiest parents. Tiberius, by the command of Augustus, adopted him A. U. 757, but afterwards, when possessed of the supreme power, beheld him with a malignant eye. He died on his return from a tour in Egypt, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned by the contrivance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, and the villany of Piso and Plancina, A. U. 772, in the thirty-first year of his age. The funeral ceremony was performed at Antioch. Germanicus succeeded to his father in the affections of the Roman people. Of gentle manners, mild and gracious to all, he was beheld with pleasure, and heard with applause. Ambition, if we except the fair desire of being distinguished by his virtues, had no influence on his conduct. Undebauched by pleasure, he discharged all the duties of an upright citizen and an able officer. He commanded the Roman legions in Germany; in war victorious, and in peace moderate to the vanquished. Possessed of great accomplishments, he was in nothing inferior to Alexander, and free from the vices of that warlike chief. He was on the side of virtue greatly his superior. Rome deplored his death, and with him lost all hopes of seeing the old constitution restored. Foreign nations paid their tribute of respect to his memory.—Tacit. Annal. book i. s. 3, 33, 34, 42, &c.; book ii. s. 72, 73. Dio, book lv.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: *Germanicus Cæsar, son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson to the deified Augustus, consul.*

After his death, in the reign of his son Caligula: *Germanicus Cæsar, father of Cæsar Augustus, the deified Germanicus.*

For Agrippina, his wife, see No. 51.

82. Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He married Julia, daughter of Drusus the son of Tiberius (see No. 70), A. U. 773. By the wicked arts of Sejanus he was banished to the isle of Pontia, and there put to death A. U. 784.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. s. 59, 60; book v. s. 3, 4. Suet. Life of Tiberius, s. 54. Dio, book lviii.

For Julia, the wife of Nero Cæsar, see No. 74.

83. Drusus Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, brother to Nero Cæsar and Caligula, afterwards emperor. He married Æmilia Lepida, who was induced by Sejanus to betray her husband. Deluded himself by the arts of that evil minister, he conspired against the life of his brother, Nero Cæsar. He was imprisoned at Rome by order of Tiberius, and died in confinement A. U. 786.—Tacit. Annal. book iv. s. 60; book vi. s. 23, 24. Dio, book lviii.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: *Nero Cæsar, Drusus Cæsar, duumviri.*

84. Æmilia Lepida, daughter of Manius Lepidus, and wife of Drusus Cæsar (No. 83). She was engaged in an adulterous commerce with Sejanus, and suborned by that ambitious upstart to carry a clandestine charge against her husband to the ear of Tiberius. Notwithstanding her crimes, she was protected during her father's life; but being afterwards prosecuted by the race of informers, she put an end to her days A. U. 789. Tacit. Annal. book iv. s. 20; book vi. s. 27, 40.

85. Caius Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina; a youth of engaging manners, and a promising disposition. He died prematurely in the bloom of life, much regretted by Augustus.—Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 7 and 8.

86. Caius Cæsar, better known by the name of Caligula, fourth emperor of Rome, the son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He was born at Antium 31st August, in the consulship of Germanicus and Fonteius Capito, A. U. 765. He practised the arts of dissimulation during the life of Tiberius, and had the skill to conceal his real character. Having obtained the sovereign power, he threw off the mask, and showed himself a monster of vice and cruelty. He wished, with impious arrogance, to be worshipped as a god, and was at the same time a tyrant of savage ferocity, the scourge of human kind. His delight in blood was so keen and ardent, that he was often heard to express his wish, *that the Roman people had but one neck, that he might at a blow destroy the whole race.* He dissipated in less than a year the whole treasure left by Tiberius, computed to be an immense sum. Nor can this be wondered at in a man who spent for one dinner a hundred thousand sesterces. Costly and effeminate in his dress, he was so extravagant as to appear in shoes composed of pearl. He was slain by Cassius Chærea, tribune of a prætorian cohort, on the fourth day of the Palatine games, A. U. 794; a man, says Seneca, designed by nature to show what the worst vices can do in the height of power.—Seneca de Consolat. c. ix. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 8, 37, 58. Pliny, book vii. s. 8; book xxxvii. s. 2. Tacit. Annal. book vi. s. 20.

Inscriptions on ancient coins; *Caius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson to Augustus, great-grandson to the deified Augustus, Caius Cæsar, a god and emperor.*

As adopted son of Tiberius, he was grandson to Augustus; as the son of Germanicus, he was great-grandson.

87. Claudia, daughter of M. Silanus, married to Caligula A. U. 786. She died in childbed. Suetonius calls her Junia Claudilla.—Tacit. Annal. book vi. s. 20. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 12.

88. Livia Oristilla; called by Dio, Cornelia Orestina. She was on the point of marrying Caius Calpurnius Piso, when Caligula, enamoured of her beauty, carried her off by force, and in a few days after repudiated her.—Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 25. Dio, book lix.

89. Lollia Paulina, grand-daughter of Marcus Lollius, who was tutor to Caius Cæsar, the son of Agrippa (No. 48), and drew on himself a load of disgrace and obloquy on account of the prodigious presents, which he received with a rapacious hand from the oriental princes. His daughter Lollia Paulina was married to Caligula. The emperor ravished her from Caius Memmius Regulus, and in a short time after dismissed her from his embraces. Pliny assures us, that he saw her, not at a time of public festivity, but at a moderate entertainment, placed at the banqueting-table, in a dress overcharged with jewels and pearls, artfully intermixed and blended, tangled in her hair, shining on her head, at her ears, round her neck, with rich bracelets on her arms, and her fingers loaded with rings; the whole of this laboured magnificence was not worth less than four hundred thousand sesterces. Pliny adds, that this enormous display was not a present from the emperor, but all of it the wealth of her grandfather Marcus Lollius, accumulated from the spoil of plundered provinces.—Pliny, book ix. chap. 35, s. 57. Suet. Life of Caligula, 25. Dio, book lix.

90. Milonia Cæsonia, daughter of Vestilia, whom Caligula married when she was advanced in her pregnancy, A. U. 792. In thirty days after she was delivered of her child. She was the wife of the worst of men, and her own vices made her worthy of such a connexion. Caligula was killed A. U. 794; and in a few days after, Cherea, who despatched the tyrant, ordered Cæsonia and her daughter to be put to death, that no remains of the tyrant's family should be suffered to exist. She died with a degree of fortitude that would have done honour to a better character. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 25, 59. Dio, book lix. Pliny, book vii. s. 5.

91. Julia Drusilla, daughter of Caligula and Milonia Cæsonia. Her frantic father carried her to the temples of all the goddesses, and dedicated her to Minerva, as to the patroness of her education. She discovered in her infancy strong indications of the cruelty that branded both her parents. She suffered death with her mother (see No. 90).—Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 25 and 59. Dio, book lix.

92. Two sons of Germanicus and Agrippina, who died in their infancy. Their names not recorded.—Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 7 and 8.

93. Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A. U. 769. She was married three times; first, to Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, A. U. 781; secondly, to Passienus Crispus; thirdly, to the emperor Claudius, A. U. 801. She was a woman of violent passions, unbounded ambition, and at the same time distinguished by her literary accomplishments. By Ænobarbus, her first husband, she was the mother of Nero, whose name is now another word for the most savage cruelty. Nero was born A. U. 790 (No. 35). By that execrable parricide Agrippina was barbarously mur-

dered A. U. 812.—Tacit. Annal. book ii. s. 54; book iv. s. 53; book xii. s. 64; book xiv. s. 6, 7, 8. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 7. Dio, book lx.

For Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, her first husband, and the father of Nero, see No. 34.

94. Passienus Crispus, a celebrated orator, and twice consul. He was first married to Domitia (see No. 40), and secondly to Agrippina. A shrewd saying of his concerning Caligula is well known: *There never was a better servant nor a worse master.* Upon other occasions he was used to observe, "*We all oppose the door to flattery, but none of us shut it.*"—Pliny, book xv. c. 44, s. 91. Tacit. Annal. book vi. s. 20. Seneca, Quæst. Natural. book iv. Preface.

For Claudius, the third husband of Agrippina, see No. 100.

95. Drusilla, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, born A. U. 770. She was first married to Lucius Cassius Longinus A. U. 786, and afterwards to Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Caligula, her brother, had an incestuous intrigue with her; and after her death, which happened A. U. 791, he canonized her for a goddess by the name of Panthea. On that occasion Livius Geminius declared on his oath, that he had seen her in her ascent to heaven. For this extraordinary testimony he was amply rewarded by Caligula.—Tacit. Annal. vi. s. 15. Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 7 and 24. Dio, book lix.

On ancient coins: *Drusilla Augusta.*

96. Lucius Cassius Longinus, married to Drusilla No. 95). He was raised to the consulship A. U. 783, and afterwards stood forth the accuser of Drusus, his wife's brother (see No. 83). Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 24. Tacit. Annal. vi. s. 15. Dio, book lviii.

For Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the second husband of Drusilla, see No. 54.

97. Julia, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, called by Suetonius Livilla. She was born A. U. 771. Caligula, on account of her debaucheries, ordered her to be conveyed to the isle of Pontia, A. U. 792. She was recalled in the reign of Claudius; but Messalina, without any crime alleged, contrived to drive her into banishment, and afterwards put her to death, A. U. 796.—Suet. Life of Caligula, s. 7 and 24. Life of Claudius, s. 29. Dio, book lix.

98. Quinctilius Varus, son of Claudia Pulchra, who was cousin to Agrippina. He married Julia (No. 97). An accusation was framed against him by Domitius Afer and Dolabella, A. U. 780.—Seneca, Controv. book i. s. 3. Tacit. Annal. iv. s. 52 and 66.

99. Marcus Vinicius. He married Julia (No. 97) A. U. 786; was twice consul, but, by a wicked stratagem of Messalina, was destroyed by poison A. U. 799. It was to this man, in the year of his consulship, that Velleius Paterculus dedicated his elegant compendium of the Roman History; a work admired for the beauty of the style, but debased by the fulsome praise of Tiberius and Sejanus.—Tacit. Annal. vi. 15. See Supplement to Annals, v. s. 11. Dio, book lx.

100. Tiberius Claudius Drusus Germanicus, fifth emperor of Rome. He was son to Nero Claudius Drusus (No 79) and Antonia the younger (No. 42); he was brother to Germanicus; born at Lyons (*Lugduni*) A. U. 744. He discovered in the first dawn of infancy a degree of dulness that bordered on stupidity. He grew up so sluggish in body and mind, that Antonia his mother often declared that he was an imperfect production, sent into the world unfinished by the hand of Nature. He succeeded to the supreme power A. U. 794, during the whole of his reign governed altogether by his wives or his freedmen. He was poisoned by the contrivance of Agrippina his wife, and died on the 13th of October, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the fourteenth year of his reign, A. U. 807. After his death he was numbered among the gods. His deification was treated with contempt and ridicule by Seneca, in a tract still extant, entitled *Claudii Cæsaris Apocolokintosis.* The general design of the piece is not ill imagined; but the humour is often coarse, and, upon the whole, inferior to what might have been expected from the lively genius of that entertaining writer. Claudius, with all the appearance of inert faculties and an impassive mind, devoted his time, in repose and indolence, to literature and the polite arts. He was not entirely void of taste. His compositions in Greek, as well as Latin, were written with purity and even elegance. Two pieces of a brass table have been found at Lyons, on which is engraved a speech of Claudius, in characters so plainly legible, that Dotteville (in his edition of Tacitus) has given an exact copy, faithfully compared with the original (see at the end of his Notes to Annals, book xii).—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 2, 10, 41, 42. Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 69. Seneca, *Apocolokintosis.* Pliny, book xxxvi. c. 15, s. 24.

101. Plautia Urgulanilla, daughter of Aulus Plautius, who had enjoyed the splendour of a triumph. She was the first wife of the emperor Claudius, and by him repudiated on account of her licentious manners, and a suspicion of homicide that blackened her character.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 26. Dio, book lx.

102. Drusus, son of the emperor Claudius and Urgulanilla. A match between him and the daughter of Sejanus was projected by that ambitious favourite A. U. 773; but Drusus, as yet of tender years, lost his life by an accident. A pear, which in a playful manner he had tossed up in the air, fell into his mouth and chocked him.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 27. Tacit. Annal. iii. s. 29.

103. Claudia, daughter of Urgulanilla. She was born in less than five months after her mother's divorce from Claudius; and yet the emperor thought proper to disown her as his child, alleging that she was begot by one of his freedmen, and as such he ordered her to be left naked at her mother's door.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 27.

104. Ælia Petina, daughter of Quintus Ælius Tubero, who was consul A. U. 743. She was the second wife of Claudius, but on some frivolous occasion soon repudiated.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 26.

105. Antonia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Ælia Petina. Claudius gave her away in marriage to Cneius Pompeius (see No. 106), and afterwards to Cornelius Sylla (see No. 107). Nero, after the death of Poppæa, proposed to marry her; and his offer being rejected, he condemned her to suffer death, on a pretended charge of plotting against the state.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 27. Life of Nero, s. 35. Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 68.

106. Cneius Pompeius, a youth of noble descent, married to Antonia (No. 105) A. U. 794. He was some time after put to death by order of Claudius.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 27 and 29.

107. Faustus Cornelius Sylla, of illustrious birth, the second husband of Antonia (No. 105). He was banished by Nero into Narbon Gaul, and there put to death by assassins despatched from Rome, A. U. 815.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 27. Tacit. Annal. xiii. s. 23; xiv. s. 57.

For Messalina, the third wife of Claudius, see No. 26.

108. Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina, born 12 of February, A. U. C. 794. By his birth, and his father's intention, who carried him in his arms and recommended him as heir apparent to the affections of the army, he was next in succession to the sovereignty; but by the artful policy of Agrippina, the fourth wife of Claudius, he was postponed to Nero, and afterwards destroyed by poison, in the fourteenth year of his age, A. U. C. 808.—Suet. Life of Claudius, s. 27. Tacit. Annal. xii. s. 25; xiii. s. 15 and 16.

For Octavia, the sister of Britannicus, see No. 36.

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GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

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TO THE NAMES OF PLACES, &c.

GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE:

OR,

INDEX OF THE NAMES OF PLACES, RIVERS, &c.

MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME.

A

ACHAIA, often taken for part of Peloponnesus, but in Tacitus generally for all Greece.

ACTIUM, a promontory of Epirus, now called the *Cape of Tigolo*, famous for the victory of Augustus over M. Antony.

ADDUA, a river rising in the country of the *Grisons*, and in its course separating Milan from the territory of the Venetians, till it falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona. It is now called the *Adda*.

ADIABENE, a district of Assyria, so called from the river Adiaba; *Adiabeni*, the people.

ADRANA, now the *Eder;* a river that flows near *Waldeck*, in the landgravate of *Hesse*, and discharges itself into the *Weser*.

ADRIATIC, now the gulf of Venice.

ADRUMETUM, a Phœnician colony in Africa, about seventeen miles from Leptis Minor.

ÆDUI, a people of ancient Gaul, near what is now called *Autun*, in Lower Burgundy.

ÆGÆ, a maritime town of Cilicia; now *Aias Kala*.

ÆGÆAN SEA, a part of the Mediterranean which lies between Greece and Asia Minor; now the *Archipelago*.

ÆGIUM, a city of Greece, in the Peloponnesus; now the *Morea*.

ÆNUS, a river rising in the country of the *Grisons*, and running thence into the Danube.

ÆQUI, a people of ancient Latium.

AFRICA, generally means in Tacitus that part which was made a proconsular province, of which Carthage was the capital; now the territory of *Tunis*.

AGRIPPINENSIS COLONIA, so called from Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, mother of Nero, and afterwards wife of the emperor Claudius. This place is now called *Cologne*, situate on the Rhine.

ALBA, a town of Latium, in Italy, the residence of the Alban kings; destroyed by Tullus Hostilius.

ALBANIA, a country of Asia, bounded on the west by Iberia, on the east by the Caspian Sea, on the south by Armenia, and on the north by Mount Caucasus.

ALBINGANUM; now *Albinga*, to the west of the territory of Genoa, at the mouth of the river *Cente*.

ALBIS, now the *Elbe;* a river that rises in the confines of *Silesia*, and, after a wide circuit, falls into the German sea below *Hamburg*.

ALBIUM INTEMELIUM; now *Vintimiglia*, south-west of the territory of Genoa, with a port on the Mediterranean, between *Monaco* and *S. Remo*.

ALESIA, a town in Celtic Gaul, situate on a hill. It was besieged by Julius Cæsar. See his Commentaries, lib. vii. s. 77.

ALEXANDRIA, a principal city of Egypt, built by Alexander the Great, on the Mediterranean; famous for the library begun by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and consisting at last of seven hundred thousand volumes, till in Cæsar's expedition it was destroyed by fire.

ALISO, a fort built by Drusus, the father of Germanicus, in the part of Germany now called Westphalia, near the city of *Paderborn*.

ALLIA, a river of Italy, running into the Tiber, about forty miles from Rome; famous for the slaughter of the Romans by the Gauls, under Brennus.

ALLOBROGES, a people of Narbon Gaul, situate between the Rhodanus and the Lacus Lemanus.

ALPS, a range of high mountains separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. They are distinguished into different parts, under several names: such as the *Maritime Alps*, near Genoa; the *Cottian Alps*, separating Dauphine from Piedmont; the *Graian Alps*, beginning from Mount Cenis, where the *Cottian* terminate, and extending to Great St Bernard; the *Pennine Alps*, extending from west to east to the *Rhetian Alps*, the *Alpes Noricæ*, and the *Pannonian Alps*, as far as the springs of the *Kulps*. Their height in some places is almost incredible. They are called *Alpe*, from *Alpen*, a Celtic term for high mountains.

ALTINUM, a town in the territory of Venice, on the Adriatic; now in ruins, except a tower, still retaining the name of *Altino*.

AMANUS, a mountain of Syria, separating it from Cilicia; now called *Montagna Neros* by the inhabitants; that is, the watery mountain, abounding in springs and rivulets.

AMATHUS, a maritime town of Cyprus, consecrated to Venus, with an ancient temple of Adonis and Venus: it is now called *Limisso*.

AMAZONIA, a country near the river Thermodon, in Pontus.

AMISIA, now the *Ems;* a river of Germany that falls into the German sea, near Embden.

AMORGOS, an island in the Egean sea, now Amorgo.

AMYDIS, a town near the gulf of that name, on the coast of Latium in Italy.

ANAGNIA, a town of ancient Latium; now *Anagni*, thirty-six miles to the east of Rome.

ANCONA, a port town in Italy, situate on the gulf of Venice.

ANDECAVI, now *Anjou*.

ANEMURIUM, a promontory of Cilicia, with a maritime town of the same name near it. See Pomponius Mela.

ANGRIVARIANS, a German people, situate on the west side of the Weser, near *Osnaburg* and *Minden*.

ANSIBARII, a people of Germany.

ANTIOCH, or ANTIOCHIA, the capital of Syria, called *Epidaphne*, to distinguish it from other cities of the name of Antioch. It is now called *Antakia*.

ANTIPOLIS, now *Antibes*, on the coast of Provence, about three leagues to the west of *Nice*.

ANTIUM, a city of the ancient Volsci, situate on the Tuscan sea; the birth-place of Nero. Two Fortunes were worshipped there, which Suetonius calls *Fortunæ Antiates*, and Martial, *Sorores Antii*. Horace's ode to Fortune is well known—

O diva gratum quæ regis Antium.

The place is now called *Capo d'Anzo*.

ANTONA, now the *Avon*. See Camden.

AORSI, a people inhabiting near the Palus Mæotis; now the eastern part of Tartary, between the *Nieper* and the *Don*.

APAMEA, a city of Phrygia, near the banks of the Mæander; now *Aphiom-Kara-Hisar*.

APENNINUS, now the *Apennine*, a ridge of mountains running through the middle of Italy, extremely high, yet short of the *Alps*. Its name is Celtic, signifying a high mountain.

APHRODISIUM, a town of *Caria* in Thrace, on the Euxine.

APOLLONIDIA, a city of Lydia

APULIA, a territory of Italy, along the gulf of Venice; now *Capitanate*, *Otranto*, &c.

AQUILEIA, a large city of the Veneti, and formerly a Roman colony, near the river *Natiso*, which runs into the gulf of Venice.

AQUINUM, a town of the ancient Latins; now *Aquino*, but almost in ruins.

AQUITANIA, a division of ancient Gaul, bounded by the *Garumna* (now *Garonne*), by the Pyrenees, and the ocean.

ARABIA, an extensive country of Asia, reaching from Egypt to Chaldea. It is divided into three parts, *Arabia Petræa*, *Deserta*, and *Felix*.

ARAR, or ARARIS, a river of Gaul; now the *Saone*.

ARAXES, a river of Mesopotamia, which runs from north to south, and falls into the Euphrates.

ARBELA, a city of Assyria, famous for the battle between Alexander and Darius.

ARCADIA, an inland district in the heart of Peloponnesus; mountainous and only fit for pasture; therefore celebrated by bucolic or pastoral poets.

ARDEN, *Arduenna*, in Tacitus; the forest of Arden.

ARENACUM, an ancient town in the island of Batavia; now *Arnheim*, in Guelderland.

ARICIA, a town of Latium in Italy, at the foot of Mons Albanus, about a hundred and sixty stadia from Rome. The grove, called *Aricinum Nemus*, was in the vicinity.

ARII, a people of Asia.

ARIMINUM, a town of Umbria, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice.

ARMENIA, a kingdom of Asia, having Albania and Iberia to the north, and Mount Taurus and Mesopotamia to the south: divided into the GREATER, which extends eastward to the Caspian sea; and the LESSER, to the west of the GREATER, and separated from it by the Euphrates; now called *Turcomania*.

ARNUS, a river of Tuscany, which visits Florence in its course, and falls into the sea near Pisa.

ARSANIAS, a river of the GREATER ARMENIA, running between Tigranocerta and Artaxata, and falling into the Euphrates.

ARTAXATA, the capital of Armenia, situate on the river Araxes.

ARVERNI, a people of ancient Gaul, inhabiting near the Loire; their chief city *Arvernum* now *Clermont*, the capital of *Auvergne*.

ASCALON, an ancient city of the Philistines, situate on the Mediterranean; now *Scalona*.

ASCIBURGIUM, a citadel on the Rhine, where the Romans stationed a camp and a garrison.

ATESTE, a town in the territory of Venice, situate to the south of Patavium.

ATRIA, a town of the Veneti, on the river Tartarus, between the Padus and the Athesis, now the *Adige*.

AUGUSTA TAURINORUM, a town of the Taurini, at the foot of the Alps; now *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*.

AUGUSTODUNUM, the capital of the Ædui; now *Autun*, in the duchy of Burgundy. It took its name from Augustus Cæsar.

AURIA, an ancient town of Spain; now *Orense*, in Galicia.

AUZEA, a strong castle in Mauritania.

AVENTICUM, the capital of the Helvetii; by the Germans called *Wiflisburg*, by the French *Avenches*.

B

BACTRIANI, a people inhabiting a part of Asia, to the south of the river *Oxus*, which runs from east to west into the Caspian Sea.

BAIÆ, a village of Campania, between the promontory of Misenum and Puteoli (now *Pozzuolo*), nine miles to the west of Naples.

BALEARES, a cluster of islands in the Mediterranean, of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

BASTARNI, a people of Germany, who led a wandering life in the vast regions between the Vistula and the Pontic sea.

BATAVIA, an island formed by two branches of the Rhine and the German sea. See Annals, book ii. s. 6; and Manners of the Germans, s. 29. note.

BATAVODURUM, a town in the island of Batavia; now, as some of the commentators say, *Wyk-te-Duursteda*.

BEBRYACUM, or BEDRYACUM, a village situate between Verona and Cremona; famous for two successive defeats; that of Otho, and soon after, that of Vitellius.

BELGIC GAUL, the country between the Seine and the Marne to the west, the Rhine to the east, and the German sea to the north.

BERYTUS, now *Barut*, in Phœnicia.

BETASII, the people inhabiting the country now called *Brabant*.

BITHYNIA, a proconsular province of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Euxine and the Propontic, adjoining to Troas, over-against Thrace; now *Becsangial*.

BŒTICA, one of the provinces into which Augustus Cæsar divided the Farther Spain.

BOII, a people of Celtic Gaul, in the country now called *Bourbonnois*. There was also a nation of the same name in Germany. See Manners of the Germans, s. 28.

BONNA, now *Bonn*, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

BONONIA, called by Tacitus *Bononiensis*; now *Bologna*, capital of the *Bolognese* in Italy.

BOSPHORANI, a people bordering on the Euxine; the *Tartars*.

BOSPHORUS, two straits of the sea so called; one *Bosphorus Thracius*, now *the straits of Constantinople*; the other *Bosphorus Cimmerius*, now *the straits of Caffa*.

Bovillæ, a town of Latium, near mount Albanus; about ten miles from Rome, on the Appian road.

Brigantes, the ancient inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*.

Brixellum, the town where Otho despatched himself after the defeat at *Bedriacum*; now *Bresello*, in the territory of *Reggio*.

Brixia, a town of Italy, on this side of the Po; now *Brescia*.

Bructerians, a people of Germany, situate in Westphalia. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 33. note.

Brundusium, a town of Calabria, with an excellent harbour, at the entrance of the Adriatic, affording to the Romans a commodious passage to Greece. The Via Appia ended at this town. Now *Brindisi*, in the territory of *Otranto*, in the kingdom of Naples.

Byzantium, a city of Thrace, on the narrow strait that separates Europe from Asia; now *Constantinople*. See Annals, xii. s. 63.

C

Celaletæ, a people of Thrace, near Mount Hæmus.

Ceracates, probably the diocese of *Mayence*.

Caesarea, a maritime town in Palestine; now *Kaisarie*.

Cesian Forest, now the forest of *Heserwaldt*, in the duchy of Cleves. It is supposed to be a part of the Hercynian Forest.

Calabria, a peninsula of Italy, between Tarentum and Brundusium; now the territory of Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples.

Camelodunum, said by some to be *Malden* in Essex, but by Camden and others, *Colchester*. It was made a Roman colony under the emperor Claudius; a place of pleasure rather than of strength, adorned with splendid works, a theatre, and a temple of Claudius.

Camerium, a city in the territory of the Sabines; now destroyed.

Campania, a territory of Italy, bounded on the west by the Tuscan sea. The most fertile and delightful part of Italy; now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

Cangi, the inhabitants of Cheshire, and part of Lancashire.

Caninefates, a people of the Lower Germany, from the same origin as the Batavians, and inhabitants of the west part of the isle of Batavia.

Canopus, a city of the Lower Egypt, situate on a branch of the Nile called by the same name.

Cappadocia, a large country in Asia Minor, between Cilicia and the Euxine sea. Being made a Roman province, the inhabitants had an offer made them of a free and independent government; but their answer was, Liberty might suit the Romans, but the Cappadocians would neither receive liberty, nor endure it.

Capreæ, an island on the coast of Campania, about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. It stands opposite to the promontory of *Surrentum*, and has the bay of Naples in view. It was the residence of Tiberius for several years.

Capua, now *Capoa*, a city in the kingdom of Naples; the seat of pleasure, and the ruin of Hannibal.

Carmel, a mountain in Galilee, on the Mediterranean.

Carsulæ, a town of Umbria about twenty miles from Mevania; now in ruins.

Carthago, once the most famous city of Africa, and the rival of Rome; supposed by some to have been built by queen Dido, seventy years after the foundation of Rome; but Justin will have it before Rome. It was the capitol of what is now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

Carthago Nova, a town of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, or the Hither Spain; now *Carthagena*.

Caspian Sea, a vast lake between Persia, Great Tartary, Muscovy, and Georgia, said to be six hundred miles long, and near as broad.

Cassiope, a town in the island of Corcyra (now *Corfu*), called at present *St Maria di Cassopo*.

Catti, a people of Germany, who inhabited part of the country now called *Hesse*, from the mountains of *Hartz*, to the Weser and the Rhine.

Cauci. See Chauci.

Celendris, a place on the coast of Cilicia, near the confines of Pamphylia.

Cenchreæ, a port of Corinth, situate about ten miles towards the east; now *Kenkri*.

Cenchris, a river running through the Ortygian grove.

Cerrina, an island in the Mediterranean, to the north of the Syrtis Minor in Africa; now called *Kerkeni*.

Chalcedon, a city of Bithynia, situate at the mouth of the Exuine, over-against Byzantium. It was called the *City of the Blind*. See Annals, xii. s. 63.

Chauci, a people of Germany inhabiting what we now call *East Friesland*, *Bremen*, and *Lunenburg*. See Manners of the Germans, s. 35.

Cheruscans, a great and warlike people of ancient Germany, to the north of the *Catti*, between the *Elbe* and the *Weser*.

Cibyra, formerly a town of Phrygia, near the banks of the Mæander, but now destroyed.

Cilicia, an extensive country in the Hither Asia, bounded by Mount Taurus to the North, by the Mediterranean to the south, by Syria to the east, and by Pamphylia to the west. It was one of the provinces reserved for the management of the emperor.

Cinithians, a people of Africa.

Cirrha, a town of Phocis, near Delphi, sacred to Apollo.

Cirrhus, a town of Syria, in the district of Commagene, and not far from Antioch.

Cirta, formerly the capital of Numidia, and the residence of the king. It is now called *Constantina*, in the kingdom of Algiers.

Clitæ, a people of Cilicia, near Mount Taurus.

Clunia, a city in the Hither Spain.

Colchos, a country of Asia, on the east of the Euxine, famous for the fable of the Golden Fleece, the Argonautic expedition, and the fair enchantress, Medea.

Colophon, a city of Ionia, in the Hither Asia. One of the places that claimed the birth of Homer; now destroyed.

Commagene, a district of Syria, bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the west by Amanus, and on the north by Mount Taurus.

Coos. See Cos.

Corcyra, an island in the Adriatic; now *Corfu*.

Corinthus, a city of Achaia, on the south part of the isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to the continent. From its situation between two seas, Horace says,

Bimarisve Corinthi mœnia.

The city was taken and burnt to the ground by Mummius the Roman general, A. U. C. 608. It was afterwards restored to its ancient splendour, and made a Roman colony. It retains the name of *Corinth*.

Corma, a river in Asia; mentioned by Tacitus only.

Corsica, an island in the part of the Mediterranean, called the Sea of Liguria, in length from north to south about a hundred and fifty miles, and about fifty where broadest. To the south it is separated from Sardinia by a narrow channel.

Cos, or Coos, one of the islands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea, famous for being the birth-place of Apelles; now *Stan Co*.

Cosa, a promontory of Etruria; now *Mont Argentaro*, in Tuscany.

CREMERA, a river of Tuscany, falling into the Tiber a little to the north of Rome, rendered famous by the slaughter of the Fabii.

CREMONA, a city of Italy, built A. U. C. 536, and afterwards, in the year 822, rased to the ground by the army of Vespasian, in the war with Vitellius. It was soon rebuilt by the citizens, with the exhortations of Vespasian. It is now a flourishing city in the duchy of Milan, and retains the name of Cremona.

CUMÆ, a town of Campania, near Cape Misenum, famous for the cave of the Cumæan Sybil.

CUSUS, a river in Hungary, that falls into the Danube.

CYCLADES, a cluster of Islands in the Ægean sea, so called from *Cyclus*, the orb in which they lie. Their names and number are not ascertained. Strabo reckons sixteen.

CYME, a maritime town of Æolia in Asia.

CYPRUS, a noble island opposite to the coast of Syria, formerly sacred to Venus, whence she was called the Cyprian goddess.

CYRENE (now called *Curin*), the capital of Cyrenaica, a district of Africa, now the *Desert of Barca*. It stood about eleven miles from the sea, and had an excellent harbour.

CYTHERA, an island situated on the coast of Peloponnesus, formerly sacred to Venus, and thence her name of *Cytherea*. The island is now called *Cerigo*.

CYTHNUS, one of the islands called the Cyclades, in the Ægean sea.

CYZICUS, a city of Mysia, in the Hither Asia, rendered famous by the long seige of Mithridates, which at last was raised by Lucullus.

D

DACIA, a country extending between the Danube and the Carpathian mountains to the mouth of the Danube, and to the Euxine, comprising a part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, and Moldavia. The inhabitants to the west, towards Germany, were called *Daci*; those to the east towards the Euxine were called *Getæ*. The whole country was reduced by Trajan to a Roman province.

DAHÆ, a people of Scythia, to the south of the Caspian, with the Massagetæ on the east. Virgil calls them *indomitique Dahæ*.

DALMATIA, an extensive country bordering on Macedonia and Mæsia, and having the Adriatic to the south.

DANDARIDÆ, a people bordering on the Euxine. Brotier says that some vestiges of the nation, and its name, still exist at a place called *Dandars*.

DANUBE, the largest river in Europe. It rises in Suabia, and after visiting Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, and taking thence a prodigious circuit, falls at last into the Black or Euxine sea. See Manners of the Germans, s. 1. note.

DELOS, the central island of the Cyclades, famous in mythology for the birth of Apollo and Diana.

DELPHI, a famous inland town of Phocis in Greece, with a temple and oracle of Apollo, situate near the foot of Mount Parnassus.

DENTHELIATE LANDS, a portion of the Peloponnesus that lay between Laconia and Messenia; often disputed by those states.

DERMONA, a river of Gallia Transpadana; it runs into the Ollius (now *Oglio*), and through that channel into the Po.

DIVODURUM, a town in Gallia Belgica, situate on the Moselle, on the spot where *Metz* now stands.

DONUSA, or DONYSA, an island in the Ægean sea, not far from *Naxos*. Virgil has,

Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donysam.

DYRRACHIUM, a town on the coast of Illyricum. Its port answered to that of Brundusium, affording a convenient passage to Italy.

E

ECBATANA, the capital of Media; now *Hamedan*.

EDESSA, a town of Mesopotamia; now *Orrhoa*, of *Orfa*.

ELEPHANTINE, an island in the Nile, not far from Syene; at which last place stood the most advanced Roman garrison, *Notitia Imperii*.

ELEUSIS, a district of Attica near the sea-coast, sacred to Ceres, where the Eleusinian mysteries were performed; now in ruins.

ELYMÆI, a people bordering on the gulf of Persia.

EMERITA, a city of Spain; now *Merida* in the province of *Estremadura*.

EPHESUS, an ancient and celebrated city of Ionia, in Asia Minor; now *Efeso*. It was the birth-place of Heraclitus, the weeping philosopher.

EPIDAPHNE, a town in Syria, not far from Antioch.

EPOREDIA, a town at the foot of the Alps, afterwards a Roman colony; now *Jurea*, or *Jura*, a city of Piedmont.

ERINDE, a river of Asia, mentioned by Tacitus only.

ERITHRÆ, a maritime town of Ionia, in Asia Minor.

ETRURIA, a district of Italy, extending from the boundary of Liguria to the Tiber; now *Tuscany*.

EUBŒA, an island near the coast of *Attica*; now *Negropont*.

EUPHRATES, a river of Asia, universally allowed to take its rise in Armenia Major. It divides into two branches, one running through Babylon, and the other through Seleucia. It bounds Mesopotamia on the west.

EUXINE, or PONTUS EUXINUS; now the Black sea.

F

FERENTINUM, a town of Latium, in Italy; now *Firentino*, in the Campania of Rome.

FERENTUM, a town of Etruria; now *Firenti*.

FERONIA, a town in Etruria.

FIDENÆ, a small town in the territory of the Sabines, about six miles to the north of Rome. The place where the ruins of Fidenæ are seen, is now called *Castello Giubileo*.

FLAMINIAN WAY, made by Flaminius, A. U. C. 533, from Rome to *Ariminum*, a town of Umbria, or Romana, at the mouth of the river Ariminus, on the gulf of Venice. It is now called *Rimini*.

FLEVUS, a branch of the Rhine that emptied itself into the lakes which have been long since absorbed by the *Zuyder-zee*. A castle, called *Flevum Castellum*, was built there by Drusus, the father of Germanicus.

FORMIÆ, a maritime town of Italy, to the south-east of *Cajeta*. The ruins of the place are still visible.

FOROJULIUM. See FORUM JULIUM.

FORUM ALLIENI, now *Ferrare*, on the Po.

FORUM JULIUM, a Roman colony in Gaul, founded by Julius Cæsar, and completed by Augustus, with a harbour at the mouth of the river *Argens*, capable of receiving a large fleet. The ruins of two moles at the entrance of the harbour are still to be seen. See Life of Agricola, s. 4. note. The place is now called *Frejus*.

FRISII, the ancient inhabitants of *Friseland*. See Manners of the Germans.

FUNDANI MONTES, now *Fondi*, a city of Naples, on the confines of the Pope's dominions

by the Roman consuls when they declared war or attended a sacrifice, was called *Cinctus Gabinus*. The place now extinct.

GÆTULI, a people of Africa, bordering on Mauritania.

GALATIA, or GALLOGRÆCIA, a country of Asia Minor, lying between *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Paphlagonia*; now called *Chiangare*.

GALILÆA, the northern part of Canaan, or Palestine, bounded on the north by *Phanicia*, on the south by *Samaria*, on the east by the *Jordan*, and on the west by the *Mediterranean*.

GALLIA, the country of ancient Gaul, now *France*. It was divided by the Romans into *Gallia Cisalpina*, viz. Gaul on the Italian side of the Alps, with the *Rubicon* for its boundary to the south. It was also called *Gallia Togata*, from the use made by the inhabitants of the Roman *toga*. It was likewise called *Gallia Transpadana*, or *Cispadana*, with respect to Rome. The second great division of Gaul was *Gallia Transalpina*, or *Ulterior*, being, with respect to Rome, on the other side of the Alps. It was also called *Gallia Comata*, from the people wearing their hair long, which the Romans wore short. The southern part was GALLIA NARBONENSIS, *Narbon Gaul*, called likewise *Braccata*, from the use of *bracca*, or breeches, which were no part of the Roman dress; now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny*, and *Provence*. For the other divisions of Gaul on this side of the Alps, into the *Gallia Belgica*, *Celtica*, *Aquitanica*, further subdivided by Augustus, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 1, note.

GARAMANTES, a people in the interior part of Africa, extending over a vast tract of country at present little known.

GARIZIM, a mountain of Samaria, famous for a temple built on it by permission of Alexander the Great.

GELDUBA, not far from Novesium (now *Nuys*, in the electorate of Cologne) on the west side of the Rhine.

GEMONIÆ, a place at Rome, into which were thrown the bodies of malefactors.

GERMANIA, ancient Germany, bounded on the east by the Vistula (the *Weissel*), on the north by the ocean, on the west by the Rhine, and on the south by the Danube. A great part of Gaul, along the west side of the Rhine, was also called Germany by Augustus Cæsar, *Germania Cisrhenana*, and by him distinguished into *Upper* and *Lower Germany*.

GOTHONES, a people of ancient Germany, who inhabited part of Poland, and bordered on the Vistula.

GRAIAN ALPS, Graiæ Alpes, supposed to be so called from the Greeks who settled there. See ALPS.

GRINNES, a town of the Batavi, on the right side of the Vahalis, (now the *Waal*), in the territory of Utrecht.

GUGERNI, a people originally from Germany, inhabiting part of the duchy of Cleves and Gueldre, between the Rhine and the Meuse.

GYARUS, one of the islands called the *Cyclades*, rendered famous by being alloted for the banishment of Roman citizens. Juvenal says,

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis.

H

HÆMUS, MOUNT, a ridge of mountains running from Illyricum towards the Euxine sea; now *Mont Argentaro*.

HEMONADENSIANS, a people bordering on Cilicia.

HALICARNASSUS, the capital of Caria, in Asia Minor, famous for being the birth-place of Herodotus and Dionysius, commonly called *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*.

HELVETII, a people in the neighbourhood of the Allobroges, situate on the south-west side of the Rhine, and separated from Gaul by the Rhodanus and Lacus Lemanus.

HENIOCHIANS, a people dwelling near the Euxine Sea.

HERCULANEUM, a town of Campania, near Mount Vesuvius, swallowed up by an earthquake. Several antiquities have been lately dug out of the ruins.

HERCYNIAN FOREST: in the time of Julius Cæsar, the breadth could not be traversed in less than nine days; and after travelling lengthways for sixty-days, no man reached the extremity. Cæsar, De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. s. 29.

HERMUNDURI, a people of Germany, in part of what is now called Upper Saxony, bounded on the north by the river *Sala*, on the east by the *Elbe*, and on the south by the *Danube*.

HIERO-CÆSAREA, a city in Lydia, famous for a temple to the Persian Diana, supposed to have been built by Cyrus.

HISPALIS, a town of Bætica in the Farther Spain; now *Seville* in *Andalusia*.

HISPANIA, Spain, otherwise called *Iberia*, from the river *Iberus*. It has the sea on every side except that next to *Gaul*, from which it is separated by the *Pyrenees*. During the time of the republic, the whole country was divided into two provinces, *Ulterior* and *Citerior*, the *Farther* and *Hither* Spain. Augustus divided the Farther Spain into two provinces; *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. The Hither Spain he called *Tarraconensis*, and then Spain was formed into three provinces; *Bætica*, under the management of the senate; and the other two reserved for officers appointed by the prince.

HOSTILIA, a village on the Po: now *Ostiglia*, in the neighbourhood of Cremona.

HYPÆPA, a small city in *Lydia*, now razed to the ground.

HYRCANIA, a country of the Farther Asia, to the east of the Caspian sea, with Media on the west, and Parthia on the south; famous for its tigers. There was a city of the same name in Lydia.

I

IBERIA, an inland country of Asia, bounded by Mount Caucasus on the north, by Albania on the east, by Colchis and part of Pontus on the west, and by Armenia on the south. Spain was also called Iberia, from the river Iberus; now the *Ebro*.

IBERUS, a noble river of the Hither Spain; now the *Ebro*.

ICENI, a people of Britain; now *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*.

ILIUM, another name for ancient Troy. A new city, nearer to the sea, was built after the famous siege of Troy, and made a Roman colony. But, as was said of the old city, *Etiam periere ruinæ*.

ILLYRICUM, the country between Pannonia to the north, and the Adriatic to the south. It is now comprised by *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, under the respective dominion of the Venetians and the Turks.

INSUBRIA, a country of Gallia Cisalpina; now the *Milanese*.

INTEMELIUM. See ALBIUM INTEMELIUM.

INTERAMNA, an ancient town of the Volsci in Latium, not far from the river Liris. It is now in ruins.

IONIAN SEA, the sea that washes the western coast of Greece, opposite to the gulf of Venice.

ISICHI, a people bordering on the Euxine, towards the east.

ISTRIA, an island in the gulf of Venice, still retaining its ancient name. There was also a town of the same name near the mouth of the Ister, on the Euxine sea.

ITURÆA, a *Transjordan* district of Palestine, now *Bacra*.

J

JAPHA, a strong place, both by nature and art, in the Lower Galilee, not far from *Jotapata;* now *Saphet.*

JAZYGES, a people of Sarmatia Europæa, situate on this side of the Palus Mæotis, near the territory of Maroboduus, the German king.

JUGANTES, said by Camden to be the same as the *Brigantes*, but Brotier thinks it probable that they were a distinct people.

L

LACUS LEMANUS, now the *Lake of Geneva.*

LANGOBARDI, a people of Germany, between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, in part of what is now called *Brandenburg.*

LANUVIUM, a town of Latium, about sixteen miles from Rome; now *Civita Lavinia.*

LAODICEA, a town of Phrygia, called, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, *Laodicea ad Lycum.* Spon, in his account of his travels, says it is rased to the ground, except four theatres built with marble, finely polished, and in as good condition as if they were modern structures; now called *Ladik.*

LAODICEA AD MARE, a considerable town on the coast of Syria, well built, with a commodious harbour.

LATIUM, the country of the Latini, so called from king Latinus; contained at first within narrow bounds, but greatly enlarged under the Alban kings and the Roman consuls, by the accession of the Æqui, Volsci, Hernici, &c.

LECHÆUM, the west port of Corinth, which the people used for their Italian trade, as they did *Cenchreæ* for their eastern or Asiatic.

LEPTIS: there were in Africa two ancient cities of the name, *Leptis magna*, and *Leptis parva.* The first (now called *Lebeda*) was in the territory of Tripoli; the second, a town on the Mediterranean, not far from Carthage.

LESBOS, an island in the Egean sea, near the coast of Asia; the birth-place of Sappho: now called *Metelin.*

LEUCI, a people of Gallia Belgica, to the north of the Lingones, between the Moselle and the Meuse.

LIBYA, the name given by the Greeks to all Africa; but, properly speaking, it was an interior part of Africa.

LIGERIS; now the *Loire.*

LIGURIA, a country of Italy, divided into the maritime, *Ligus Ora;* and the inland *Liguria;* both between the Appenine to the south, the Maritime Alps to the west, and the Po to the north. It contained what is now called *Ferrara*, and the *territories of Genoa.*

LINGONES, a people of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the country about *Langres* and *Dijon.*

LONGOBARDI, or LANGOBARDI, a people of Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder. See Manners of the Germans, s. 40, note.

LUCANIA, a country of ancient Italy; now called the *Basilicate.*

LUGDUNUM, a city of ancient Gaul; now *Lyons.*

LUGDUNUM BATAVORUM, a town of the Batavi, now *Leyden* in Holland. There was another town of the name in Gallia Celtica, at the confluence of the Arar (the *Saone*) and the Rhodanus (the *Rhone*). The place is now called Lyons.

LUPPIA, a river of Westphalia; now the *Lippe.*

LUSITANIA, now the kingdom of *Portugal*, on the west of Spain, formerly a part of it.

LYCIA, a country in Asia Minor, bounded by Pamphylia, Phrygia, and the Mediterranean.

LYDIA, an inland country of Asia Minor, formerly governed by Cresus; now *Carasia.*

LYGII, an ancient people of Germany, who inhabited the country now called *Silesia*, and also part of *Poland.*

M

MACEDONIA, a large country, rendered famous by Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander; now a province of the Turkish empire, bounded by Servia and Bulgaria to the north, by Greece to the south, by Thrace and the Archipelago to the east, and by Epirus to the west.

MÆOTIS PALUS, a lake of Sarmatia Europæa, still known by the same name, and reaching from Crim Tartary to the mouth of the *Tanais*, (the *Don*).

MÆSIA, a district of the ancient Illyricum, bordering on Pannonia, containing what is now called *Bulgaria*, and part of *Servia.*

MAGNESIA: there were anciently three cities of the name: one in Ionia, on the Meander, which, it is said, was given to Themistocles by Artaxerxes, with these words, *to furnish his table with bread;* it is now called *Guzel-Hissard*, in Asiatic Turkey: the second was at the foot of mount Sipylus, in Lydia; but has been destroyed by earthquakes: the third Magnesia was a maritime town of Thessaly, on the Egean sea.

MAGONTIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Mentz*, situate at the confluence of the Rhine and the Maine.

MARCODURUM, a village of Gallia Belgica; now *Duren* on the *Roer.*

MARCOMANNIANS, a people of Germany, between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Neckar. They removed to the country of the Boii, and having expelled the inhabitants, occupied the country now called *Bohemia.* See Manners of the Germans, s. 42.

MARDI, a people of the Farther Asia, near the Caspian sea.

MARITIME ALPS. See ALPS.

MARSACI, a people in the north of Batavia, inhabiting the sea-coast.

MARSI, a people of Italy, who dwelt round the Lacus Fucinus. Another people called Marsi, in Germany, to the south of the Frisii, in the country now called *Paderborne* and *Munster.*

MASSILIA, a town of Gallia Narbonensis, formerly celebrated for polished manners and learning; now *Marseilles*, a port town of Provence.

MATTIACI, a branch of the Catti in Germany. Their capital town was

MATTIUM, supposed now to be *Marpourg* in *Hesse.*

MAURITANIA, a large region of Africa, extending from east to west along the Mediterranean, divided by the emperor Claudius into *Cæsariensis*, the eastern part, and *Tingitana*, the western. It had Numidia to the east, and Getulia to the south; and was also bounded by the Atlantic ocean, the straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean to the north. The natives were called Mauri, and thence the name of *Mauritania*, now *Barbary.*

MEDIA, a country of the Farther Asia, bounded on the west by Armenia, on the east by Parthia, on the north by the Caspian sea, on the south by Persia. *Ecbatana* was the capital.

MEDIOLANUM, now *Milan* in Italy.

MEDIOMATRICI, a people of Gallia Belgica; now the diocese of *Metz.*

MELITENE, a city of Cappadocia.

MEMPHIS, a city in Egypt, famous for its pyramids.

MENAPII, a people of Belgia; now *Brabant* and *Flanders.*

MESOPOTAMIA, a large country in the middle of Asia;

so called, because it lies, μέση ποταμῶν, between two rivers, the Euphrates on the west, and the Tigris on the east.

Messena, or Messana, an ancient and celebrated city of Sicily, on the strait between that island and Italy. It still retains the name of *Messina*.

Mevania, a town of Umbria, near the Clitumnus, a river that runs from east to west into the Tiber.

Miletus, an ancient city of Ionia, in Asia Minor; now totally destroyed.

Milvius Pons, a bridge over the Tiber, at the distance of two miles from Rome, on the *Via Flaminia*; now called *Ponte-Molle*.

Minturnæ, a town on the confines of Campania, near the river Liris.

Misenum, a promontory of Campania, with a good harbour, near the *Sinus Puteolanus*, or the bay of Naples, on the north side. It was the station for the Roman fleets. Now *Capo di Miseno*.

Mitylene, the capital city of the isle of Lesbos, and now gives name to the whole island.

Mona, an island separated from the coast of Ordovices by a narrow strait, the ancient seat of the Druids. Now the isle of *Anglesey*.

Monaci Portus, now *Monaco*, a port town in the territory of *Genoa*.

Morini, a people of Belgia, inhabiting the diocese of *Tournay*, and the country about *St Omer* and *Boulogne*.

Mosa, a large river of Belgic Gaul; it receives a branch of the Rhine, called *Vahalis*, and falls into the German Ocean below the Briel. It is now the *Maese*, or *Meuse*.

Mosella, a river which, running through Lorrain, falls into the Rhine at *Coblentz*; now called the *Mosella*.

Mosteni, the common name of the people and their town on the river Hermus, in Lydia.

Musulani, an independent savage people in Africa, on the confines of Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritania.

Mutina, now *Modena*, a city of Lombardy in Italy.

Myrina, a town of *Æolis*, or *Æolia*, in the Hither Asia; now *Sanderlik*.

N

Nabalia, the name of the channel made by Drusus from the Rhine to the river Sala; now the *Yssell*. See Annals, ii. s. 8.

Nabathæi, a people between the Euphrates and the Red Sea; comprehending Arabia Petræa, and bounded by Palestine on the North.

Nar, a river which rises in Umbria, and falling into the lake *Velinus*, rushes thence with a violent and loud cascade, and empties itself into the Tiber.

Narbon Gaul, the southern part of Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenees to the west, the Mediterranean to the south, and the Alps and the Rhine to the east.

Narnia, a town of Umbria, on the river *Nar*; now *Narni*, in the territory of the Pope.

Nauportum, a town on a cognominal river in Pannonia.

Nava, a river of Gallia Belgica, which runs north-east into the west side of the Rhine; now the *Nahe*.

Navaria, now *Novara*, a city of Milan.

Nemetes, a people originally of Germany, removed to the diocese of *Spire*, on the Rhine.

Nicephorus, a river of Asia that washes the walls of *Tigranoceria*, and runs into the *Tigris*; *D'Anville* says, now called *Khabour*.

Nicopolis: there were several towns of this name, viz. in Egypt, Armenia, Bithynia, on the Euxine, &c. A town of the same name was built by Augustus on the coast of Epirus, as a monument of his victory at Actium.

Ninos, the capital of *Assyria*; called also *Nineve*.

Nisibis, a city of Mesopotamia, at this day called *Nesibin*.

Nola, a city of Campania, on the north-east of Vesuvius. At this place Augustus breathed his last: it retains its old name to this day.

Noricum, a Roman province, bounded by the Danube on the north, by the *Alpes Noricæ* on the south, by Pannonia on the east, and Vindelicia on the west; now containing a great part of Austria, Tyrol, Bavaria, &c.

Novesium, a town of the Ubii in Gallia Belgica; now *Nuys*, on the west side of the Rhine, in the electorate of *Cologne*.

Nucheria, a city of Campania; now *Nocera*.

Numidia, a celebrated kingdom of Africa, bordering on Mauritania, and bounded to the north by the Mediterranean; now *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, &c. the eastern part of the kingdom of *Algiers*. Syphax was king of one part, and Masinissa of the other.

O

Ocriculum, a town of Umbria, near the confluence of the Nar and Tiber; now *Otricoli*, in the duchy of *Spoletto*.

Odrysæ, a people situated in the western part of Thrace, now a province of European Turkey.

Oensses, a people of Africa, who occupied the country between the two Syrtes on the Mediterranean. Their city was called *Oea*, now *Tripoli*.

Opitergium, now *Oderzo*, in the territory of Venice.

Ordovices, a people who inhabit what we now call *Flintshire*, *Denbighshire*, *Carnarvon*, and *Merionethshire*, in North Wales.

Ostia, formerly a town of note, at the mouth of the Tiber (on the south side), whence its name; at this day it lies in ruins.

P

Padus, anciently called *Eridanus* by the Greeks, famous for the fable of Phaeton; it receives several rivers from the Alps and Appennines, and running from west to east, discharges itself into the Adriatic. It is now called the Po.

Pagida, a river in Numidia; its modern name is not ascertained. D'Anville thinks it is now called *Fissato*, in the territory of Tripoli.

Paulus Mæotis; see Mæotis.

Pamphylia, a country of the Hither Asia, bounded by Pisidia to the north, and by the Mediterranean to the south.

Panda, a river of Asia, in the territory of the *Siraci*; not well known.

Pandataria, an island of the Tuscan sea, in the Sinus Puteolanus (now *il Golfo di Napoli*), the place of banishment for illustrious exiles, viz. Julia the daughter of Augustus, Agrippina the wife of Germanicus, Octavia the daughter of Claudius, and many others. It is now called *L'Isle Sainte-Marie*, or *Santa Maria*.

Pannonia, an extensive country of Europe, bounded by Mœsia on the east, by Noricum on the west, Dalmatia on the south, and by the Danube to the north; containing part of *Austria* and *Hungary*.

Pannonian Alps. See Alps.

Paphos: there were two towns of the name, both on the west side of the island of Cyprus, and dedicated to Venus, who was hence the *Paphian* and the *Cyprian* goddess.

Parthia, a country of the Farther Asia, with Media on the west, Asia on the east, and Hyrcania on the north.

PATAVIUM, now *Padua*, in the territory of Venice.

PELIGNI, a people of Samnium, near Naples.

PELOPONNESUS, the large peninsula to the south of Greece, so called after *Pelops*, viz. *Pelopis Nesus*. It is joined to the rest of Greece by the isthmus of Corinth, which lies between the Egean and Ionian seas. It is now called the *Morea*.

PENNINÆ ALPES. See ALPS.

PERGAMOS, an ancient and famous city of *Mysia*, situate on the Caicus, which runs through it. It was the residence of Attalus and his successors. This place was famous for a royal library, formed, with emulation, to vie with that of Alexandria in Egypt. The kings of the latter, stung with paltry jealousy, prohibited the exportation of paper. Hence the invention of parchment, called *Pergamena charta*. Plutarch assures us, that the library at Pergamos contained two hundred thousand volumes. The whole collection was given by Marc Antony as a present to Cleopatra, and thus the two libraries were consolidated into one. In about six or seven centuries afterwards, the volumes of science, by order of the calif Omar, served for a fire to warm the baths of Alexandria; and thus perished *all the physic of the soul*. The town subsists at this day, and retains the name of *Pergamos*. See Spon's Travels, vol. i.

PERINTHUS, a town of Thrace, situate on the Propontis, now called *Heraclea*.

PERUSIA, formerly a principal city of Etruria, on the north side of the Tiber, with the famous *Lacus Trasimenus* to the east. It was besieged by Augustus, and reduced by famine. Lucan has, *Perusina fames*. It is now called *Perugia*, in the territory of the Pope.

PHARSALIA, a town in Thessaly, rendered famous by the last battle between Pompey and Julius Cæsar.

PHILADELPHIA: there were several ancient towns of this name. That which Tacitus mentions was in Lydia, built by Attalus Philadelphus; it is now called by the Turks, *Alah Scheyr*.

PHILIPPI, a city of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; built by Philip of Macedon, and famous for the battle fought on its plains between Augustus and the republican party. It is now in ruins.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, a city of Thrace, near the river *Hebrus*. It derived its name from Philip of Macedon, who enlarged it, and augmented the number of inhabitants.

PICENTIA, the capital of the *Picentini*, on the Tuscan sea, not far from Naples.

PICENUM, a territory of Italy, to the east of Umbria, and in some parts extending from the Apennines to the Adriatic. It is now supposed to be the *March of Ancona*.

PIRÆUS, a celebrated port near Athens. It is much frequented at this day; its name, *Porto Lione*.

PISÆ, a town of Etruria, which gave name to the bay of Pisa, *Sinus Pisanus*.

PLACENTIA, a town in Italy, now called *Placenza*, in the duchy of Parma.

PLANASIA, a small island near the coast of Etruria, in the Tuscan sea; now *Pianosa*.

POMPEII, a town of Campania, near Herculaneum. It was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Nero.

POMPEIOPOLIS: there were anciently two cities of the name; one in Cilicia, another in Paphlagonia.

PONTIA, an island in the Tuscan sea; a place of relegation or banishment.

PONTUS, an extensive country of Asia Minor, lying between Bithynia and Paphlagonia, and extending along the *Pontus Euxinus*, the Euxine or the Pontic sea, from which it took its name. It had that sea to the east, the mouth of the Ister to the north, and Mount Hæmus to the south. The wars between Mithridates, king of Pontus, and the Romans, are well known.

PRÆNESTE, a town of Latium to the south-east of Rome, standing very high, and said to be a strong place. The town that succeeded it, stands low in a valley, and is called *Palestrina*.

PROPONTIS, near the Hellespont and the Euxine; now the sea of *Marmora*.

PUTEOLI, a town of Campania, so called from its number of wells; now *Pozzuolo*, nine miles to the west of Naples.

PYRAMUS, a river of Cilicia, rising in mount Taurus, and running from east to west into the sea of Cilicia.

PYRGI, a town of Etruria, on the Tuscan sea; now *St. Marinella*, about thirty-three miles distant from Rome

Q

QUADI, a people of Germany, situate to the south-east of Bohemia, on the banks of the Danube. See Manners of the Germans, s. 42, note.

R

RAVENNA, an ancient city of Italy, near the coast of the Adriatic. A port was constructed at the mouth of the river Bedesis, and by Augustus made a station for the fleet that guarded the Adriatic. It is still called *Ravenna*.

REATE, a town of the Sabines in Latium, situate near the lake Velinus.

REGIUM. See RHEGIUM.

REMI, a people of Gaul, who inhabited the northern part of *Champaigne*; now the city of *Rheims*.

RHAÇOTIS, the ancient name of Alexandria in Egypt.

RHÆTIA, a country bounded by the Rhine to the west, the Alps to the east, by Italy to the south, and *Vindelicia* to the north. Horace says,

> *Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus*
> *Drusum gerentem, et Vindelici.*

Now the country of the *Grisons*.

RHEGIUM, an ancient city at the extremity of the Apennines, on the narrow strait between Italy and Sicily. It is now called *Reggio*, in the farther Calabria.

RHINE, the river that rises in the Rhætian Alps, and divides Gaul from Germany. See Manners of the Germans, s. 1, note; and s. 29, note.

RHODANUS, a famous river of Gaul, rising on Mount Adula, not far from the head of the Rhine. After a considerable circuit it enters the *Lake of Geneva*, and in its course visits the city of Lyons, and from that place traverses a large tract of country, and falls into the Mediterranean. It is now called the *Rhone*.

RHODUS, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean, near the coast of Asia Minor, over-against *Caria*. The place of retreat for the discontented Romans. Tiberius made that use of it.

RHOXOLANI, a people on the north of the *Palus Mæotis*, situate along the Tanais, now the *Don*.

RIGODULUM, a town of the Treveri on the Moselle.

S

SABRINA, now the *Severn*; a river that rises in *Montgomeryshire*, and running by *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, and *Glocester*, empties itself into the British Channel, separating Wales from England.

SALA. It seems that two rivers of this name were intended by Tacitus. One, now called the *Issel*, which had a communication with the Rhine, by means of the canal made by Drusus, the father of Germanicus. The other SALA was a river in the country now called *Thuringia*, described by Tacitus as yielding salt, which the inhabitants considered as the peculiar favour of heaven. The salt, however, was found in the salt springs near the river, which runs northward into the Albis, or Elbe.

SALAMIS, an island near the coast of Attica, opposite to *Eleusis*. There was also a town of the name of Salamis, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, built by Teucer, when driven by his father from his native island. Horace says,

Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.

SAMARIA, the capital of the country of that name in Palestine; the residence of the kings of Israel, and afterwards of Herod. *Samaritans*, the name of the people. Some magnificent ruins of the place are still remaining.

SAMBULOS, a mountain in the territory of the Parthians, with the river *Corma* near it. The mountain and the river are mentioned by Tacitus only.

SAMNIS, or SAMNITES, a people of ancient Italy, extending on both sides of the Apennines, famous in the Roman wars.

SAMOS, an island of Asia Minor, opposite to Ephesus; the birthplace of Pythagoras, who was thence called the *Samian sage*.

SAMOTHRACIA, an island of Thrace, in the Egean sea, opposite to the mouth of the Hebrus. There were mysteries of initiation celebrated in this island, held in as high repute as those of Eleusis; with a sacred and inviolable asylum.

SARDES, the capital of Lydia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, from which the Pactolus ran down through the heart of the city. The inhabitants were called *Sardiani*.

SARDINIA, an island on the sea of Liguria, lying to the south of Corsica. It is said that an herb grew there, which, when eaten, produced a painful grin, called *Sardonius risus*. The island now belongs to the duke of Saxony, with the title of king.

SARMATIA, called also *Scythia*, a northern country of vast extent, and divided into *Europæa* and *Asiatica*; the former beginning at the Vistula (its western boundary), and comprising Russia, part of Poland, Prussia, and Lithuania; and the latter bounded on the west by Sarmatia Europæa and the Tanais (the *Don*), extending south as far as Mount Caucasus and the Caspian sea, containing Tartary, Circassia, &c.

SAXA RUBRA, a place on the Flaminian road in Etruria, nine miles from Rome.

SCIRTEUCI, a people of Asiatic Sarmatia, between the Euxine and the Caspian sea.

SCYTHIA, a large country, now properly Crim Tartary; in ancient geography divided into Scythia Asiatica, on either side of Mount Imaus; and Scythia Europæa, about the Euxine sea and the Mæotic Lake. See also SARMATIA.

SEGESTUM, a town of Sicily, near Mount *Eryx*, famous for a temple sacred to the *Erycinian* Venus.

SELEUCIA, a city of Mesopotamia, situate at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*; now called *Bagdad*. We find in ancient geography several cities of this name.

SEMNONES, a people of Germany, called by Tacitus the most illustrious branch of the Suevi. They inhabited between the Albis and Vladrus.

SENENSIS COLONIA, now *Sienna*, in Tuscany.

SENONES, inhabitants of Celtic Gaul, situate on the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*); a people famous for their invasion of Italy, and taking and burning Rome A. U. C. 364.

SEQUANI, a people of Belgic Gaul, inhabiting the country now called *Franche Comte*, or the *Upper Burgundy*, and deriving their name from the *Sequana* (now the *Seine*,) which, rising near *Dijon* in Burgundy, runs through Paris, and traversing Normandy, falls into the British Channel near *Havre de Grace*.

SERIPHOS, a small island in the Ægean sea, one of the Cyclades: now *Serfo*, or *Serfanto*.

SICAMBRI, an ancient people of Lower Germany, between the Maese and the Rhine, where *Guelderland* is. They were transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine. Horace says to that emperor,

Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri,
Compositis venerantur armis.

SILURES, a people of Britain, situate on the *Severn* and the Bristol Channel; now *South Wales*, comprising *Glamorgan*, *Radnorshire*, *Hereford*, and *Monmouth*. See Camden.

SIMBRUINI COLLES, the Simbruine Hills, so called from the *Simbruina Stagna*, or lakes formed by the river *Anio*, which gave the name of Sublaqueum to the neighbouring town.

SINOPE, one of the most famous cities in the territory of Pontus. It was taken by Lucullus in the Mithridatic war, and afterwards received Roman Colonies. It was the birthplace of Diogenes the cynic, who was banished from his country. The place is still called *Sinope*, a port town of Asiatic Turkey, on the Euxine.

SINUESSA, a town of Latium, on the confines of Campania, beyond the river Liris, (now called *Garigliano*). The place was much frequented for the salubrity of its waters.

SIPYLUS, a mountain of Lydia, near which Livy says the Romans obtained a complete victory over Antiochus.

SIRACI, a people of Asia, between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* seas.

SMYRNA, a city of Ionia in the Hither Asia, which laid a strong claim to the birth of Homer. The name of Smyrna still remains in a port town of Asiatic Turkey.

SOPHENE, a country between the Greater and the Lesser Armenia; now called *Zaph*.

SORA, a city of the *Dandarides*.

SPELUNCA, a small town near *Fondi*, on the coast of Naples.

STŒCHADES, five islands, now called the *Hieres*, on the coast of Provence.

STRATONICE, a town of Caria in the Hither Asia, so called after *Stratonice*, the wife of Antiochus.

SUEVI, a great and warlike people of ancient Germany, who occupied a prodigious tract of country. See Manners of the Germans, s. 38, and note.

SUNICI, a people removed from Germany to Gallia Belgica. According to Cluverius, they inhabited the duchy of *Limburg*.

SWINDEN, a river that flows on the confines of the *Daha*. It is mentioned by Tacitus only. Brotier supposes it to be what is now called *Herirud*, or *La Riviere d'Herat*.

SYENE, a town in the Higher Egypt, towards the borders of Ethiopia, situate on the Nile. It lies under the tropic of Cancer, as is evident, says Pliny the elder, from there being no shadow projected at Rome at the summer solstice. It was, for a long time, the boundary of the Roman empire. A garrison was stationed there: Juvenal was sent to command there by Domitian, who, by conferring that unlooked-for honour, meant, with covered malice, to punish the poet for his reflection on Paris the comedian, a native of Egypt, and a favourite at court.

SYRACUSE, one of the noblest cities in Sicily. The Romans took it during the second Punic war, on which occasion the great Archimedes lost his life. It is now destroyed, and no remains of the place are left. *Etiam periere ruinæ.*

SYRIA, a country of the Hither Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, so extensive that Palestine, or the Holy Land, was deemed a part of Syria.

SYRTES, the *deserts of Barbary:* also two dangerous sandy gulfs in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Barbary; one called *Syrtis Magna*, now the *Gulf of Sidra;* the other *Syrtis Parva*, now the *Gulf of Cassos.*

T

TANAIS, the *Don*, a very large river in Scythia, dividing Asia from Europe. It rises in Muscovy, and flowing through *Crim Tartary*, runs into the *Palus Mæotis*, near the city now called Azoff, in the hands of the Turks.

TARENTUM, now Tarento, in the province of *Otranto.* The Lacedæmonians founded a colony there, and thence it was called by Horace, *Lacedæmonium Tarentum.*

TARICHÆA, a town of Galilee. It was besieged and taken by Vespasian, who sent six thousand of the prisoners to assist in cutting a passage through the isthmus of Corinth.

TARRACINA, a city of the Volsci in Latium, near the mouth of the *Uffens*, in the Campania of Rome. Now *Terracina*, on the Tuscan sea.

TARRACO, the capital of a division of Spain, called by the Romans *Tarraconensis;* now Taragon, a port town in Catalonia, on the Mediterranean, to the west of *Barcelona.* See HISPANIA.

TARTARUS, a river running between the Po and the Athesis (the *Adige*) from west to east into the Adriatic; now *Tartaro.*

TAUNUS, a mountain of Germany, on the other side of the Rhine; now Mount *Heyrick*, over-against *Mentz.*

TAURANITH, a people who occupied a district of *Armenia Major*, not far from *Tigranocerta.*

TAURI, a people inhabiting the *Taurica Chersonesus*, on the *Euxine.* The country is now called *Crim Tartary.*

TAURINA, a people dwelling at the foot of the Alps. Their capital was called, after Augustus Cæsar, who planted a colony there, *Augusta Taurinorum.* The modern name is *Turin*, the capital of Piedmont.

TAURUS, the greatest mountain in Asia, extending from the Indian to the Ægean sea; said to be fifty miles over, and fifteen hundred long. Its extremity to the north is called *Imaus.*

TELEBOÆ, a people of Ætolia or Acarnania in Greece, who removed to Italy, and settled in the isle of Capreæ.

TEMNOS, an island town of Æolia, in the Hither Asia.

TENCTERI, a people of Germany. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 32.

TENOS, one of the Cyclades.

TERMES, a city in the Hither Spain; now a village called *Tiermes*, in Castile.

TERRACINA, a city of the *Volsci* in Latium, near the mouth of the *Uffens*, on the Tuscan sea; now called *Terracina*, in the territory of Rome.

TEUTOBURGIUM, a forest in Germany, rendered famous by the slaughter of Varus and his legions. It began in the country of the Marsi, and extended to Paderborn, Osnaburg, and Munster, between the *Ems* and the *Luppia.*

THALIA, a town in Numidia, destroyed in the war of Julius Cæsar against Juba.

THEBÆ, a very ancient town in the Higher Egypt, on the east side of the Nile, famous for its hundred gates. Another city of the same name in Bœotia, in Greece, said to have been built by Cadmus. It had the honour of producing two illustrious chiefs, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and Pindar the celebrated poet. Alexander razed it to the ground; but spared the house and family of Pindar.

THERMES, otherwise THERMA, a town in Macedonia, afterwards called *Thessalonica*, famous for two epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. The city stood at the head of a large bay, called *Thermæus Sinus;* now *Golfo di Salonichi.*

THESSALY, a country of Greece, formerly a great part of Macedonia.

THRACIA, an extensive region, bounded to the North by Mount Hæmus, to the south by the Ægean sea, and by the Euxine and Propontis to the east. In the time of Tiberius it was an independent kingdom, but afterwards made a Roman province.

THUBASCUM, a town of Mauritania in Africa.

THURII, a people of ancient Italy, inhabiting a part of Lucania, between the rivers Crathis (now *Crate*), and Sybaris (now *Sibari*).

TIBUR, a town of ancient Latium, situate on the Anio, about twenty miles from Rome. Here Horace had his villa, and it was the frequent retreat of Augustus. Now *Tivoli.*

TICINUM, a town of *Insubria*, situate on the river Ticinus, near its confluence with the Po; now *Pavia* in Milan.

TICINUS, a river of Italy falling into the Po, near the city of *Ticinum*, or Pavia; now *Tesino.*

TIGRANOCERTA, a town of Armenia Major, built by Tigranes in the time of the Mithridatic war. The river *Nicephorus* washes one side of the town. Brotier says, it is now called *Sert* or *Sered.*

TIGRIS, a great river bounding the country called Mesopotamia to the east, while the Euphrates incloses it to the west. Pliny gives an account of the Tigris, in its rise and progress, till it sinks under ground near Mount Taurus, and breaks forth again with a rapid current, falling at last into the Persian Gulf. It divides into two channels at Seleucia.

TMOLUS, a mountain of Lydia, commended for its vines, its saffron, its fragrant shrubs, and the fountain-head of the Pactolus. It appears from Tacitus, that there was a town of the same name, that stood near the mountain.

TOLBIACUM, a town of Gallia Belgica; now *Zulpich*, or *Zulch*, a small town in the duchy of Juliers.

TRALLES, formerly a rich and populous city of Lydia, not far from the river Meander. The ruins are still visible.

TRAPEZUS, now *Trapezond* or *Trebizond*, a city with a port in the Lesser Asia, on the Euxine.

TREVIRI, the people of *Treves;* an ancient city of the Lower Germany, on the Moselle, It was made a Roman colony by Augustus, and became the most famous city of Belgic Gaul. It is now the capital of an electorate of the same name.

TRIBOCI, a people of Belgica, originally Germans. They inhabited *Alsace*, and the diocese of *Strasburg.*

TRIMETUS, an island in the Adriatic; one of those which the ancients called *Insulæ Diomedeæ:* it still retains the name of *Tremiti.* It lies near the coast of the *Capitanate*, a province of the kingdom of Naples, on the Gulf of Venice.

TRINOBANTES, a people of Britain, who inhabited *Middlesex* and *Essex.*

TUBANTES, an ancient people of Germany, about *Westphalia.*

TUNGRI, a people of Belgia. Their city, according to Cæsar, *Atuaca;* now *Tungeren*, in the bishopric of Liege.

TURONII, a people of ancient Gaul, inhabiting the east side of the *Ligeris*, (now the *Loire*). Hence the modern name of *Tours*.

TUSCULUM, a town of Latium, to the north of *Alba*, about twelve miles from Rome. It gave the name of *Tusculanum* to Cicero's villa, where that great orator wrote his Tusculan Questions.

TYRUS, an ancient city of Phœnicia, situate on an island so near the continent, that Alexander the Great formed it into a peninsula, by the mole or causey which he threw up during the siege. See Curtius, lib. iv. s. 7.

U

UBIAN ALTAR, an altar erected by the Ubii, on their removal to the western side of the Rhine, in honour of Augustus; but whether this was at a different place, or the town of the Ubii, is not known.

UBII, a people originally of Germany, but transplanted by Augustus to the west side of the Rhine, under the conduct of *Agrippa*. Their capital was then for a long time called *Oppidum Ubiorum*, and, at last, changed by the empress Agrippina to *Colonia Agrippinensis*; now *Cologne*, the capital of the electorate of that name.

UMBRIA, a division of Italy, to the south-east of Etruria, between the Adriatic and the Nar.

UNSINGIS, a river of Germany, running into the sea, near *Greningen*; now the *Hunsing*.

URBINUM, now *Urbino*, a city for ever famous for having given birth to Raphael, the celebrated painter.

USIPII, or USIPETES, a people of Germany, who, after their expulsion by the Catti, settled near *Paderborn*. See Manners of the Germans, s. 32. and note.

USPE, a town in the territory of the *Siraci*; now destroyed.

V

VADA, a town on the left-hand side of the Nile, in the island of Batavia.

VAHALIS, a branch of the Rhine; now the *Waal*. See Manners of the Germans, s. 29. and note.

VANGIONES, originally inhabitants of Germany, but afterwards settled in Gaul; now the diocese of *Worms*.

VASCONES, a people who inhabited near the Pyrenees, occupying lands both in Spain and Gaul.

VELABRUM, a place at Rome, between Mount Aventine and Mount Palatine, generally under water, from the overflowing of the Tiber. Propertius describes it elegantly, lib. iv. eleg. x.

Qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quaque
Nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.

VELINUS, a lake in the country of the Sabines.

VENETI, a people of Gallia Celtica, who inhabited what is now called *Vannes*, in the south of Britanny, and also a considerable tract on the other side of the Alps, extending from the Po along the Adriatic, to the mouth of the *Ister*.

VERCELLÆ, now *Vercelli* in Piedmont.

VERONA, now *Verona*, in the territory of Venice, on the *Adige*.

VESONTIUM, the capital of the Sequani; now *Besancon*, the chief city of *Burgundy*.

VETERA, i. e. Vetera Castra. The Old Camp, which was a fortified station for the legions; now *Santen*, in the duchy of Cleves, not far from the Rhine.

VIA SALARIA, a road leading from the salt-works at Ostia to the country of the Sabines.

VIADRUS, now the *Oder*, running through *Silesia*, *Brandenburg*, *Pomerania*, and discharging itself into the Baltic.

VICETIA, now *Vicenza*, a town in the territory of Venice.

VIENNÆ, a city of Narbonese Gaul; now *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*.

VINDELICI, a people inhabiting the country of *Vindelicia*, near the Danube, with the Rhætia to the south; now part of *Bavaria* and *Suabia*.

VINDONISSA, now *Windisch*, in the canton of Bern, in Switzerland.

VISURGIS, a river of Germany, made famous by the slaughter of Varus and his legions; now the *Weser*, running north between Westphalia and Lower Saxony, into the German sea.

VOCETIUS MONS, a mountain of the Helvetii, thought to be the roughest part of Mount *Jura*, to which the Helvetii fled when defeated by Cæcina. See Hist. i. s. 67.

VOLSCI, a powerful people of ancient Latium, extending from *Antium*, their capital, to the *Upper Liris*, and the confines of *Campania*.

VULSINII, or VOLSINII, a city of Etruria, the native place of Sejanus; now *Bolseno*, or *Bolsenna*.

Z

ZEUGMA, a town on the *Euphrates*, famous for a bridge over the river. See Pliny, lib. v. s. 24.

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